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THE

TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS,

AND

THE DEMI.

VOL. I.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS.

THE
TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS.

WITH SOME REMARKS ON
ITS ANTIQUITIES.

SECOND EDITION.

BY
WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE,
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ERRATA.

- P. 46, note 1, *for* wearing, *read* weaving.
- P. 111, line 13, *for* earthen roof, *read* earthen tiled roof.
line 14, *for* Scyron, *read* Sciron.
- P. 147, note 7, line ult., *for* Reinacher, *read* Rienäcker.
- P. 158, line 16, *for* opposite to Sunium, *read* sailing onwards
from Sunium.
- P. 192, *for* the year 350 B.C., *read* the year 335 B.C.
- P. 311, note 3, line 6, *for* Tyrrhenian, *read* Pelasgic.
- P. 365, line 4, *for* " afford anchorage to 400 ships," *read*
" contain 400 ships."
- P. 374, note 1, line 4, *for* p. 400, *read* p. 402, n. 2.
- P. 434, line 3, *for* the year 307 B.C., *read* the year 298 B.C.
- P. 585, line 16, *for* Minotaur, *read* Marathonian bull.

INTRODUCTION.

As enquiries into the topography and antiquities of Athens require a frequent reference to the primeval history of the Athenians, and to their mythology, which differed in many respects from that of the rest of Greece, it is intended, in a few preliminary pages, to recall to the reader's recollection those parts of the history of Athens, whether real or fabulous, which are most necessary to the elucidation of its topography and antiquities. The remainder of this Introduction will be devoted to a rapid view of the progressive ruin of ancient Athens, and of those monuments of art which were its peculiar distinction.

There can be no stronger proof of the early civilization of Athens than the remote period to which its history ascends, subject unavoidably to some uncertainty in the traditional part, but sufficiently consistent to prove its foundation in truth. We have some reason to believe that Cecrops, who was regarded by the Athenians as their first king and legislator, was contemporary with Moses, and that he introduced among the Pelasgic race which then inhabited Attica¹

¹ Herodot. 8, 44.

the worship of Neith (*Ἀθήνη*), and possibly also that of Phtha (*Ἡφαίστος*). Zeus and Poseidon, Pelasgic deities, were of earlier date in Attica¹. Apollo and Dionysus, which was another personation of the sun, appear to have been borrowed, as well as the Dioscuri, from the Doric race of Greeks, and to have been introduced at a later date than the preceding. Last came the worship of Venus, very ancient in Assyria, and brought into Greece by the Phœnicians, but not introduced into Athens until the reign of *Ægeus*².

Among the successors of Cecrops it will be sufficient for the present purpose to notice those whose names have been chiefly recorded in Athenian tradition: 1. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion of Thessaly, who is said to have succeeded to the throne in right of his wife Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, a native Athenian, who succeeded Cecrops. 2. Erechtheus the first, called by later writers Erichthonius³. Erechtheus set up an image of Minerva, made of olive wood, in the Cecropia, and instituted festivals, called *Athenæa*, in the Attic cities, which were then twelve in number. Erechtheus was fabled to have been the son of Vulcan and the Earth, to have been educated by Minerva, to have been instructed by her

¹ The Athenians considered Neptune to have preceded Minerva.—Apollod. 3, 14, 1. Isocrat. Panath. p. 273 Steph.

² Pausan. Attic. 14, 6.

³ In reconciling the authorities relating to the ancient history of Athens, it is an important preliminary to establish the identity of Erichthonius with Erechtheus the first. For this purpose it is sufficient to compare Homer (*Il.* B. 547), and Herodotus (8, 55), with Isocrates (Panath. p. 258), Apollodorus (3, 14), Lucian (*Philopseud.* 3), Pausanias (*Attic.* 2, 5. 18, 2), and Aristides (*in Minerv. et in Panathen.* I. p. 12, 119 Jebb.)

in the invention of war horses and chariots, and to have been buried in the temple which he had dedicated to her in Cecropia, and which, from the circumstance of his interment in it, was to the latest period called the Erechtheium. The superiority given by Erechtheus to the worship of Minerva was accompanied by a change in the name of his people, who in Pelasgic time had been Pelasgi, under Cecrops were Cecropidæ, and now became Athenians ¹. 3. Pandion the first. In his reign lived Triptolemus, who was supposed to have been instructed in the arts of agriculture by Ceres, and to have instituted the Eleusinian mysteries. 4. Erechtheus the second. He colonized a part of Eubœa, and defeated Eumolpus, who, with a body of Thracians, had seized Eleusis, but was slain in the action ². The daughters of Erechtheus were devoted to death, that their father might obtain success in the Eleusinian war ³. About the same time the daughters of Leos were sacrificed to avert a contagious sickness, in obedience to the Delphic oracle, which required human sacrifices upon this occasion ⁴. 5. Ion, son of Creusa,

¹ Herodot. 8, 44.

² Some of the ancients believed Erichthonius, the reputed son of Vulcan, to have been the same as Erechtheus, the father of Creusa and of Cecrops the second. Sir I. Newton, adopting this opinion, struck out from the list of Athenian kings the names of Pandion I. and Erechtheus II.; nevertheless, the far greater number of authorities incline to the opposite opinion, which is found more useful therefore in the explanation of topography and ancient monuments.

³ Euripid. Ion 281. See Meursius de Reg. Athen. 2, 9.

⁴ Aristid. Panathen. p. 119 Jebb. Schol. Thucyd. 1, 20. Suid. in *Λεωκόριον*. Ælian. Var. Hist. 12, 28. See

daughter of Erechtheus, was distinguished as a teacher of religion rather than as a temporal monarch. He introduced the worship of Apollo Pythius, who, becoming one of the chief protectors of Athens, was surnamed Patrous: and hence Ion himself was fabled to have been the son of Apollo¹. 6. Ægeus, who, after the direct succession had been considerably disturbed by the collateral branches, recovered the throne, and enjoyed a long reign of thirty-nine years. 7. Theseus. In his way to Athens from Trœzen, where he had been living in obscurity, Theseus cleared the country of the robbers who opposed him, and for these brilliant exploits was acknowledged by Ægeus and the Athenians as successor to the throne. He afterwards relieved Athens from a disgraceful tribute to the king of Crete, and, having succeeded to the royal authority, laid the foundation of the early pre-eminence of his country, by establishing a court of judicature and a festival common to all Attica. The city was enlarged by the occupation of

Meursii Ceramicus Gem. 17. Pausan. Attic. 5, 2. It has been asserted, that neither oracles nor human sacrifices were known to the heroic ages; but these traditions of the Athenians seem to prove the contrary. The story of Iphigeneia and the sacrifice of twelve Trojans, by Achilles, to appease the manes of Patroclus, leave little or no doubt that this savage custom prevailed as late as the Trojan war.

¹ From Ion the Athenians, according to Herodotus (8, 44), once more derived a new name, and became Ionians. But this appellation was applied to all the Greeks who like the Athenians and Peloponnesian Achæans were distinguished by their worship of Neptune and their division into four tribes and twelve cities,—a division older than the time of Ion, and probably Pelasgic; the distinctive name of Athenians therefore was still necessary.

some of the ground to the southward and eastward of the Cecropia or Acropolis, and the whole assumed the name of 'Αθήναι. The immediate consequence of this change, which occurred about the year 1300 B.C., was the decline of the other eleven Attic cities, a concentration of government in Athens, and a great increase of population in Attica, attracted by the security and justice resulting from the new laws of Theseus.

Homer, the earliest of Greek historians, has left us a strong confirmation of the reality of those facts, which are not obviously fabulous, in the history of the two great heroes of ancient Attic story, Erechtheus and Theseus. He notices the temple of Erechtheus, and those periodical sacrifices of an ox and a sheep ¹, which we know to have been performed to a very late period of Athenian superstition²; and,

Ὅϊ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον πολίεθρον,
 Δῆμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ Ζεῖδωρος Ἄρουρα,
 Κάδδ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσ' εἶσεν, ἔψ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηψ'
 Ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἰλάονται
 Κούροι Ἀθηναίων, περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

Il. B. 546.

These lines have been supposed an interpolation of the time of Solon or Peisistratus, but they agree with those of the Odyssey, H. 78.

—————ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

• • • • •

Ἴκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυνάγυιαν Ἀθήνην

Δύνε δ' Ἐρεχθίδος πυκινὸν δόμον . . .

One reason given for suspecting them is, that Homer makes no allusion to temples; but this is not correct. There was a temple (νηὸς) at Cilla before the Trojan war, Il. A. 39.

¹ Philochorus et Staphylus ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐπίβοιον.

in confirmation of the political reforms of Theseus, instead of naming all the cities of Attica, as he has done in the other provinces of Greece, he speaks of Athens alone, and of the people of Erechtheus, that terrible Δῆμος, whose first specimen of tyranny and ingratitude was the banishment of their great benefactor himself, whom they left to die an exile in the island of Scyrus. Ægeus introduced the worship of Venus Urania, and Theseus, that of Venus and Peitho¹, as well as that of Hercules, with whom, according to the Athenian antiquaries, he was contemporary, and to whom, in return for services received in Epirus, he dedicated all his own sacred property in Attica, with the exception of four Theseia, which always continued to bear his name,²—the worship of Apollo Delphinus he appears to have found already established.

During the six or seven centuries which elapsed between the Trojan war and the reign of Peisistratus, the Athenians seem to have been not more engaged in foreign wars or internal commotions than was sufficient to maintain their martial spirit and free government, both of which were essential to the progress made by them in civilization, commerce, and a successful cultivation of the arts. The change of chief magistrate from king to archon for life, then to decennial and to annual archon, indicates that gradual increase, first of aristocratical, and then of popular authority, which ended in a purely democratical government. Solon, apparently aware of the evils to which these changes tended, endeavoured to

¹ Pausan. Attic. 14, 6. 22, 3.

² Philochorus ap. Plutarch. Thes. 35.

correct them by enacting that none but men of a certain landed property should be eligible to magistracies; but the restriction was insufficient, or at least came too late. The excess of democratic power led to its usual result; and Peisistratus not only usurped all the functions of government to himself, but made them hereditary in the persons of his two sons, which caused so strong a re-action in favour of democracy, that Cleisthenes, Cimon, and Pericles, could only direct affairs by conciliating the people and adding to their privileges. After the time of Aristides, who offered some check to the advances of democracy, the poorest Athenian citizens might aspire to every office, except a few connected with finance; and they were even paid for attending those multitudinous assemblies of the Pnyx and Theatre, which embarrassed all rational business, and at length threw the fate and character of the country into the hands of those who might chance to possess the popular favour. But notwithstanding this progressive decline, caused by the abuses to which all human establishments are liable, the great objects of government were attained. Property was protected, and industry was encouraged: for, without these blessings, the Athenians could not possibly have made any advances to that perfection in the arts of civilized life at which they at length arrived, however adapted to it by the active and sagacious minds with which nature had endowed them, by their innate good taste, and by their keen perception of the beautiful.

During the ages which elapsed between the reigns of Theseus and Peisistratus, we may suppose that the advance of art caused the altars of the several deities,

whose worship had been established, to be converted into temples, or their temples to be renewed upon a larger and more elegant plan. A body of the Pelasgic nation, distinguished as Pelasgi Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni, sought refuge in Attica from their enemies, and were employed by the Athenians to fortify the Cecropian hill¹. It was probably in the time of Solon² that the existing Pnyx was constructed; his constitution having then, for the first time, required in particular cases that numerous assemblage of citizens in the ecclesia which was still continued in the time of Demosthenes³. The rude simplicity of the Pnyx seems, however, to belong to a still earlier age than that of Solon; namely, that in which the architects of Greece built subterraneous treasuries, and when the temples were mere cells: as the people therefore had already a share in the government in the time of Theseus, a smaller and earlier Pnyx may possibly have existed on the same site. In the time of Solon, the Prytaneium was probably first established at the foot of the Acropolis, in the Asty; as from this period it served, among its other important uses, as a place of deposit for the written laws of the state, which had previously been kept in the Acropolis⁴.

The usurpation of the ambitious, but humane,

¹ See Appendix I. on the Tyrrheni Pelasgi.

² About B. C. 590.

³ Demosth. c. Timarch. p. 715. c. Neær. p. 1375 Reiske.

⁴ Polemon ap. Harpocrat. in "Αξονες. J. Poll. 8, 10 (128). The more ancient laws still remained in the Acropolis, and it was a remark, in later times, that the lower laws were more than a match for the upper: τὸν κάτωθεν νόμον ἀντίθεσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν.

enlightened, and patriotic Peisistratus, far from being an impediment to the prosperity of Athens, operated in aid of its rapid improvement in splendour and civilization, as has often happened when power has fallen into the hands of a person uniting good taste with magnificence. By establishing a public library¹, and by editing the works of Homer, Peisistratus and his sons fixed the muses at Athens; while by raising the quadrennial revolution of the Panathenaic festival to a footing of equality with the other similar assemblies, and by upholding it during their united reigns of about thirty years², they greatly advanced the dignity of the republic among the states of Greece. They founded the temple of Apollo Pythius³, began the construction of that of Jupiter Olympius⁴, and possibly built also the earliest Odeium; for as song and musical recitation preceded the drama, the Odeium was probably an older establishment than the theatre, having served before the regular drama was invented, as a place of exhibition to the rhapsodists and musicians⁵. The Peisistratidæ, in short, were the chief founders of that splendour and opulence, which, not long after their time, by moving the envy and cupidity of the Persians, became one of the causes of the invasion of Attica,

¹ According to Aulus Gellius (6, 17), Xerxes carried the books to Persia, and Seleucus Nicator restored them.

² Peisistratus was twice exiled: from his first usurpation in 560 B. C., to the murder of Hipparchus, there was an interval of forty-six years.

³ Thucyd. 6, 54. Suid. in Πύθιον. Meurs. Pisist. c. 9.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. 5, 11. Vitruv. præf. in 1. præf. in 7.

⁵ Hesych. in Ὀδῆιον.

which was defeated at Marathon¹. About fifteen years after the fall of the tyranny, the Dionysiac theatre was commenced², but was not completed to its greatest magnitude and perfection until 160 years later³.

Hitherto, however, the progress of the useful and ornamental arts had scarcely been so great at Athens as in some other parts of Greece, as at Sicyon, Corinth, Ægina, Argos, Thebes, and Sparta. Still less was she able to bestow that encouragement upon the arts which they received in the opulent republics of Asia; for, although her territory was more extensive, and her resources already greater than those of any of the states of Greece Proper, except Sparta, they were still insufficient to bestow adequate ornament upon a city which was already the most populous in Greece. It was to an event the most unlikely to produce such a result, that Athens was indebted for a degree of internal beauty and splendour, which no other Grecian city ever attained. The king of Persia,

¹ B. C. 490.

² Soon after the 70th Olympiad, B. C. 500, partly in consequence of the falling of a wooden construction, by which many persons were killed during the exhibition of a dramatic performance by Pratinas, a contemporary and rival of Æschylus (Suid. in Πρατῖνας). The wooden theatre was under a poplar-tree, upon which those climbed who could not obtain seats. Hence the proverbial expression "a view from the poplar-tree" (ἀπ' αἰγέλου θεία) for a cheap or imperfectly seen spectacle. Suid., Hesych. in vv. Eustath. in Od. E. 64.

³ Namely, in the administration of Lycurgus, son of Lyco-phron, about the same time that he restored the comic drama and erected brazen statues in the theatre to the three great tragic poets. Ps. Plutarch. de X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Pausan. Attic. 29, 16.

in directing against Greece an expedition of a magnitude unparalleled in the operations of one nation against another, made the capture of Athens his principal object. His success was most fortunate for the Athenians; for by forcing them to concentrate all their exertions in their fleet, in which they were as superior in numbers to any of the other states of Greece as they were in skill to the Persians, it led to their acquisition of the chief honour of having obliged Xerxes to return in disgrace to Persia, followed by such a degree of influence in Greece, that even the rivals of Athens were under the necessity of giving up to her the future conduct of the war, now become exclusively naval. By these means the Athenians acquired an increasing command over the resources of the greater part of the islands, as well as of the colonies on the coasts of Asia, Macedonia, and Thrace; and thus, at the very moment when the destruction of their city rendered it necessary for them to renew all their principal buildings, fortune gave them sufficient means both to maintain their ascendancy in Greece, and to apply a part of the wealth at their command in the indulgence of their taste and magnificence. The same sources of wealth continuing, and even increasing, during the half century which intervened between the victory of Salamis and the Peloponnesian war, the injury inflicted upon the buildings of Athens by the Persians was not only fully repaired, but those new and splendid edifices were erected which continued to be one of the chief glories of Athens, until Europe becoming too unenlightened to be sensible of the beauty of such objects, they remained for more than twelve centuries unknown

or unnoticed; Greece itself during all the latter part of this time having been the prey of a race of Oriental invaders far more barbarous than those of ancient times.

If we follow literally the evidence of Herodotus, we must suppose that, after the second retreat of the Persians, the Athenians had again to lay out every street in Athens, and to renew every public building from its foundations¹. But experience shows that an invader, in the temporary possession of an enemy's capital, seldom has the power and leisure for destruction equal to his will; and that the total annihilation of massy buildings constructed of stone, is a work of great difficulty².

The remarks of Pausanias upon the temples of Bacchus and of the Dioscuri in the Asty, of Juno in the Phaleric road, and of Ceres at Phalerum, show that the work of destruction by the Persians had been by no means complete. Possibly the vengeance of the Persians was chiefly directed against the works of defence, and against the buildings of the Acropolis; while those which stood at the foot of the hill, namely, the Odeium, the temples of Bacchus, of the Earth, of the Dioscuri, of Venus, of Vulcan, of the Eumenides, and of Mars, having suffered chiefly from fire, their walls as well as those of a great number of the smaller fanes and heroa, may have been left in

¹ Herodot. 9, 13.

² Among several existing ruins which might be named in proof of this observation, there is none more remarkable than Egyptian Thebes, whose magnificent remains, still bearing the marks of the Persian conquerors, show, at the same time, how small a progress had been made in their destruction.

such a state as rendered it an easy task to restore them on the original plan.

The new buildings which arose at Athens in the half century of her highest renown and riches, may be divided into those erected under the administrations of Themistocles, of Cimon, and of Pericles. Utility appears to have been the sole object of the first of these celebrated men; the two latter added to similar views the ambition of making Athens the most splendid city in Greece. Under Themistocles the city was walled, and one temple only is known to have been erected in the Asty during his administration¹. For the maritime city was his great object. He began to fortify it upon an extensive plan, greater indeed than was ever executed; and he engaged Hippodamus, of Miletus, to build an entirely new town at Peiræus, in the regular manner of the cities of Asia², where the arts had hitherto been in a more advanced

¹ Temple of Diana Aristobula.—Plutarch. Themist. 22. de Malign. Herodot. 37.

² Hippodamus was distinguished not only for having introduced a better mode of building towns into Greece, but also as a natural philosopher (*μετεωρολόγος*) and as the first speculative writer on politics, as his illustrious follower on both these subjects has testified as to the latter. (*Ἱπποδάμος δὲ Εὐρυφῶντος Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλεων διαίρεσιν εὔρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμε πρῶτος τῶν μὴ πεπολιτενομένων ἐνεχείρησέ τι περὶ πολιτείας εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης.* Aristot. Polit. 2, 5.) Hippodamus dwelt in Peiræus, and presented to the state the house which he had built or acquired there for himself: he left a son named Archeptolemus, who is alluded to in the Knights of Aristophanes (327). Schol. *ibid.* Harpocrat., Suid., Phot., Lex. ap. Bekker Anecd. Gr. 1. p. 266, in *Ἱπποδάμεια*. Hesych., Phot. in *Ἱπποδάμου νέμῃσις*.

state, than in European Greece. Hippodamus was employed also to lay out the streets and communications of Athens.

Cimon was enabled to effect his purposes by his private opulence and by the spoils of war, which he acquired as the most successful of Athenian commanders; Pericles, chiefly by means of the accumulated residue of the annual contribution of the confederates, which he removed from Delos to Athens, and to which were added the yearly savings of an increased tribute, until he began to expend this treasure on the public buildings¹.

To the administration of Cimon may be attributed the temple of Theseus, and the painting of the Stoa Poecile, which, although resolved upon soon after the battle of Marathon, was not completed until long afterwards, when some of the same artists were employed also on similar decorations in the Theseum, Anaceium, and Propylæa². The Academy and the Agora were planted and otherwise improved by Cimon³, and to him probably may be ascribed

¹ See Appendix II. on the treasure in the Acropolis in the year 431 B. C.

² Micon, Polygnotus, and Pantænus, were the artists who executed the greater part of these paintings. The Olympium was painted by Phidias. Plin. H. N. 35, 8 (34).

³ The *Platanus Orientalis* was generally selected for such purposes, as an umbrageous tree of rapid growth, partial to a sheltered situation, as every valley in Greece proves, and flourishing even in the midst of towns, as our own city demonstrates. To plant a plane-tree in the Agora seems to have been proverbially a laudable action.

Ἐν Ἀγορᾷ δ' αὖ πλάτανον εὖ διαφυτεύομεν.

Aristoph. *Γεωργοί*, ap. Hephæstion. de Metro pæonico.

some of the Stœæ of the Agora, which still remained in the time of Pausanias. His military works were the southern wall of the citadel, and the foundations with some part of the superstructure of the two long walls which connected the inclosure of the Asty, with those of Peiræus and of Phalerum ¹.

For Pericles was reserved the honour of completing the military works and new town of Peiræus, as well as the two Long Walls, to which he afterwards added a third. He formed a gymnasium at the Lyceium, or at least improved that which had been established there by Peisistratus, so as to render it a rival of the Academy². Under his administration, the repairing or rebuilding of all the Attic temples injured by the Persians, which were not left purposely in a ruined state, was probably completed; for the temples of Rhamnus and Sunium have every appearance of being of this and not of an earlier time. In the Asty, Pericles constructed a new Odeium, but the great works which will ever confer the highest glory on his administration, are those magnificent edifices still existing in ruins, the mystic temple of Eleusis, the Parthenon, the Propylæa, and the Erechtheium, in all which we are at a loss whether most to admire the perfection or the rapidity of the execution: for although the Peloponnesian war appears to have prevented the completion of the Erechtheium and the Eleusinian temple, the Odeium, Parthenon, and Propylæa, which were built in this order, were constructed in less than fifteen years, at

¹ Plutarch. Cimon 13.

² See Section vi.

an expense which may be represented, in the present time, by about two millions sterling¹.

But the meridian of Athenian prosperity was now past. Whatever farther designs Pericles may have entertained for the embellishment of the city, by means of the 6000 talents still remaining in the treasury of the Acropolis, were arrested at once by the war. The Lacedæmonians, in hostile invasion, were in sight from the walls of Athens; and, during twenty-seven years, the necessities of an army of 32,000 men, with those of a navy of 300 triremes², left hardly a drachma disposable for public buildings.

The command of the seas, which had enabled the Athenians to carry on the war with glory for so many years, in despite of the imprudence, inconsistency, and extravagance of their government, was at length lost. Their rivals learnt to beat them upon their own element; and the loss of the army in Sicily, together with the defeat of the fleet at Ægospotami, placed Athens at length at the mercy of the Lacedæmonians³. The only injury, however, which she suffered in her buildings, was the destruction (probably not very complete) of the Long Walls and walls of Peiræus; and only ten years had elapsed, when the enemy having in his turn been defeated by Conon at Cnidus, the Athenians resumed their naval superiority in Greece, again commanded the resources of the greater part of the islands and colonies, and once more applied their wealth to the defence or

¹ See Appendix III. on the cost of the buildings of Pericles.

² Thucyd. 2, 13.

³ B. C. 404.

embellishment of the city. The Long Walls, and the walls of the maritime city, were re-established in the year after the battle of Cnidus¹. The work was performed by the Persian fleet, and by the fleet of Conon, then lying in the Athenian harbours, by the Bœotian and Argive troops, then acting as auxiliaries to the Athenians, and by mercenary artificers attracted from every part of Greece by the liberal pay which Conon offered².

Athens had soon so far recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war, that, when the management of the finances fell into the hands of a prudent and active administration, the resources of the republic, when compared with its exigencies, were almost as great as they had ever been³. The Dionysiac theatre was now completed, a stadium was constructed for the Panathenaic contests, and further improvements were made at the Lyceium. Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, who had the credit of having caused the execution of these works, was not less attentive to the military safety of the republic, than to the adornment of the city. He formed a large magazine of offensive and defensive armour in the

¹ B. C. 393.

² Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 8, § 10. Diodor. *Sic.* 14, 85. Corn. *Nep.* in Conon.

³ In the middle of the Peloponnesian war, the yearly revenue was near 2000 talents, consisting of 1300 from the allied or subject cities; the remainder, of domestic income. Lycurgus was considered to have deserved great credit for having raised the latter to 1200 talents, (*Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.*) but the enemies of Athens were no longer so troublesome as during the Peloponnesian war. For every thing relating to the public economy of Athens, see the excellent work of Boeckh.

Acropolis, built covered docks for the ships of war in Peiræus, and filled the storehouses with a complete equipment for 400 triremes¹.

But the time was fast approaching when naval superiority over the republics of Greece could no longer secure the preponderance, or even ensure the safety of Athens. Her own bright example, and the light of genius and science kindled within her walls, spread around her beyond the bounds of Greece, producing its natural effects among nations which had never entered into the political system of Greece, in the earlier periods of her history. Attica, most unfortunately for a naval power, was not an island; so that as soon as all the natural resources of Macedonia, augmented by the conquest of many surrounding districts, were called forth by a strong and enlightened government, the conflicting interests of a collection of small independent states could not long withstand the highly disciplined armies of a warlike nation, directed by the undivided councils of an active, crafty, and ambitious monarch.

Nothing at this time saved Athens, and the other states of Greece, from becoming mere dependencies of Macedonia, but the diffusion of the Macedonian power in the distant conquests of Egypt and Asia. The consequences of these conquests, totally changed the complexion of Grecian politics. Epirus and Ætolia, relieved from Macedonian pressure, and rising above the disunited and uncivilized state, which had hitherto kept them in obscurity, now obtained a considerable weight in the Grecian

¹ Vñ. X. Rhet. *ibid.* Lycurgus died about B. C. 324.

balance of power. The new kingdoms established in the east by the successors of Alexander, soon became members also of the Grecian system; and, by enlarging the boundaries of the language, manners, and refinement of Greece, brought the whole country from Sardinia to Persia within the scope of the Grecian statesman. Instead of confining his attention to a few small republics, acting upon one another, and upon one great foreign power, he had now to watch the motions, learn the interests, and speculate upon the designs of many powerful monarchies, among which Athens, deprived of a great part of her external influence, and soon rivalled, upon her favourite element, even by the republic of Rhodes, could not hope to enter as a power of equal rank, though still able to maintain a high degree of prosperity and political importance.

It was now her wisest course to side with the strongest. Such was the constant aim of the most able and honest of her later statesmen; and it was by means of her alliance with Macedonia, and afterwards with Rome, that she preserved her station during the remaining ages of independent Greece. At no period was Athens more happy and secure than when Demetrius of Phalerum, supported by a Macedonian garrison, administered its affairs¹. So flourishing was the revenue, that, among many other works undertaken at this time, a dodecastyle portico was added to the mystic temple at Eleusis, by the celebrated Philo: and the same architect was em-

¹ Strabo, p. 398. The power of Demetrius, which lasted twelve years, ended in 307 B. C.

ployed to build an arsenal in Peiræus, which was considered one of the most wonderful of the Athenian edifices. Twice only after this period did Athens suffer any material injury from hostile attacks. Having joined the Romans, assisted by the naval forces of Attalus, and the Rhodians, against Philip, the Macedonians invested Athens before the Romans could come to her assistance, demolished the groves of the suburban Gymnasia, and destroyed every building in the plain of Athens¹. In the latter instance, by too readily espousing the cause of Mithradates, when he carried the war into Greece, and thus abandoning the alliance of Rome, she forgot the prudent policy which had been her protection for more than a century, and exposed herself to the vengeance of the most cruel of Roman conquerors².

The military importance of Athens expired at once with the destruction of the Peiraic fortifications by Sylla. Accumulation of capital, the attachment of commerce to an accustomed route, and commercial security, which increased as the Roman power became established by land and sea, may have still maintained a considerable degree of opulence in Athens; but her gradual downfall as a maritime state was inevitable; and, in less than a century after the siege by Sylla, the Athenian navy was almost extinct, little remained either of the Peiraic or Long Walls, and of the lower city no more than a small part of the maritime quarters³.

¹ B. C. 200. Liv. 31, 24—26.

² B. C. 86.

³ Strabo, p. 396. Lucan. Pharsal. 3, 181.

But the respect which the arms or political influence of Athens could no longer command, was still paid to the recollection of her former glory; to her having been, from the æra of the battle of Marathon, the great depository of the science and literature of Greece; and to her still continuing to be the school in which were found the most skilful artists, and the best productions in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Of the surrounding nations, there was not any in which this feeling had a stronger effect than among the Romans, who, from the period of the conquest of Corinth and Carthage¹, had applied themselves with a rapidly increasing ardour to Grecian arts and literature, and who, from that time, treated Athens with a filial respect and indulgence, which was in a certain degree shown to her even by Sylla himself². Although Julius Cæsar had to pardon the Athenians for their adherence to the adverse party of Pompey, Antony for their having espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius³, and Augustus for the favours which they bestowed upon Antony, Athens received distinguished benefits from all these mighty Romans. Julius Cæsar bestowed some donations upon the city, which contributed to the erection of one of the

¹ Corinth and Carthage were taken and destroyed in the same year, B. C. 146. 102 years afterwards, or B. C. 44, they were both restored and colonized by Julius Cæsar. Dion Cass. 43, 50. Appian. de R. Punic. ad fin. Pausan. Corinth. 1, 2.

² Strabo, p. 398. Appian. de B. Mithrid. 38—39. Plutarch. Syll. 12—14.

³ The Athenians had erected the statues of Brutus and Cassius, by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, in the Cera-meicus. Dion Cass. 47, 20.

still existing buildings. Antony made Athens his favourite place of residence, during his frequent expeditions into the east; flattered the Athenians, by assuming their manners and mode of life; and bestowed upon them the islands of Ægina, Cea, Icus, Sciathus, and Peparethus¹. Augustus indeed showed some degree of resentment towards the Athenians for their attachment to his rival, and deprived them of one of the islands (Ægina), which they had received from Antony, as well as of Eretria in Eubœa²; but his clemency and favourable inclinations towards them are sufficiently indicated, by his leaving them in possession of all the other gifts of Antony; by the pecuniary donations which, added to those given by Cæsar, enabled the Athenians to erect the Propylæum of the new Agora³; and even by an edict forbidding their sale of the right of citizenship⁴, by which he showed a respect for their ancient name, greater than they entertained themselves.

We are informed that, a short time before his death, Augustus was called upon to quell a revolt of the Athenians: but it appears to have been a mere local tumult, which was suppressed as soon as it broke out⁵, and has not even been noticed by the principal historians of the life of Augustus. We can hardly doubt, from the testimony of Strabo, that,

¹ Appian. de B. Civ. 5, 7.

² Dion Cass. 54, 7.

³ Stuart, Ant. of Athens, i. 1. Boeckh, C. Inscr. Gr. No. 477.

⁴ Dion Cass. *ibid*.

⁵ Ἀθηναῖοι στασιάζειν ἀρξάμενοι κολασθέντες ἐπαύσαντο. Syncel. Chron. p. 318, Paris. Euseb. Chron. Ol. 198. Oros. 6, 22.

from the time of Sylla, Athens continued to enjoy its own laws, and the respect of the Romans; or that Augustus, in whose time Strabo lived, generally treated the Athenians with lenity and favour¹. Before he attained to the empire he had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries²; and a small temple was erected to him in the Acropolis, in which, according to a custom always required by him, his name was subjoined to that of the goddess of Rome³.

Germanicus testified his respect to the Athenians, by entering the city without the insignia of his rank, and preceded by a single lictor⁴.

Vespasian and Domitian, who expelled the philosophers from Rome⁵, could not have been well disposed to the Athenian schools which produced them; but there is no reason to think that Athens received any ill treatment from these two emperors, or that any change was made by Vespasian in the privileges of the Athenians, when he made Greece a Roman province, beyond that of confirming the authority of the Roman proconsul over the city⁶, than which nothing could be more conducive to its advantage; for it is probably to a similar control over the democracy of Athens, that we may ascribe its general tran-

¹ Σύλλας τῇ πόλει συγγνώμην ἔνειμε καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐν ἐλευθερίῳ τε ἐστὶ καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Strabo, p. 398.

² Sueton. Octav. 93.

³ Boeckh, C. Inscr. Gr. No. 478.

⁴ Tacit. Annal. 2, 53.

⁵ Dion Cass. 66, 13. 67, 13. Sueton. Domit. 10. Tacit. Agric. 2. Aul. Gel. 15, 11.

⁶ Sueton. Vespas. 8. Eutrop. 7, 19. Oros. 7, 9. Pausan. Achaic. 17, 2.

quillity during the prevalence of the Macedonian and Roman power in Greece.

From the accession of Nerva, Athens for near a century and a half enjoyed in general, not only the protection, but the peculiar favour of a succession of Roman emperors.

Hadrian and Septimius Severus visited Athens, while they were yet in a private station. They were both initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, as well as Marcus Aurelius, at the time of his visit to Athens, after the Marcomannic war¹. Hadrian was Archon Eponymus², and twice passed the winter at Athens³.

No city ever enjoyed such a course of prosperity after the loss of its political importance. Even the respect which has been paid to the ancient name of Rome, can scarcely be compared to that enjoyed by Athens during five centuries, among all the nations into which Grecian civilization had penetrated. We cannot have a stronger proof of this fact than that the most remarkable buildings erected in Athens after the decline of her naval power, were executed at the expense of foreign potentates.

The first example of this generosity occurred when Ptolemy Philadelphus constructed an extensive gymnasium near the temple of Theseus⁴. Sixty years afterwards, when the Athenians were

¹ Dion Cass. 69, 11. Spartian. Hadrian. 13. Philostr. Sophist. 2, 10. Lamprid. Sever. 3. Capitolin. Marc. 27.

² Coss. Trajan. 6, C. Sext. Africano. (A. D. 112.) Phlegon. Trall. 25. Spartian. Hadrian. 19.

³ Euseb. Chron. Ol. 225, 227, Cassiodor. Chron. in Hadr.

⁴ 260 B. C.

in alliance with the Romans, the Rhodians, and the first Attalus of Pergamus¹, this monarch visited Athens, and presented some dedications in the Acropolis². In gratitude to these two benefactors, the names of the two new φυλαὶ or tribes of Athenian citizens, which had been established on the liberation of Athens from Cassander by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and had then been named Demetrias and Antigonis in honor of Demetrius and his father, were changed to those of Attalis and Ptolemais³.

Not many years afterwards, Antiochus Epiphanes undertook a work which the Athenians, in the height of their power, had been unable to accomplish; and which, when completed, exceeded in magnitude and costliness all their other buildings. This was the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which Antiochus began to erect upon the foundations laid by Peisistratus 360 years before. After a long interruption at the death of Antiochus, the work was resumed at the joint expense of the kings and states in alliance with Augustus, and was finally completed by the emperor Hadrian.

¹ Polyb. 16, 25. Liv. 31, 15.

² Pausan. Attic. 25, 2. These were four statuary compositions, placed upon the southern wall of the Acropolis towards its eastern end. The subjects of three were complimentary to the ancient glory of the Athenians. The fourth recorded the action from which Attalus himself derived his greatest fame, namely, the defeat of the Gauls in Mysia, by which they were driven into the part of Phrygia, which they ever afterwards occupied, under the name of Galatia. Pliny has recorded the names of four artists who exercised their talents in representing these battles. Plin. H. N. 84, 19. Liv. 38, 16. Pausan. Attic. 8, 2.

³ Pausan. Attic. 5, 8.

Very soon after the capture of Athens by Sylla, Ariobarzanes the second, king of Cappadocia, repaired the Odeium of Pericles, which had suffered a partial destruction in the siege. But Hadrian was the greatest of all the regal benefactors of Athens. He not only completed the Olympium, which for so many years had been the despair of the Athenians, but erected buildings of various kinds adapted to a place which he wished to render at once the centre of religion, of philosophy, and of polite education, namely, two temples, a stoa with magnificent apartments opening into it, a library, and a gymnasium¹. He moreover bestowed upon the Athenians large sums of money, a yearly allowance of corn, and the whole island of Cephallenia².

During the ages of which we are now treating, several opulent individuals also, both Attic and foreign, emulating the Athenian citizens of antiquity, to whom the city had been indebted for many of its minor buildings, made it their glory to adorn Athens with edifices, erected at their private expense. Andronicus of Cyrrhus built the Horologium in the Agora which still remains; Agrippa constructed a theatre; and Herodes, son of Atticus, rivalled even the imperial benefactors of Athens, by covering the Stadium with seats of Pentelic marble, and by erecting a theatre, the ruins of which are still seen on the south-western side of the Acropolis.

Rich in the accumulated magnificence of eight or ten centuries, Athens was never more splendid than

¹ Pausan. Attic. 18, 9.

² Dion Cass. 69, 19.

in the time of the Antonines. The maritime town indeed, once as large as Athens itself, and where commerce was so flourishing, that every known commodity might be found there¹, was reduced to two or three detached villages round the temple of Jupiter and the ports². But the Asty and Acropolis were uninjured. The ancient monuments of the Pericleian age were still in such unimpaired preservation as to rival the recent structures even in this respect. The works of Callicrates, Ictinus, Mnesicles, and Phidias, which had now been exposed to the seasons of 600 years, still possessed all their original freshness; and it was justly regarded as wonderful that buildings, remarkable for the rapidity with which they had been constructed, should nevertheless have been executed with such perfection, as seemed to have endued them with a perpetual youth³.

Not many years after Plutarch had thus described the buildings of the age of Pericles, Greece was visited by the traveller to whose writings we are chiefly indebted for a knowledge of the ancient topography of this country, and still more for that of the treasures, which it still preserved in the various productions of the arts of design. Without his assistance we should even be ignorant of the names of many ruined cities still existing in the present time. We may

¹ Ἐμπόριον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τοσαύτην ἔχονθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὥστ' ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐσσι λαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι. Isocrat. Paneg. p. 49, Steph. The Sophist Sopatrus designates it as τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος ἔμπόριον.

² Strabo, p. 395.

³ Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

infer from the occasional remarks of Pausanias, that he wrote his two first books containing the description of Attica, Corinthia, and Argolis, in the reign of Hadrian¹. In one place he states that the theatre of Herodes at Athens was not begun when he wrote his Attica, and that it was finished when he wrote his seventh book or Achaica. From another passage we learn that in the thirteenth year of Marcus Aurelius, he was still employed on his Prior Eliacs, which is the fifth of his ten books². It is manifest, therefore, that the travels of Pausanias in Greece, and their description, furnished employment during the greater part of his life. That his knowledge could not have been derived from a transient view of Greece, is evident from the minuteness of his remarks on the topography, antiquities, local history, and traditions of every part of the country.

¹ Attic. 5, 5. Corinth. 27, 7. In the latter place Pausanias describes several costly buildings erected in the Epidaurian Hierum by Antoninus, a senator; this could scarcely have been any other than the successor of Hadrian, who, until the last year of the reign of that emperor, was no more than a senator. Again, in the Arcadics, (9, 4,) Pausanias remarks that he had seen statues and pictures of Antinous, but had never seen that person when living (*μετ' ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐκ εἶδον*), which seems to imply that they were cotemporaries. Antinous accompanied Hadrian into Egypt in the year 130, and died there in 132, six years before the death of Hadrian himself. Pausanias could scarcely at that time have been less than twenty-five or thirty years of age, if he had already visited Athens and Argolis; nor is it likely that he was much older, as thirty-six years afterwards he had not written the half of his Periegesis.

² Eliac. prior, 1, 1. He remarks that 217 years had then elapsed from the time of the restoration of Corinth by Julius Cæsar. See above, p. 21, note 1.

The length of time which he employed in these researches, may be accounted for by repeated interruptions, and by long intervals between his different visits to Greece¹; for he appears to have been a native of Ionia², and in the course of his life to have made many distant journeys into foreign countries. He had seen a part of Arabia³; had visited Egyptian Thebes⁴; and had penetrated to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya⁵. In Judæa⁶ he had particularly examined Joppa⁷, the

¹ Some proof of this may be found in his change of opinion on particular questions. Thus in the Attica he twice quotes the Theogonia as a genuine production of Hesiod, but towards the end of his work never mentions it without expressing doubts on that head, which were confirmed at the temple of the Muses in Mount Helicon. Pausan. Attic. 24, 7. 28, 6. Arcad. 18, 1. Bæot. 27, 2. 31, 5. 35, 1.

² That he was an Ionian, may be presumed from his knowledge of the Ionian cities, and the interest which he took in them, as shown by his remarks on them in his Achaica, and from his reference to the Ionic mode of constructing Agoræ, which is introduced incidentally into his description of Elis. The following passage gives reason to believe that his native place and ordinary residence were Magnesia ad Sipylum.

Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος. Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμόν ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρτίνης τεθηλυίας. Pausan. Eliac pr. 13, 4.

For although Magnesia is not here named, it is identified by the lake of Tantalus, which is found on Mount Sipylus, and the river Hermus, which flows in face of that city.

³ Bæot. 28, 2.

⁴ Attic. 42, 2.

⁵ Eliac. prior, 15, 7. Bæot. 16, 1.

⁶ Eliac. post. 24, 6. Phocic. 12, 5.

⁷ Messen. 35, 6.

Jordan, the lake of Tiberias, and the Dead Sea¹; nor can it be doubted that he visited also the northern part of Syria, as well from the manner in which he mentions the Orontes and Daphne², as from the particular notice which he bestowed on Antioch³. He had travelled through many parts of Asia Minor⁴, and had inspected the cities of Ionia and of some of the neighbouring provinces, with no less attention than those of Greece⁵. He had visited Rome and other parts of Italy⁶, had travelled in Epirus⁷, Macedonia⁸, Thrace and Thessaly⁹, and in the islands of Sicily¹⁰, Sardinia, and Corsica¹¹.

In regard to his writings, it appears that he composed a work upon Syria¹², which has not reached us, and that it was chiefly historical, his book on Antioch having probably formed a part of it¹³. In Greece he seems to have confined his minute researches to the Peloponnesus and the south-eastern provinces of continental Greece; incorporating in his description

¹ Eliac. prior, 7, 3.

² Eliac. post. 2, 4. Arcad. 23, 4. 29, 3.

³ Stephan. in Σελευκόβηλος. Tzetz. Ch. 7, 118.

⁴ Achaic. 17, 5. Bæot. 21, 4. Phocic. 32.

⁵ Messen. 35, 6. Achaic. 2. 3. 4. 5. Phocic. 12, 2—4.

⁶ Eliac. prior, 12, 1—4. Arcad. 46, 2. Bæot. 21, 1. Phocic. 5, 5.

⁷ Attic. 13, 2. 17, 5.

⁸ Eliac. post. 5, 3. Bæot. 40, 4.

⁹ Attic. 13, 2. Eliac. post. 5, 2. Achaic. 27, 2.

¹⁰ Eliac. prior, 23, 5.

¹¹ Phocic. 17.

¹² Stephan. Byz. in Γάββα, Γάζα, Δῶρος, Μαριαμμία, Σελευκόβηλος.

¹³ See Appendix IV. on the various writers named Pausanias.

of them, some of the remarks which he made in his travels to the north and west of Mount Œta. The insertion, in his Achaica, of his observations upon the cities of Ionia, indicates at least that such was his process in regard to Asiatic Greece; leaving little doubt upon the whole, that his *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* was his principal work, and that it was the only one which he completed and published, except that on Syria. Stephanus of Byzantium, who often refers to these productions of Pausanias, notices no others. He mentions the *Periegesis* of Greece as divided into ten books, bearing the names still attached to them, and that on Syria as being in not less than six books.

It is perhaps fortunate for us that Strabo and Pausanias were men of opposite characters, and that they adopted a totally different plan in their travels and writings. Strabo had adorned and strengthened a mind, naturally powerful and philosophical, with all the learning of the age, together with the experience derived from extensive travels¹. Pausanias seems not to have been equal to Strabo in the *extent* of his travels, or in his intellectual qualities; and he was certainly less fortunate in the time in which he lived. He was infected with all the superstition and credulity of an ardent votary of polytheism, but they appear to have been accompanied by a sincere love of honour and justice, and of the virtues which had ennobled ancient Greece, not unmingled with a melancholy consciousness that the

¹ He informs us, p. 117, that he had visited all the countries from Armenia to Etruria, and from Æthiopia to the Euxine.

fabric of his devotion was rapidly falling to ruin. Strabo, although well acquainted with the parts of Asia, surrounding his native city Amasia, and those places where his residence had been longest, bestowed, in general, no great time or attention on particular countries, trusting in great measure to the information of other authors of various times, whom he often cites, and taking a general view of all the geography known in his time, which he discusses more as a philosopher and historian, than as a geographer. The description of Greece, therefore, by Strabo, although luminous and accurate in particular instances, is extremely imperfect, when compared with that which Pausanias has left us. He adverts to some of the most celebrated regions with scarcely any other notice than that of their total ruin and desolation ; and he speaks of the annihilation of cities, where Pausanias, almost two centuries later, found much to describe, and of some of which there still exist considerable remains. As his account of the sea-coast is generally more accurate and detailed than that of the inland districts, we are tempted to believe that few parts of the interior were visited by him, but that his travels in Greece were principally performed by sea.

The work of Pausanias, on the contrary, bears undoubted marks of the author having subjected every part of that country to a minute personal examination ; and no writer more strongly possesses internal evidence of truth and fidelity. His style is dry and inanimate, his phraseology affected ¹ and

¹ It is supposed that Pausanias took Herodotus for his model ; if so, he has most unhappily missed the perspicuous simplicity of

sometimes ambiguous ; and his language, when compared with that of Strabo, serves to show how much the written Greek had declined in the century and a half which had elapsed from the time of the one writer to that of the other. Except in some detached passages of history, he is very deficient in method ; and often disappoints the reader by some absurd question of mythology, in place of those particulars of history, topography, or art, which it would have been interesting to know. To say that it is “ worthy of being seen,” (*θείας ἀξίον*) is the strongest expression of admiration which he bestows upon some of the inimitable performances of the great masters of Grecian sculpture ; and he passes without the slightest change of manner, from the description of some splendid colossus in ivory and gold, the work of a Phidias, or a Praxiteles, to that of a group of small figures in clay, or of some ancient statue in wood. But this cold conciseness furnishes the best assurance that he has faithfully described Greece as he found it ; and at this distance of time, in the absence of all other authority of the same kind, one cannot but value his work the more, from his having been deficient in that ardour of genius, which often makes travellers the dupes of their own feelings, and leads them to exaggerate and misrepresent. Together with many historical circumstances, and a large portion of the mythology

that author. The occasional Ionisms of Pausanias may be attributed perhaps to his origin ; though in his time they were rather a reminiscence than a custom.

of Greece, of which we should otherwise have been ignorant, Pausanias has preserved for us much important information, and such as none but a diligent traveller could have obtained, upon the history of those arts in which the Greeks have so peculiarly excelled all other nations.

It is little to say of him, that in accuracy he is superior to his cotemporaries, Pliny, Diodorus, and Plutarch, as he had the advantage over them of having been an *autoptes* of all he described. By the actual inspection of a great number of monuments and records unvisited or unknown by the learned of his time, he has been enabled to excel every other author in giving us an adequate idea of the genius, study, and skill, which the Greeks applied to the arts of design; of the extent to which those qualities were exercised; of that combination of private economy, and public magnificence, which adorned the smallest city with some elegant building or work of art; as well as of the immense number of those productions, which, in spite of all the calamities to which Greece had been exposed, still rendered the country one great museum as late as the latter end of the second century of our æra.

But replete as the work of Pausanias is with information of this kind, it is still too confined to do justice to the fertility of his subject. It unfortunately happened that the author's favourite pursuits were those of an antiquary, mythologist, or devout polytheist, rather than those of an historian or topographer; and that his judgment in matters of

art naturally partook of the declining taste of the times in which he lived. His written remarks seem also to have been in many instances modified by prudential considerations, arising from the political circumstances of the times. Such a zealous admirer of the antiquities and mythology of the Greeks could not be otherwise than extremely shocked at the prostitution to vicious or tyrannical Romans, of the divine honours conferred upon the ancient heroes. " Evil (he remarks in the *Arcadica*¹) has now arrived at such a pitch as to overspread every land and every city, and men are raised to the dignity of gods during their lives by the excess of compliment and flattery." A mixed sentiment of fear and indignation often produced upon him the effect of silence or obscurity, and induced him while he kept his attention steadily fixed upon the productions of the best times of Greece, to pass unnoticed her numerous monuments of national degradation.

But it is chiefly in his description of Athens that we have to lament the brevity of Pausanias. Here, besides the confined nature of his undertaking, which obliged him in every part of the country to confine his narrative to the most remarkable objects², he was at once oppressed by the co-

¹ Pausan. *Arcad.* 2, 2.

² τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανιστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω. *Attic.* 23, 5.

³ Ὅποσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο εἶναί μοι θεῶς διηγήσομαι. *Attic.* 35, 4.
ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα. *Attic.* 39, 3.

ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφείξῃς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον

piousness of the subject, and by the reflection that he was at the beginning of a work which was to comprehend the whole of Greece¹. When it is considered, moreover, that there existed at that time several works descriptive of Athens², we are no longer surprised at

ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιά-
τας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ
δξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρίναι τὰ
ἀξιολογώτατα. Lacon. c. 11, 1.

οὐδὲ ὁπόσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξειμι
. . . ὁπόσοις δὲ ἡ αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν, ἢ τοῖς ἀνδριάσιν ὑπῆρχεν
ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι.
Eliac. post. 1, 1.

¹ In the midst of his description of the Acropolis, he checks himself by saying, Δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Attic. 26, 5.

² The principal περιηγηταὶ who wrote on the topography and edifices of Athens were Polemon and Heliodorus. The former, surnamed Στηλοκόπας, from having been a collector of inscriptions, flourished about 200 B.C., and among many other works wrote four books on the dedications of the Acropolis, a book on the pictures of the Propylæa, and another on the Sacred Way (Strabo, p. 396. Herodicus ap. Athen. 6, 6 [26]. Athen. 10, 10 [48]. 10, 12 [59]. 11, 6 [43]. 11, 11 [72]. 13, 6 [51]. Harpoc. in Νεμείας Χαράδρα, Ἱερὰ Ὀδὸς, Λαμπάς. Suid. in Πολέμων).

Heliodorus was author of 15 books on the Acropolis, of Περὶ τῶν μνημάτων, in not less than three books, and Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι τριπόδων. Vit. X. Rhet. in Hyperid. Harpoc. in Θέτταλος, Ὀνήτωρ, Προπύλαια. Harpoc., Suid. in Νίκη Ἀθηναῖ. Two other writers on similar subjects were Diodorus ὁ Περιηγητὴς (Plutarch. Thes. 36. Themist. 32. Cimon. 16. Harpoc. in Κολωνίτας) and Menecles or Callistratus (Harpoc. in Ἐκατόμπεδον, Κεραμεικός. Harpoc., Suid., Phot. in Ἑρμαῖ. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 395). Ammonius of Lamptra wrote a book on altars (Schol. in Hermogen. c. de Suav.).

To these we may add, as having incidentally illustrated the topography and buildings of Athens, many parts of the Ἀτθίδες

the obscure conciseness of his topographical description of the city, or at the brevity with which he has treated of some of its most interesting monuments¹.

Strabo had felt equally oppressed by the magnitude of this part of his subject: he was still more brief in proportion as the plan of his work was more comprehensive, and was satisfied with naming only a few of the principal places and buildings of Athens.

The description given by Pliny of the Grecian pictures and statues collected at Rome in his time, concurs with the work of Pausanias, and with the general tenor of Grecian history, in leading us to believe that Greece Proper suffered less in its works of art, from Roman spoliation, than Sicily and Asiatic Greece. The subjugation of the European states was gradual, and accompanied by a succession of wars, alliances, and negotiations, during which the Romans met with resistance in every part of the country, and had cares of more immediate exigence than the collection of works of art—a pursuit which, even among conquerors the most anxious for such acquisitions, easily yields to the promotion of political and

or works of the historical antiquaries, Hellanicus, Cleidemus, Amelesagoras, Phanodemus, Androtion, Philochorus, Demon, Istrus, Andron, who were all probably Athenians or Metæci, and scarcely any less ancient than the third century *a.c.* See the fragments of these authors collected by Linz and Siebelis, and for some account of the works of the greater part of them Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*.

¹ Pausanias is particularly brief upon the subject of the Parthenon; but besides the works upon the Acropolis, just mentioned, was the treatise upon the construction of that temple by the architect Ictinus himself, and Carpion, mentioned by Vitruvius (*præf.* in l. 7).

military advantages, or to the levying of pecuniary contributions.

The valuable spoil exhibited by T. Quinctius Flamininus, on his triumphal entry into Rome, after his long and successful command of the Roman armies in Greece, consisted chiefly of uncoined gold and silver, with a great number of the celebrated gold coins of Macedonia, called Philippi¹. When a few years after the departure of Flamininus, Q. Fulvius Nobilior plundered the temples of the gods at Ambracia, he was obliged by the Roman senate to restore the statues². Impressed with veneration for a common religion, and wishing to conciliate a half-subdued people, who commanded respect by their superior civilization, the Romans were at first unwilling to violate the temples where the choicest works of Grecian art were generally deposited as offerings.

It was not long, however, before their victories over the Carthaginians, and their increasing influence in Greece and Asia, rendered some of them less scrupulous. The conquest of Syracuse by Marcellus was soon followed by the triumphs of P. Æmilius Paullus, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus, over Macedonia, and of Mummius for the conquest of Achaia³. To

¹ Plutarch. Flamin. 14.

² Liv. 38, 44. From Pliny, however, H. N. 35, 10 (36), and from Eumenius Rhetor (pro restaur. Scholis, 7), it appears that the nine Muses of Ambracia were retained at Rome in a temple of Hercules.

³ The numerous statues brought from Macedonia by Æmilius Paullus are mentioned by Plutarch. Two of them were by Phidias (Plin. H. N. 34, 8). Metellus Macedonicus carried to Rome from Dium the equestrian statues by Lysippus of the Macedonians, who fell in the battle of the Granicus. (Arrian. de

these events, and to the great number of books, statues, and pictures, which they introduced into Rome, is to be ascribed the rise and the establishment of that taste for the arts and literature of Greece, which soon essentially altered the Roman character.

After the entire conquest of Asia, this taste quickly degenerated into luxury, and was often gratified at the expense of the Grecian cities. It sufficiently appears from the orations of Cicero against Verres, that provincial governors, by violence, solicitation, or more frequently by forced purchase, deprived the public edifices of the Greeks of many pictures and statues; but it is not less evident from the expressions of the orator, that such practices were held in the greatest disrepute among the Romans in general, and that the Greeks indulged in a manifestation of resentment at such spoliations, which equally prove that they were not very common.

Pausanias, in mentioning a single example by Sylla¹, expressly remarks, that such things were contrary to the usual conduct of the Romans (*ἥθους ἀλλότρια τοῦ Ῥωμαίων*), and he adds, that it was for this sacrilege of Sylla, and for his treatment of the cities of Thebes, Athens, and Orchomenus, that the gods afflicted him with the disgusting disease of which he died.

During the ages which elapsed between the first Exp. Alex. 1, 16. Vell. Paterc. 1, 11. Plin. H. N. 34, 8 (19). Mummius and Lucullus filled Rome with brazen statues, brought by the former from Achaia, and by the latter from Asia (Plin. *ibid.*). Polybius, though an admirer of the Romans, blames them for filling their city with the pictures and statues of the countries which they had conquered.

¹ He carried off an ivory statue of Minerva from her temple at Alalcomenæ. Bæot. 33, 4.

entrance of the Romans into Greece, and the complete establishment of their power over that country, Attica appears to have suffered less than any of the countries which the arts of Greece had adorned. Once only in the course of this time was the city exposed to the pillage of a victorious army. After the assault by Sylla, it is not to be supposed that his soldiers, who even carried away the votive shields from the Stoa Eleutherius, left in the Cerameicus, or adjacent parts of the city, many valuable works of art of easy transportation. But Sylla himself abstained from this kind of plunder; and there is reason to believe that he never exercised his privileges of a conqueror by the removal of any of the more celebrated Athenian works of art¹. The description by Pausanias of the state of Athens, 250 years afterwards, compared with the enumeration, given by Pliny, of the Grecian statues at Rome, furnish a strong presumption in favour of this opinion; nor do we find in the account which Plutarch has left us of the triumph of Sylla, any of that display of Grecian statuary works, and other similar plunder, which distinguished the triumphal entries of Æmilius Paullus, Metellus Macedonicus, Mummius, Lucullus, and Pompey. It is true that Sylla removed to Rome some columns which had been prepared for the temple of Jupiter Olympius, for the purpose of adapting them to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus²; and he seized

¹ For the conduct of Sylla at Athens, see Strabo, p. 398. Appian. de B. Mithrid. 38—39. Plutarch. Syll. 12—14. Pausan. Attic. 20, 3. Phocic. 21, 3.

² Columnis demum utebantur in templis, non lautitiæ causa (nondum enim ista intelligebantur), sed quia firmiores aliter

upon the library of Apellicon of Teus, which had been first collected by Aristotle, and augmented by Theophrastus¹. But money for the support of his army was his great object. He pillaged the sacred treasures of Delphi, Olympia, and Epidaurus²; and when the Acropolis of Athens capitulated, he took forty pounds of gold, and six hundred of silver, from the Opisthodomus³.

The good fortune of Athens, during the Roman wars in Greece, was partly the effect of her early alliance with Rome, and arose in part from the veneration in which she was held as the mother of learning and the arts. This respect increased with the advancement of the Romans in Grecian civilization; and it was fostered by the opinion, which soon prevailed among the opulent at Rome, that their education was incomplete without the study of Greek literature, and a residence at Athens. In the advantages derived from these sentiments, all the surrounding provinces of Greece, full of places illustrious by their sanctity and ancient celebrity, would naturally in some degree participate.

statui non poterant. Sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Jovis Olympii, ex quo Sylla Capitolinis ædibus advexerat columnas. (Plin. H. N. 36, 6 (5). Such columns could hardly have been of so late a date as those of the temple undertaken by Antiochus Epiphanes; Sylla, therefore, seems to have carried off the old columns of the building begun by Peisistratus.

¹ Plutarch. Syll. 26. Strabo, p. 609.

² Appian. Mithridat. 54. Pausan. Bœot. 7, 4.

³ Appian. Mithr. 39. The gold of the statue of Minerva in the Parthenon had been carried off 210 years before, by Lachares; yet Pausanias describes the statue as still made of ivory and gold in his time.

The opportunities of collecting plunder of every kind, which occurred to the Romans in authority in the conquered countries, ceased in great measure with the establishment under Augustus, of a new system of government throughout the Roman world. From this time no extensive spoliation of Grecian works of art could be undertaken but by the emperors themselves; and such was still the influence of a common religion, that to remove sacred offerings from temples, could only be inflicted as a punishment upon an offending city, or undertaken by those emperors who were totally indifferent to public opinion.

Augustus removed some dedications from the temple of Minerva Alea, at Tegea, because Tegea had led the whole confederacy of Arcadia, except Mantinea, to take part against him in his war with Antony¹. Pausanias justifies this action by the right of conquest; but as he mentions several occasions upon which statues had been removed from Grecian temples by conquerors, beginning from the war of Troy, without alluding to another instance in which the Romans had exercised a similar privilege, he furnishes a strong argument that such examples were not very frequent.

The celebrated Cupid in bronze by Lysippus, which was removed from Thespiæ to Rome by Cali-

¹ Pausan. Arcad. 46, 2. The objects which Augustus removed from Tegea to Rome were more curious than beautiful; namely, an ivory statue of early date by Endœus, and the teeth of the Calydonian boar. The former was placed in the entrance of the forum of Augustus, and one of the tusks was seen by Pausanias in the temple of Bacchus in the gardens of Cæsar.

gula, was restored to its temple by Claudius¹; and we find that, even under the tyrant Nero, Bareas Soranus, his proconsul in Asia, sensible how deeply the injury would be felt by one of the most flourishing cities of his government, ventured to oppose Acratus in collecting works of art for the emperor, and prevented him from removing some sacred offerings from Pergamus².

The only Roman emperors who are recorded as having despoiled Greece of its productions of art are Caligula and Nero.

Caligula deprived Greece of some renowned works in painting and sculpture, and ordered some of the most celebrated statues to be brought to Rome, in order by changing the heads to convert them into statues of himself. But as these excesses were not begun until the middle of his short reign, and both the Greeks and Romans of that time lent themselves unwillingly to such sacrilege, his spoiliations were never carried into execution to the extent which he designed. The celebrated chryselephantine statue of Jupiter at Olympia by Phidias, for the removal of which he gave orders, still remained in its place 135 years afterwards³.

¹ Pausan. *Bœot.* 27, 3.

² Tacit. *Ann.* 16, 23.

³ Pausan. *Eliac.* pr. 11, 1. Chandler, in supposing (*Travels in Greece*, 15), that a Jupiter Olympius was removed at this time from Athens to Rome, seems to have mistaken the words of Suetonius, (*Calig.* 22.) which are as follows: "datoque negotio, ut simulacra numinum, religione et arte præclara, inter quæ Olympii Jovis, apportarentur è Græcia, quibus, capite dempto, suum imponeret." Here is no mention of Athens; it is clear, therefore, that Suetonius meant the same Jupiter which Dion Cassius (59, 28) and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 19, 1) expressly state in

It was by Nero that the cities of Greece and Asia were most cruelly plundered of their works of art. According to Dion Chrysostom, who wrote about fifty years afterwards, Nero spared no place except Rhodes; but notwithstanding this strong testimony, the words of which would even lead us to believe that Athens had suffered more than any other city upon this occasion¹, we learn from Pliny, that there still remained after Nero's spoliation, 3000 statues at Athens, and as many at Olympia and Delphi²; and it is remarkable that among the Greek statues at Rome, enumerated by the same author³, and the great part of which, as he tells us, were transported thither by Nero, few are stated to

reference to the same actions of Caligula, to have been that of Olympia, and concerning which, it is clear from all these authors, that the orders of Caligula were never executed. Memmius Regulus, whom he charged with the commission to remove it, excused his delay by stating, among other prodigies, that the god uttered a loud laugh when the attempt was made to move him. Sueton. Calig. 57.

¹ Νέρων τοιαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὥστε μὴδὲ τῶν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀποσχέσθαι, μὴδὲ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν, καίτοι πάντων μάλιστα τιμήσας ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά· ἔτι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθήνηθεν μετενεγκών. Dion Chrys. Orat. Rhod. p. 355 Morell. According to Pausanias, Delphi was the place that chiefly suffered, Nero having taken from thence no less than 500 brazen statues (Phocic. 7, 1), but from Olympia, where he left some garlands, as a dedication of his own, not above three or four statues (Eliac. prior, 25, 5. 26, 3); from Thespiae he removed once more the Cupid of Lysippus, which was finally destroyed at Rome by fire (Pausan. Bœot. 27, 3). The Cupid in marble by Praxiteles had been carried to Rome before the time of Strabo, and in that of Pliny was in the schools of Octavia. Strabo, p. 410. Plin. H. N. 36, 5 (4). Pausan. Bœot. 27, 3.

² H. N. 34, 7.

³ H. N. 34, 8.

have been brought from Greece Proper, and not one from Athens. We perceive from Pausanias that, long after the time of Nero, the Acropolis still preserved its most celebrated dedications. There is some reason to think, therefore, that the most eminent cities of Greece did not suffer greatly even in the reign of this emperor; that the name of Athens still commanded respect, sufficient to divert the collectors into places more distant and obscure; and that Secundus Carinas, the agent for Nero's collections in Greece, was less active or successful in that province than Acratus in Asia¹. It is not improbable that the religious veneration, and the general respect of the Romans for Athens, which had so long protected it, operated in some measure upon the superstitious mind of Nero himself; for we are told that, when so near as Corinth, he was afraid to visit Athens, because it was the abode of the Furies², whose vengeance he feared for the same crime for which they had tormented Orestes. The strong terms in which Dion Chrysostom alludes to the robberies of Acratus in Asia³, and the favours conferred upon Greece by Nero, which Plutarch and Pausanias are far from denying⁴, are further reasons for thinking that Asia

¹ *Per Asiam atque Achaïam, non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripiébantur, missis in eas provincias, Acrato et Secundo Carinate; ille libertus cuicunque flagitio promptus, hic Græcâ doctrinâ ore tenus exercitus, animum bonis artibus non induerat.* Tacit. Ann. 15, 45.

² Dion Cass. 63. 14.

³ "Ἰστε γάρ Ἀκρατον ἐκείνον, ὃς τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεῖδον ἅπασαν περιελθὼν τοῦτον χάριν καὶ μηδὲ κώμην παρὲς μηδεμίαν. Dion Chrysost. ubi sup.

⁴ Plutarch. Flamin. 12. Pausan. Achaic. 17, 2.

suffered more than Greece from that monster's passion for collecting statues.

But, however numerous the statues taken from Greece by Nero, by Caligula, or by some of the Romans, who enjoyed uncontrolled power in Greece in the time of the republic, may have been, we have still the undoubted testimony of Pausanias that far the greater part of the most perfect monuments of Grecian skill and genius remained untouched in the time of the Antonines, and that the sanctity of Delphi, Olympia, Epidaurus, Helicon, and of many other temples both in the cities and sacred groves, still afforded protection to numerous works of Onatas, Calamis, Alcamenes, Phidias, Myron, Polycleitus, Praxiteles, Lysippus, and other eminent artificers of ancient sculpture.

It was somewhat different with regard to paintings. Some of the works of Micon, Polygnotus, Apelles, Nicias, and other great masters, still remained in Greece in the time of Pausanias, but for the most part they were mural pictures on public buildings. The art of painting, which speaks more promptly and intelligibly to the vulgar sense than sculpture, has in every age and country excited more extensive admiration; for which reason and because tabular paintings are generally more moveable than statues, it became customary to collect paintings among the Romans, even in the time of the republic, as well as among some of the Greek princes of the same ages¹.

¹ Lucullus returning from the Mithradatic war, paid two talents at Athens for a *στεφανηφόρος*, or woman wearing a gar-

Not long after the age of the Antonines, a cause of destruction began to operate, which, although slow in its progress, has been more surely fatal to the fine works of the ancients than Roman spoliation, or the religious zeal of the early Christians, or the ignorant violence of the northern barbarians. The decline of taste, which began to be very evident in the productions of the age of Diocletian, went hand in hand with the decline of Paganism itself; and as the artist of antiquity was inspired by the proud consciousness that his work was to be an object of religious worship, and sometimes by the belief of divine assistance, so the decay of superstition was necessarily accompanied by the inability to produce works equal in merit to those of the ancients, as well as by a neglect of the ancient works themselves, and by their gradual destruction.

This cause had not been long in operation, when a more active motive of injury occurred in the hostility of the Christians towards idolatry. It happened, however, by a remarkable coincidence, that, at the same period when the conversion of the Roman emperors first enabled the Christians to raise their hands against those idols, which they had long denounced from the pulpit, a practice was revived at Constantinople, which tended to save a great number

land, by Pamphilus. Plin. H. N. 35, 11 (40). Attalus, at a sale of the spoils of Mummius, purchased a Bacchus by Aristides at more than twenty times that sum, which induced the Roman conqueror to take back the picture, and place it in the temple of Ceres at Rome. Plin. N. H. 35, 4 (8), who adds, *quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romæ publicatam*.

of ancient works from destruction, though it had the effect of removing them from their original situations. In attempting to make new Rome a rival of the old, it was an object with the founder of Constantinople, and many of his successors, to embellish the capital with statues, and other similar works of art.

Constantine collected numerous monuments from Asia, plundered some of the sacred places of Greece, and laid Athens itself under contribution for statues to adorn his new capital; but as he not only allowed a perfect toleration to the Pagans, but favoured their liberty of worship, and did not himself altogether renounce the Pagan deities, it is not to be supposed that he often removed any of the idols from the temples where their worship was still practised.

Constantius followed in general, with regard to the Pagans, the same line of policy¹, though if we may trust to Libanius, he, in some instances, caused the temples to be thrown down, and made presents of their estates to his favourites².

But, to whatever extent these excesses may have been carried, it seems evident that both from the collectors and the destroyers of the ancient works in the fourth century, the cities of Asia suffered much more than those of Europe. Indeed, the work of destruction appears to have been confined almost entirely to the eastern

¹ Gibbon iii. p. 404 et seq. 8vo.

² Monod. in Julian. I. p. 500, Reiske. *Orat. pro Templis*, II. p. 185.

provinces, where the Christians were more numerous, and where the national manners still partook of their original barbarism, in proportion to their distance from the centre of Grecian civilization. The cities of Asia, moreover, were more conveniently situated for the transportation of the objects to Constantinople, than those of European Greece: and it is remarkable, that, among the places enumerated by Codinus, as having contributed their works of art to the ornament of the new capital¹, all, except Athens, were in Asia.

But neither in Athens nor in any part of Greece, properly so called, is it probable that such spoliations were carried to a great extent during any part of the period in which the collecting of ancient works of art chiefly prevailed at Constantinople; nor does it appear that the occasional demonstrations of the emperors against Paganism were there attended with any destructive effect to the temples and sacred offerings. The Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games were still celebrated: the Roman colony of Corinth still indulged in the slaughtering of wild beasts in the theatre²: and the temples were in general open to the Pagan rites, until the reign of Theodosius³.

Athens enjoyed the particular favour of some of the early Byzantine emperors; and there is no record of her having experienced a different treatment from any of them. Constantine gloried in being appointed *σπαρτηγός* of Athens, and, in return

¹ Georg. Codin. de Origin. Constant. p. 29, Paris.

² Julian Epist. 35.

³ Zosim. 4, 29.

for the honour of a statue, which the Athenians conferred upon him, he presented the city with a yearly gratuity of corn ¹: Constans followed his example by bestowing several islands upon the city ².

Julian was anxious to show his partiality to Athens, as well from religious motives, as from the affection which he entertained for it as his place of education. His brief reign was soon followed by the struggles of the empire against the Goths, in the course of which Athens, though repeatedly assailed by them, suffered scarcely any injury in its buildings and works of art, chiefly in consequence of its having been a fortified town, the barbarians possessing little skill in the reduction of such places. In the first invasion of the Goths in the reigns of Philip and Decius, Philippopolis, which they captured, was the extent of their progress towards Greece ³. Three years afterwards, in the reign of Valerian, the Greeks, alarmed at their approach, fortified the isthmus and occupied Thermopylæ, while the Athenians repaired the defences, which, secure in the protection of Rome, they had neglected from the time of the dilapidation of the walls by Sylla. But Thessalonica was alone sufficient to check the progress of the invaders, and to prevent their nearer approach to Athens ⁴. It was not until fourteen years

¹ Julian Orat. 1. p. 8, Spanh. The principal duty of the *σπαργηγός* at that period, was to superintend the provisioning of the city, which accounts for the title having been conferred upon Constantine.

² Eunap. de Philos. in Proæres. p. 123, Genev.

³ A. D. 250. Ammian. 31, 16. Aur. Victor Epit. 29. Zosim. 1, 24. Zonar. 12, 21. Jornand. 16—18.

⁴ Zosim. 1, 29. Zonar. 12, 23.

later, in the reign of Gallienus, that southern Greece was first afflicted with the actual presence of the barbarians. This was the third of their naval expeditions, and the first which advanced beyond the Hellespont. Crossing the Ægæan, they anchored in the Peiræus, disembarked their forces, and marched to the Asty. While employed in besieging, or, according to some authorities, in plundering the city, Dexippus an Athenian¹, in company with Cleodamus an engineer, who had been sent by the emperor to provide for the security of the maritime cities, made his way to the harbour with a body of troops, and attacking the hostile armament, obliged the Goths to abandon the city, and to re-embark, after which they proceeded to Epirus². Two years

¹ Apparently the same Dexippus, an Athenian rhetorician and historian (ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός) who lived in the reigns of Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius II. and Aurelian (Suid. in Δέξιππος), and of whose historical works we find a valuable fragment relating to the Macedonian kings, in Syncellus (p. 264, Paris): another of his works was a history of legations, ending with Claudius II. and which was continued by Eunapius. (Script. Legat. in Hist. Byzant. I.)

² Trebell. Poll. in Gallien. 5. Aur. Victor de Cæsar. 33. Zosim. 1, 39. Zonar. 12, 26. Syncell. Chronog. p. 382, Paris. Zosimus uses only the words τῶν Σκυθῶν Ἀθίνας ἐκπολιορκησάντων. Zonaras describes the barbarians as having collected all the books of the Athenians with the intention of burning them; when one of the Gothic chiefs advised that they should be spared, because those who were addicted to books would never be formidable in arms. Syncellus evidently exaggerates in asserting that the Goths took Byzantium, and burnt not only Athens, but Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. He admits, that they were surprised and beaten by the Athenians, and adds that 3000 were afterwards slain by Gallienus, at the river Nessus, in Thrace, which is confirmed by Zosimus.

after this invasion, the Goths again issued from the Hellespont with a much larger armament than the former. Having entered the Thermaic gulf, they made a vain attempt upon Cassandria, and once more found the walls of Thessalonica impregnable. They then pursued a desolating march through Macedonia, Pelagonia, and Pæonia, into Mœsia, where they were defeated by the emperor Claudius, who thus acquired the Eponymon of Gothicus. The wrecks of their retreating horde overran Thessaly, but made no attempt on Thermopylæ, the great barrier of southern Greece, the garrison of which on the preceding occasion had been under the command of Claudius himself¹. Soon after the defeat and death of Valens at Hadrianople², the Goths overran Thessaly and Epirus; but by the prudent counsels of Theodorus, prefect of Achaia, Athens, and the southern provinces, were saved on this occasion from their rapacity³; and it was not until sixteen years afterwards, that Alaric, assisted by a treacherous proconsul, who caused Thermopylæ to be opened to him, ravaged Phocis and Bœotia, and without attempting Thebes, which was then well fortified, hastened forward to Athens, one great object of his invasion. As he had recently become a Christian, and was followed by a troop of monks, the

¹ Zosim. 1, 43. Trebell. Poll. in Claud. 5—16. Eutrop. 9, 11. Aur. Victor de Cæsar. 34.

² A. D. 378.

³ The Athenians dedicated a statue of Theodorus, in marble, on this occasion, and requested permission of the emperor Theodosius to erect one in brass. See Chandler Ins. Ant. p. 58. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 373.

idols and sacred buildings of Athens were in some danger : but Alaric, little provided with the skill or materials requisite for a siege, was not more inclined to encounter its delays here than he had been at Thebes. Having entered the city as a friend, and accepted the hospitality and presents of the magistrates, he departed peaceably out of Attica, and proceeded to the Peloponnesus, where he took Corinth and Argos by force, and received the submission of Sparta¹. Zosimus, as a determined adherent of the old religion, attributes the escape of Athens from injury to the protecting divinities as well on this occasion, as on that of an earthquake which had ravaged Greece in the reign of Valens. He asserts that Alaric was deterred from attacking the walls of Athens by the apparition of Achilles and Minerva Promachus, prepared to defend them.

Some words of the poet Claudian, and a rhetorical flourish of Synesius², have been thought to prove that Zosimus has not been correct in representing the moderation of Alaric ; but the historian adds a fact which shows that Athens sustained no great

¹ A. D. 396. Eunap. de Philos. in Maxim. p. 75. Zosim. 5, 5—6. Claudian in Rufin. 2. v. 186.

² The decline of Athens was a fine subject for the rhetorical taste of Synesius, who seems also, as bishop of a town in the Cyrenaica, to have taken some pride in giving a preference to Alexandria over Athens, as the seat of learning in those days. He has certainly represented Athens as being in a more decayed condition than it could possibly have been in his time. It appears from Synesius, that the Pœcile had preserved its pictures until they were carried away by a proconsul. Synes. ep. ap. Ep. Græc. Mut. p. 192, 246.

injury on this occasion. When he wrote his history, many years after the departure of Alaric from Greece, the Minerva Promachus of Phidias, a colossus higher than the Parthenon, was still standing, together with other brazen statues in the Acropolis¹. We may be assured, that, if Alaric had plundered the citadel, the avarice of the conquerors would not have overlooked the metallic value of these monuments; nor would the enemies of idolatry have left in its place so conspicuous an object of their abhorrence as the Minerva Promachus. If the Christian faith of Alaric had not armed him against such feelings, the sight of this great statue may by its effect upon his imagination have been one cause of his irresolution.

The next attack of the barbarians upon Greece was from an opposite quarter. In the middle of the fifth century, the Vandals of Genseric from Africa, visited this among other countries on the shores of the Mediterranean; and although the writers from whom the fact is known, have not particularly alluded to Attica on this occasion, there would be great difficulty in believing that it was saved from the tempest. Athens, however, was still fortified, as it

¹ τὴν Πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν ὡς ἐστὶν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν. Zosim. 5, 6.

Zosimus, although a Pagan, held the rank of comes, and an office in the treasury (ἀποφισκοσυνηγός, Phot. Myriobib. cod. 98.) at Constantinople. His history terminates in the year 410, in the reign of Theodosius II., but is supposed not to have been completed until after the fall of the western empire in 475. See the disquisitio in Zosimum annexed to Reitimeier's edition, 8vo, Leipzig, 1784.

continued to be a century later, when Justinian caused its walls to be repaired¹. The city, therefore, probably escaped without injury; for it was the practice of these pirates to make rapid incursions, carrying horses with them for this purpose, seldom engaging with regular troops, and still less waiting to attack fortified places².

Notwithstanding a succession of edicts against the Pagans during the reigns of Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius the younger, the old religion still subsisted in Greece, supported in great measure by the ancient fame of Athens, and the favour with which the emperors still treated it, granting protection to its schools of philosophy and letters, and by a necessary consequence tolerating in some degree the ancient superstition. At Athens, therefore, and in all the south-eastern part of Greece, of which Athens was the chief city, as it has continued to be to the present day, it is probable that the imperial edicts against sacrifices were, if not openly, secretly at least, transgressed in the temples.

If from some of those decrees, confirmed by contemporary authors, we perceive that the Christians were excited by them to a cruel persecution of Paganism, and to an extensive destruction of the emblems of the ancient worship, others tend to show that such excesses were never intended by the government, and that they were checked as soon as

¹ Procop. de *Ædific.* 4, 2—23.

² Procop. de B. Vandal. 1, 5, 22. Priscus ap. Excerpt. Legat. Hist. Byz. I. p. 42, Paris. Sîdon. Apollinar. Carm. 1, v. 348—5, v. 420—7, v. 441. Victor Vitens. de Persec. Vandal. 1, 17.

known. After having forbidden idolatry, and the opening of temples to pagan sacrifices, the next object of the emperors seems to have been that of preserving the temples from destruction, in order to convert them to useful purposes¹, and, in considering as merely ornamental the toreutic and glyptic works with which the Greek and Roman cities were still crowded, to save them as valuable objects from the hands of bigotry or wanton violence. It appears that Theodosius adorned his capital with many of the finest and most curious ancient statues, after having removed them from their temples; and that among them were the Venus of Cnidus, the Mynidian Cupid, the Minerva of Lindus, and the celebrated statue of ivory and gold by Phidias, from Olympia, together with another Jupiter, a recumbent figure².

¹ In the year 399 Arcadius and Honorius commanded the temples to be destroyed for the repair of bridges, highways, aqueducts, and city walls: but we may be assured that this edict was not executed, except in the instance of ruined buildings; for the temples soon became, as churches, objects of the greatest care.

² Compare Cedrenus (p. 254, Paris) with Codinus and an anonymous writer annexed to Codinus in the Byzantine History, vol. 21. See also some other anonymous remarks on the buildings of Constantinople in Banduri, (*Imp. Orient. I.*) Codinus wrote after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and copied much from the anonymous author, who wrote probably about the twelfth or thirteenth century (see Lambecii *Animadv. in Codin.*): but both of them had had access to much earlier writings now lost. The author to whom they were most indebted was Hesychius of Miletus, who lived in the time of Justinian. The statue of Minerva Lindia stood, together with the Jupiter of Dodona, before the senate-house. Zosim. 5, 24. Codin. p. 8. These two alone escaped destruction, when many other fine Grecian works were destroyed by fire in that building, in the year 404.

Among the works enumerated by Cedrenus, or among those named by Nicetas, in describing the statues which were coined into money by the Franks after the capture of Constantinople in 1204¹, no mention occurs of any of the celebrated works of Greece, with the exception of the Olympian Jove already mentioned, the Muses from Mount Helicon, and the Apollo of Delphi².

Some of the Byzantine writers assert indeed that Athens in particular had contributed many of the statues with which Constantine adorned his new city; but, among the few which are specified, we cannot recognise with certainty any of the celebrated productions which Pausanias and other writers have described³.

¹ Nicet. Choniat. ap. Banduri Imp. Orient. I. p. 93.

² Zosim. 2, 31. Euseb. de vitâ Const. 3, 54. Sozom. 2, 5. Socrat. 1, 16. It appears from these authors that some tripods were brought from Delphi and placed in the Hippodrome, where remains of the monuments which ranged along its axis are still seen. One of these corresponds exactly to the triple serpent of brass, which served as a pedestal to the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi from the Persian spoils of Plataea (Herodot. 9, 81). This tripod had been removed by the Phocians, B. C. 358, leaving the stand, as Pausanias found it five centuries later (Phocic. 3, 5). Possibly a brazen tripod may have afterwards been added for the sake of the stand and its history. P. Gyllius (de Topog. Const. 4, 8) refers to Sozomen as *proving* the monument of the Atmeidân or Hippodrome to be the identical tripod in question: but this writer describes not a tripod, but a statue of Pan, as having been the monument of the Persian war, removed by Constantine. The Muses, which are alluded to by Themistius in an oration to Theodosius (Orat. 19) were destroyed in the conflagration mentioned in a preceding note.

³ Cedrenus describes a colossal Apollo converted into a Constantine, which stood on the summit of the column of porphyry now

The state of the arts in the age of Constantine and his successors, may have operated to save some of the finest productions of the ancient masters from being removed from Greece ; for the declining taste of that period was hardly competent to distinguish all the merits of the ancient works, or sufficiently keen to prompt the Byzantine collectors to transport them from the places difficult of access, in which many of them were situated.

It appears, moreover, that by far the greater part of the statues at Constantinople represented Roman or Byzantine princes, or eminent men and women of the court, or saints, to whose images some miraculous properties were attributed. Some of these were undoubtedly ancient statues, converted by a change of head, or merely of name ; but many we may suppose to have been productions of the times when the persons lived. There is evidence also, that a very large proportion of the statues collected at Constantinople, had been brought from Rome¹. In Greece Proper

called "the Burnt Pillar," and adds that it had been brought from Athens ; but, according to Zonaras and George of Alexandria, it was from Phrygia, which is the more probable, as Pausanias has not noticed any such colossus at Athens.

Codinus mentions, as having been brought from Athens, some statues at the monument of the emperor Maurice, and a monolithe, probably colossal, in the Hippodrome, a fragment of which was in the Strategium,—also two figures of elephants at the Golden Gate, which belonged (he says) to the temple of Mars at Athens. The Anonymous author annexed to Codinus notices a work of sculpture from Athens which he names *ἡ ἐπιδία τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* : this may possibly have been the group of Neptune and Minerva which stood near the temple of Jupiter Polieus in the Acropolis. Pausan. Attic. 24, 3.

¹ Codin. p. 29, 51.

therefore, it is probable that a great number of works of art still remained when the government of Constantinople, declining in its taste for such objects, had ceased to have any desire for collecting them.

Numerous noble productions in brass were unquestionably melted for the sake of the metal, as well by Christian enemies of images as by unconverted gentiles: and hence the extreme scarcity of ancient metallic figures of large dimensions, which were the finest among the glyptic works of the Greeks, and formed one of the most numerous classes. Of those in marble, which offered no such value, many were broken by Christian zealots. Some works of sculpture, both in brass and marble, were concealed by the persecuted Pagans in the hope of times which never arrived¹, and many others we may readily believe to be still buried beneath the numberless ruins of ancient cities which still encumber the soil of Greece.

Neither among the edicts which forbade idolatry, nor among those which were issued to repress the excesses of the Christians, do we find any one directed to the prefecture of Illyria, of which Greece formed a part², until the year 426, when the emperor Theodosius the younger, who three years before, in confirming his edict against the Pagans of the eastern prefecture, had added the words, "*quanquam jam*

¹ Two of the finest extant bronzes had been concealed in this manner; namely, the great statue of Victory at Brescia, and the small Mercury of the Payne-Knight Collection in the British Museum.

² Zosim. 2, 33.

nullos esse credamus," now issued a denunciation against the Pagans of Illyria, having discovered, as the edict stated, that idolatry still existed there; and ordering, in consequence, the destruction of all the temples. But these commands were not very strictly enforced: and the temples, instead of being destroyed, were for the most part closed only for a time, and then re-opened as Christian churches. At Athens, the favourite seat of the Pagan deities, the progress of Christianity had been slow, although it had gained a footing here at an early time. Dionysius, a member of the Council of the Areopagus, who was converted by St. Paul¹, is supposed to have been the first bishop of Athens. Publius, one of his successors, suffered martyrdom in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Under the Antonines Paganism was almost as flourishing at Athens as it ever had been: we are not surprised, therefore, to find that its church at this time is reported to have been in the most abject state. The Athenian congregation seems indeed at one time to have been entirely dispersed, as it was said to have been again collected (*ἐπισυνάχθη*) about the year 165 by Quadratus, to whom a letter was addressed on the occasion by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth and metropolitan of Achaia, to whom the credit was given of having converted many Athenians to Christianity².

Of the progress of the Athenian church during the two following centuries we have little means of judg-

¹ Act. Apost. 17, 34.

² Dionys. Episc. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 3, 4, 4, 23. cum notis Vales. Nicephor. Cal. 21, 3.

ing, but as the schools of philosophy were still maintained in some parts of Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria, and as that of Athens was still pre-eminent among them, that progress was slower than in any other city of the Eastern empire. The Athenian Christians derived security from their peaceable demeanour, sometimes favourably contrasted with the turbulence of the Pagan population¹, and in great measure we may believe from the spirit of tolerance inherent in the ancient religion of Athens, which gave a hospitable reception to the deities of all nations, even to those whose names were unknown². Hence the Christians of Athens were exempt from those persecutions under which the church has been generally found to flourish; and had therefore no provocation to acts of violence, when the Christian faith at length obtained the ascendancy. Thus their priests took quiet possession of the magnificent temples of the Athenian mythology; and every thing insured, as well to the ancient religion as to the philosophy of Athens, a tranquil and gradual downfall. Nor does there appear to have been in any part of Greece that violent hostility against the emblems of Paganism, which distinguished the Christians of some parts of Asia.

It was not probably until the beginning, or even until towards the middle of the sixth century, that the Athenian temples were converted into churches, as the schools of Athens were not finally closed until towards the end of that century by an edict of

¹ Origen cont. Cels. 3, p. 128, Spencer.

² Act. Apost. 17, 23.

Justinian¹. The Parthenon then became a church consecrated to the same *Ἁγία Σοφία*, or divine intelligence, of which the virgin goddess had been a personification², while Theseus was exchanged for the Christian hero, George of Cappadocia. In these, and numberless other instances, we have proofs of the spirit of conciliation and compromise which accompanied the change of religion in Greece.

¹ The most correct idea of the state of philosophy in those ages is to be derived from the life of Proclus by Marinus, written towards the end of the fifth century, and that of Isidorus by Damascius, of which Photius has preserved some extracts (*Myriobib. cod. 242, p. 1027*). Plutarch of Athens, Syrianus, Proclus, Marinus, Isidorus, and Damascius, were successively at the head of the Platonic school of Athens. For the edict of suppression in the year 529 see J. Malala, and an anonymous Chronicle of Aleman, p. 106.

When Justinian was building the church of Saint Sophia, he consulted two Athenian philosophers, who (adds Codinus) were also astronomers—that is to say, dealers in astrology and magic, part of the Platonic philosophy of that time—to know whether the walls and pavement should be inlaid with gold. Their reply contained a remnant of Attic salt. They predicted, that, if the emperor adorned the church in the manner proposed, some poor kings would come and overturn it; but that if he built it of plain marble, it would last for ever. Codin. p. 70. These philosophers may have been two of seven, who went to Persia on the suppression of the schools, and returned shortly in disgust, but protected by an agreement between Chosroes and Justinian. Agath. 2. p. 69 et seq. Paris.

² When the Parthenon was converted from a church into a mosque, it appears to have been dedicated to the Panaghia. As the Greeks relapsed into idolatry, the “Divine Wisdom,” or “Word of God” (*Ἁγία Σοφία, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Codin. p. 68.) was exchanged for the more substantial worship of the *Θεοτόκος*.

The reign of Justinian contributed to the destruction of some of the buildings of antiquity, and to the preservation of others. While such as were easily susceptible of repair were converted into churches, many of those which were in a state of dilapidation were entirely demolished for the sake of the materials used in new constructions by Justinian in every part of the empire, and of which many remains still attest the degraded taste and imperfect execution. We are told by one of the Byzantine writers, who has described the foundation of St. Sophia, that, among the materials brought from different ancient cities upon this occasion, were some columns from Athens¹. These could not have been any of the numerous columns of the Olympium, for the loss of all traces of which it is now so difficult to account, because there are no columns of their magnitude in the mosque of St. Sophia; but it seems not improbable that some of the columns of coloured marble, which support the galleries of this building, may have belonged to the porticos of Libyan and Phrygian marble erected at Athens by Hadrian².

To Justinian Greece was indebted for a new branch of cultivation, which, spreading by slow degrees, at length assisted materially in supporting industry and commerce in that country, during the ages of their greatest depression. The art of rearing the silk-worm, and of weaving its produce into cloth, such as had hitherto been brought into the Roman empire at a great expense from the east, flourished in Greece for several centuries before it was introduced into

¹ Codin. de Orig. Const. (p. 65) following his anonymous predecessor, or a common prototype of both.

² Pausan. Attic. 18, 9.

Italy. When Roger, king of Sicily, invaded Greece in the middle of the twelfth century, and captured Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, he carried back with him from those cities some Greek artisans, who taught the manufacture of silk to the Sicilians, from whom it spread quickly over Italy¹. The manufacture of silken stuffs has since that time been transferred from Greece to countries where industry is more encouraged; but the culture of the raw commodity still subsists, although at present almost entirely neglected in the three cities from whence Sicily first derived its silk.

After the suppression of the schools of Athens, and the dispersion of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition, Greek literature was confined to Constantinople and Thessalonica, or took refuge in the monasteries. Here it was preserved from being entirely extinguished during the four dark centuries which followed the reign of Heraclius, at whose death the eastern empire became reduced to those narrow boundaries which were never afterwards enlarged. As, during this period, there was scarcely any contemporary historian to record the fortunes of the imperial capital, we cannot be surprised that not a trace should be found of the fate of Athens, now dwindled to a provincial town, and deprived of every remnant of science.

It has often been supposed that the fury of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, which for near 120 years² divided the empire into two conflicting parties, alike regardless of the encroachments of the Musulmans on one hand, or of the Slavonians on the other,

¹ See Gibbon, c. 53, 56.

² From about A.D. 725 to 842.

was an active cause of the destruction of the statuary works of the ancients.

But there is no foundation for believing that, in the provinces, the Iconoclasts exercised any active or efficient hostility against the ancient statues. The emissaries of Leo the Isaurian, and of his son Constantine, were generally resisted with success¹; and although Leo himself destroyed some of the ancient works collected at Constantinople, where the quarrel chiefly raged, he left a far greater number uninjured². The Iconoclast dispute, moreover, was entirely a Christian quarrel. The fury of the breakers of images was directed, not against the Pagan superstition, which was no longer an object of jealousy to the church, but against the images of Christ and the saints; and it was directed, not against statues, but against pictures³.

¹ Gibbon, c. 49.

² Codinus (p. 34) remarks that a great number of those, which Justinian dispersed when he built the new St. Sophia, were still to be seen in various parts of the city. Doubtless the Turks found and destroyed many of them.

³ In the acts of the synod of Constantinople (A.D. 754), which forbade the use of images, there is no mention of any thing but pictures and colours. The words used throughout are *γραφαι*, *κηρός*, *σανίδες*, *ξύλα*, *πίνακες*, and the synod styles itself *ἐπισκόπων ὁμήγουρις* *συζήτησιν ποιησαμένη περὶ τῆς τῶν ὁμοιωμάτων χρωματουργίας*. Hist. Concil. vol. 7, p. 415.

The word *εἰκὼν*, which among the Pagan Greeks was used for a portrait or resemblance, either in painting or sculpture, became gradually applied in ecclesiastical language to that kind of resemblance only, which was employed as an object of adoration in the churches. With this sense the word has been handed down to the present day, being now exclusively applied to the pictures

But although there is no reason to think that the Iconoclasts sought out the productions of ancient sculpture for the purpose of destroying them, it was about the age of the Iconoclast dispute that those works finally disappeared from every part of the ancient world, with the sole exception of the Byzantine capital, where a few monuments of ancient sculpture were still preserved through the dark ages¹, together with those relics of ancient literature which have contributed so much to polish and instruct modern Europe.

In Greece, in proportion as the Scythian tribes settled in every part of the country, such monuments ceased even to be considered as ornamental. A few may have been found by those barbarous settlers, and broken or melted by them; many others had probably been buried in the ruins of the numerous public edifices of all kinds, which fell into disuse, neglect, and destruction, in consequence of the impoverished and depopulated state of the country, as well as of the new systems of religion and civil government.

The state of Greece during the 250 years, which elapsed between the beginning of the thirteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Franks were in possession of the best parts of southern Greece, was not favourable to the preservation of any monuments of antiquity, which Athens may have preserved at the beginning of

of saints, which the Greeks hang in their churches, houses, ships, &c.

¹ Nicet. ap. Banduri, I. part 3. p. 107 & seq.

that period. In the melancholy account which Nicetas has left of the melting of the ancient bronzes by the Franks, when they took Constantinople in 1204, we see how totally regardless the ancestors of some of the most civilized nations of Europe were of the works of the ancient Greeks, and how incapable they were of feeling any portion of that respect for them, which, together with the ancient language, was still cherished among the Greeks themselves.

The account which the same author and others have given of the state of Greece at this time¹, shows how naturally the country divides itself into small states, ready to contend with each other for boundaries, and such objects of jealousy as usually occur among neighbours.

According to the treaty of partition made by the Crusaders after the capture of Constantinople, Greece was to be divided between Bonifâce, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Venetians. To the latter was allotted the Moréa, with the islands; to the former all the country north of the Isthmus, with Thessalonica for his capital. But the Franks were unable to realise the possession of all their conquests, several districts remaining in the power of independent tribes, or of Greek princes of the imperial families, or of adventurers who had acquired, and were still able to maintain, their independence by force of arms. Thus Epirus and Ætolia were in the power of John Ducas; the Vlakhites retained Mount

¹ Acropolita, Pachymeres, Chalcocondylas, &c.

Pindus; and the Greeks of 'Agrafa, Aspropótamo, and Karpenísi, the recesses of the ancient Dolopia and Ætolia. In the Moréa, Messenia was held by the family of Melissenós, who were descendants of a sister of the emperor Alexius Comnenus the first; Laconia was in the hands of Leon Khamáretos, and Corinthia and Argolis in those of Leon Sgurós. The Venetians took possession of Crete and of several other islands, but were not able to make good their claims to any part of the Moréa, where two French adventurers, of the families of Champlite and Villehardouin, having obtained authority in all those parts of the Peninsula which were not occupied by the Greeks, established the Frank principality of Achaia. Leon Sgurós, who was married to a daughter of the dethroned Greek emperor Alexius, attempted to oppose the advance of the Marquis of Montferrat, at the celebrated passes of Tempe and Thermopylæ, but he was not more successful than the Greeks of old had been against the Persians or the Gauls.

His previous conduct, moreover, had been such as to facilitate the success of the Franks; for, desirous of turning the confusion of the empire to his own aggrandisement, he had attacked Athens, and, failing in an attempt upon the citadel¹, had injured the

¹ Nicet. in Bald. 2. This circumstance may serve to show that Athens was already reduced nearly to its actual dimensions, the citadel having been no longer surrounded as anciently on every side by the town, but confined, as at present, to the northern side. It seems also that the town was but slightly provided with means of defence; in which respect its condition was nearly the same as in 1770, when the Albanians invaded Attica, and when Athens had no other protection than

towns, burnt the farms, and carried away the cattle of the Athenians. He had also taken and ill-treated Thebes, so that no sooner had the Franks made good their passage over Mount Œta, than they found the Bœotians ready to receive them as masters.

Michael Choniates, bishop of Athens and brother of the historian Nicetas, had defended the city against Sgurós, but now found himself under the necessity of yielding to the Marquis. He was replaced by a Latin bishop sent from Rome, and the duchy of Athens was conferred by the Marquis of Montferrat, as king of Thessalonica, upon the most illustrious of his followers, a Burgundian, named Otho de la Roche.

After these conquests, Boniface received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Eubœa, who even constructed a bridge over the Euripus for the passage of his army; but he was not equally successful in the Moréa, where he laid an ineffectual siege to the Acrocorinthus and Nauplia¹.

For a particular account of the revolutions of Greece, during the two centuries which followed the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the reader is referred to the history of Constantinople under the French emperors, by the diligent and accurate Du Cange. The fate of Athens itself during the same period, may be comprised in a few lines.

The recovery of Constantinople by Michael Palæologus, in 1261, was preceded and followed by the expulsion of the Franks from many parts of Greece.

such as was afforded by the junction of the outer houses, with a few gates and loop-holes.

¹ Nicet. in Balduin. 3.

Macedonia and Thessaly were again united to the imperial city, and the Greeks recovered several places in the Moréa; but their possession of the latter was no more than temporary, and in general the provinces of southern Greece continued to be divided between the Greeks and Franks nearly in the same proportions, which had occurred after the Latin conquest of Constantinople. All the southern parts of the Moréa remained in the hands of Greek princes, as well as the Despotate of the West, of which Ioánnina was the capital, until it was conquered by the Serbians in the middle of the fourteenth century. The rest of Greece, including the islands, was occupied by Frank chieftains, the fluctuation of whose politics depended upon the influence of the popes and of the kings of Naples, and still more upon the two great naval powers, the Venetians and Genoese. It was the fate of Athens never to revert to the Greeks, but to be a Frank principality, from the year 1204, until, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it was absorbed into the Turkish empire. Hence arose the use of many Italian words in the vernacular Attic speech, which are not found in any other parts of Greece, except in the islands, which have been under Frank dominion for an equal space of time.

The family of La Roche enjoyed the dukedom of Athens, which included Attica, Bœotia, and parts of Phocis and Eubœa, during the greater part of the thirteenth century, when it fell to Hugh de Brienne, who married the heiress of La Roche. His son Walter, by means of his Frank mercenaries, who were chiefly Catalans, enlarged the boun-

daries of the duchy, and took Corinth, Argos, and some other fortresses, from the Greek princes of the Moréa.

The success of Walter, however, led to his ruin; for, having been unable to satisfy all his greedy adventurers of Catalonia, a contest ensued, in which he lost his duchy and his life in a battle on the banks of the lake Copais in Bœotia¹. The victorious party of the Catalans then raised Roger Deslau, a native of Roussillon, one of their prisoners, to the dukedom of Athens, and under him made some conquests from the Despot of the West, particularly Neópatra, (the ancient Hypata,) at the northern foot of Mount Œta, which continued to be the chief bulwark of the duchy to the northward, until this city, together with all Thessaly, and the vale of the Spercheius, fell into the hands of the Turks. The Catalans were prevented from making any further advances in this direction by the Albanians.

On the death of Roger Deslau, the fortresses in the Moréa falling off from the rest of the alliance, and the Catalans being again at a loss for a leader of sufficient talents and influence to preserve order and union among the different chieftains, each of whom was in possession of his castle and small district, they came to the determination of placing the duchy under the protection of the house of Arragon². Hence, for the next sixty years Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and the valley of the Spercheius, were generally an appanage of the younger branches of the

¹ A. D. 1312. Niceph. Greg. 7, 3.

² A. D. 1326.

royal family of Sicily. It was called the duchy of Athens and Neópatra, and was governed by deputies who resided at Athens, and administered the affairs in the name of the Sicilian prince. At the end of this period it fell into the hands of the Florentine family of Acciajuoli.

The first of these was Nerio, or Renerio, nephew of Nicholas, grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. In the year 1364, Nerio obtained from the titular empress, Mary of Bourbon, the principality of Vostítza (the ancient Ægium) in Achaia, and some years afterwards, under the real or pretended authority of the court of Naples, seized upon Corinth and Argos¹. When the troops of the Holy League, formed between France, Naples, Venice, and Genoa, and cemented by pope Boniface the ninth, passed over into Greece, with the pretence of settling the quarrels of the Greek empire, and of preventing the further encroachments of the Turks, Nerio was opposed to the Catalans, Navarese, and other adventurers, who obtained possession of several parts of the duchy of Athens. To the advantage of personal qualities he joined an influence derived from matrimonial alliances, for he had espoused a Genoese lady of Eubœa, had given one of his daughters in marriage to Charles Tocco, duke of Ioánnina, and the other to Theodore Palæologus, Despot of the Moréa, and brother of the Greek emperor.

Having reduced the whole duchy, Nerio received, in 1394, the patent of duke of Athens from Ladislaus, king of Naples and Hungary; dying not long

¹ A. D. 1371.

afterwards, he bequeathed Athens to the Venetians, Thebes to his illegitimate son Antonio, and Corinth to his son-in-law the despot of the Moréa. But Antonio seized upon Athens before the Venetians could assert their rights; and, having had the prudence to maintain good terms with both Greeks and Turks, he enjoyed a long and peaceful reign. As he is said to have adorned Athens with several buildings, it is not improbable that the high tower which was erected on the southern wing of the Propylæa, is the work of this prince ¹.

Upon the death of Antonio, his widow endeavoured to obtain the succession for herself; and the Turks having now established themselves in Thrace, from whence they were extending their incursions into Greece, she sent Laonicus Chalcocondyles, father of the historian, with rich presents to Adrianople, to procure the sanction of the Sultán, Murát the second, to her claims. But Nerio and Antonio, two relatives of Antonio the first, who had lived in his court, seized, in the mean time, upon the citadel, which gave the Sultán a pretext for sending his Turks to plunder Bœotia.

Nerio soon found himself obliged to give way to the superior talents and activity of his brother Antonio, and retired to Florence. But Antonio did not long enjoy his acquisition. Upon his death, in 1435, his widow, who was a Greek, and heiress of

¹ It was probably one of a system of watch-towers, which are traced through Attica, Bœotia, and Phocis, and along the coasts of Greece. The practice seems to have been common in those ages to all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

the family of Melissenós of Messenia, endeavoured to transfer all his possessions, including Athens and Thebes, to one of the Palæologi, Despot of the Moréa; but, before she could put the design in execution, Turakhán seized upon Thebes for Sultán Murát; and Nerio Acciajuoli the second, returning from Florence to Athens, resumed the duchy as tributary to the Sultán.

During his reign, in the year 1445, the Sultán marched to the Isthmus of Corinth, took the intrenchments of Hexamíli, and received submission and tribute from the princes of the Moréa; but this state of affairs lasted no longer than the Turkish army remained in that part of the country; and the Greek despots were not finally reduced until Mehmét the second marched into the Moréa, five years after the conquest of Constantinople.

On the death of Nerio the second, his widow administered the government of Athens for some time in the name of her young son: but, having married a nobleman of Venice, of which republic the Turks were already extremely jealous, the Sultán sent Francesco, son of Antonio Acciajuoli the second, to Athens as governor. This young man, who, according to the usual Turkish mode, had been brought up among the attendants of the Sultán, as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, had not long been in possession of Athens, before he gave evidences of his Turkish education, by putting to death the widow of his uncle Nerio, though neither she nor her Venetian husband made any opposition to his assumption of the government.

This event furnished an opportune pretext to the ambitious Mehmét the second, who had now succeeded to the scymetar of Alí Osmán, to order his general, Omár, son of Turakhán, to seize upon Athens. Francesco having retired into the citadel, made a capitulation, by which he retained the government of Thebes; and Omár, in the month of June 1456, took possession of Athens, which, three years afterwards, was visited by Mehmét himself, on his return from the conquest of the Moréa.

The humiliation of Athens was now complete. Obligated at last to bend her neck to the yoke of the eastern barbarians, who for more than nineteen centuries had been kept at a distance by the effects of Grecian superiority in all that makes a nation powerful, Athens considered herself fortunate during the greater part of four centuries in receiving the orders and protection of the oriental Despot, through the mediation of a black eunuch slave, the guardian of the tyrant's women. This envied privilege originated with the conqueror himself, who, having expressed the highest admiration at the beauty of the situation, the magnificence of the ancient buildings, the strength of the citadel, and the convenience of the harbours, thought the whole district not unworthy of becoming an appanage of his own household. He punished some of the Athenians for a conspiracy, either real or pretended, to restore Francesco; and soon after his return to Constantinople, he ordered Francesco himself to be put to death¹. The Parthenon was converted from a Christian church into a

¹ Chalcocond. 4. p. 113, 6. p. 169, 9. p. 241, Paris. Phranza 2, 10—21. Ducange, Hist. de Constant. 8, 44.

mosque ; a minaret was erected at its south-western angle, and some alterations were made in the defences of the western entrance of the Acropolis, rendered necessary by the recent invention of artillery¹.

At the end of that great revolution, which, having begun in the abandonment of ancient civilization to the northern barbarians, had ended in the conversion of all those barbarous nations to Christianity, and in the consequent commencement of a new and better civilization, Greece had begun to feel the effects of this great change in a partial revival of letters, when its progress was at once arrested by the Turkish conquest, which reduced Greece to the level of the

¹ An apartment was raised upon the northern wing of the Propylæa, and the Propylæum or great vestibule itself was formed into a magazine of powder and military stores, by closing four of the doors at the eastern end, and by walling up the Doric columns of the western front. This magazine having exploded, all the upper part of the eastern side of the Propylæa was thrown down by the explosion ; but the western part of the building seems to have suffered little damage ; for, in 1676, when Spon and Wheeler visited Athens, the pediment of the western front, which has now disappeared, together with all the entablature, was still in its place. It was even standing after the siege of 1687, if we may trust to the drawings of the engineer, Verneda, made after the capture of Athens by Morosini. See Fanelli, *Atene Attiche*.

A part of the military stores above mentioned, consisted of a great quantity of the kind of armour which was in use before the invention of gunpowder ; for Spon and Wheeler relate, that after the explosion, shields and bows and arrows were found dispersed over the surrounding country. The use to which the Propylæa had long been put seems to have suggested the name of the arsenal of Lycurgus (son of Lycophron), by which it was known among the Athenian pretenders to learning in the seventeenth century.

Musulman nations, and left it stationary during the ages in which the rest of Europe has been in a state of progressive improvement.

The darkness of Greek history during the four centuries preceding the twelfth, is suddenly illumined by the histories of Anna Comnena and Nicetas, from whom it appears that Greece emerged from that darkness nearly in its present state. Although the learned of Constantinople might turn with pride and satisfaction to the ancient authors for models of the written language, there are undoubted proofs in the Byzantine writers of the twelfth century, that the country had then undergone all the changes in its language, in its population, and in its names of places, which characterize modern Greece. The grammar of the vernacular language had assumed nearly the same form which distinguishes the modern languages of Europe, derived from the Latin; and its poetry no longer regarded the structure of feet, and quantity of syllables, but, like that of the nations of modern Europe, was regulated by accent, to the exclusion of quantity.

A fond attachment to the ancient glory of the nation might induce the Byzantine writers, and in particular the learned princess Anna, to prefer the use of names so dear to classical recollection, as Peloponnesus and Sparta; but it is evident from Nicetas, that those of Moréa and Mistrá were already in use. The people of Greece, divided as they now are into Romans (Ρωμαῖοι), Albanians (Αρβανῖται), and Wallachians (Βλάχοι), had severally settled themselves in the districts where they are now found, while the Bulgarians had pervaded every part

of Greece, and had established those names of Sclavonic derivation, which we find spread over the country, more or less mixed with names of Greek origin, from the north of *Macedonia* to Cape Matapan. The degree of dependence of each part of the country upon Constantinople, its political divisions, and the towns in which the population had chiefly concentrated itself, were nearly the same as they are at the present day. In the Moréa¹, Patra, Mistrá, and the maritime fortresses of Monemvasía, Návplio, Koróni, and Mothóni, already held the chief rank. Beyond the Isthmus, the towns of note were Athens, Thebes, and 'Egripo (the ancient Chalcis); in *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, Lárisa, Tríkkala, Arta, and Ioánnina; and in *Macedonia*, A'khrídhá, Skópia, Serres, Véria (*Berrhæa*), and Thessaloníki.

Athens among the rest seems to have emerged from the dark ages nearly in the state in which we now find it, and, relatively to the other towns of Greece, as it had been prior to those ages; that is to say, it was the principal city of Greece, to the southward of the *Ætæan* ridge. Deprived of the adventitious circumstances which had caused its ancient splendour, deprived even of that maritime commerce which is necessary to raise it above the rank of a mere provincial town, Athens had probably been reduced to its present population of eight or ten thousand, soon after piracy, the natural curse of the Levant seas, had resumed its reign, and

¹ Tripolitza has acquired its importance only during the last century, from its having become the Turkish seat of government instead of *Nauplia*.

had reduced the external traffic of Athens to its state in the heroic ages.

It happened most opportunely for the Turks, that, about the time when their martial virtues began to decline, and when they began to be opposed to armies in which the art of war was making improvements, which they are incapable of imitating, the discoveries of a new continent, and of a maritime route to India, together with the new views of ambition, commerce, and international policy, which arose out of those events, diverted the attention of civilized Europe from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks from the Christians. Had it not been for these events, it is probable that the Turks would long since have been expelled from Europe, and from the shores of the Mediterranean, instead of being left to the present time in the undisturbed and even protected abuse of the finest regions of ancient civilization.

The antipathy which has ever prevailed between Mohammedans and Christians impeded intercourse between Greece and the rest of Europe to such a degree, as long as Turkish power was a common object of terror among the nations of Europe, that the name of Athens, although it has never undergone any change, was scarcely known but to those who found it in the pages of ancient history. So great was this obscurity two hundred and fifty years ago, when Greek literature had long been cultivated in many parts of Europe, that Athens was hardly known to exist as an inhabited place; still less was it suspected to retain any remains of its ancient magnificence. Its poverty and obscurity, however, were

attended with some advantage; for, combined with the strength of the Acropolis, and the distance of the city from the sea-shore, they served in great measure to protect it from the pirates, and from the corsairs of the Turks, Venetians, Genoese, or other nations, which have constantly frequented the *Ægean* sea, and desolated its coasts. Twice however since the Turkish conquest the events of war have carried ruin or spoliation into the city itself, and the last time with the most fatal consequences to the remaining monuments of the arts of Greece.

In the year 1464, the Venetians landed at the *Peiræus*, surprised the city, and carried off plunder and captives to *Eubœa*. Two centuries afterwards, Athens again experienced from the same nation an interruption to her lethargic repose.

At the end of the campaign of 1687, in which the Venetians, under Francesco Morosini, afterwards Doge, made those important conquests in the Corinthian gulf and the *Moréa*, which gave to the Venetians the possession of the peninsula for eight-and-twenty years, Morosini, with the Venetian fleet, entered the gulf of *Ægina*, intending to proceed against *Eubœa*; but the season appearing too far advanced, he determined to employ the remainder of the autumn in the reduction of Athens, thus securing at least a convenient station for the winter in the harbour of *Peiræus*. Having sent a squadron into the straits of *Eubœa* to prevent the Turks of *'Egripo* from assisting those of Athens, Morosini proceeded with his armament from *Ægina* to the *Peiræus*. Here he was met by the chiefs of the Greek community, who, in offering submission and assistance, informed

him at the same time that the Turks had retired into the citadel, abundantly provided with means of defence, and that they had sent to demand succour from the Seraskier at Thebes.

On the 21st and 22d of September, the land forces who were under the immediate command of Count Königsmarck, a Swede, and consisted of 8000 infantry and 870 horse, were disembarked in the Peiræus. On the 25th, four large mortars, and eight pieces of heavy ordnance, had been placed in battery; a portion on the heights to the west of the Areiopagus, the remainder to the southward and eastward of the Acropolis. On the 26th the fire was opened.

The operations were for a short time interrupted by a party of the Seraskier's cavalry, who suddenly made their appearance in the plain, but were attacked and put to flight by the Venetians. On the 27th, the besiegers began to make approaches towards the enemy's outworks, but proceeded with difficulty, on account of the rocky nature of the ground. The fire, meantime, was continued from the mortars upon the citadel. The Parthenon being the most conspicuous object, and occupying a large portion of the platform, could not long escape injury; but this might have been comparatively unimportant, had not the Turks' unfortunately placed in the temple, together with their most valuable property, a large quantity of their ammunition for the defence of the citadel. Towards the evening of the 28th, a shell, falling upon the centre of the building, inflamed the gunpowder, which, having been in the eastern chamber, over-

turned all that part of the cella, and threw down the adjoining lateral columns of the peristyle, with all except one of the Pronaus, but left a part of the Opisthodomus standing, as well as the two fronts, without even displacing more than two or three of the statues of the pediments¹. The conflagration caused by the explosion extended to the houses of the citadel; another shell killed the Pashá and his son; the garrison then made offers to capitulate, and on the 29th of September signed a treaty, by which they were to leave the place in five days, with baggage but without arms, to give up all their slaves and prisoners, and to be transported with their families to Smyrna or elsewhere at their own expense².

¹ Of the northern side of the peristyle of the Parthenon, eight columns were wholly or partially thrown down with their entablature: of the southern, six columns. Of the six columns of the Pronaus, it is possible that the two middle may have been already displaced by the Greeks when they formed the Parthenon into a church, in order to make room for the *ἄγιον βῆμα*, as they appear to have done in the Theseium and the temple of Trip- tolemus.

² For the history of the siege, see Graziani (F. Mauroceni Gesta, Patavii, 4to, 1698); Fanelli (Atene Attica, 4to, Venezia, 1707); and Arrighi (de Vita et Rebus gestis F. Mauroceni, Patavii, 4to, 1749). But the best authorities are the following contemporary documents:—1. A print, representing the siege of Athens, published at Rome in the same year. 2. Letter of a Venetian captain employed in the siege, preserved by Antonio Bulifon, in his collection called *Lettere Memorabili*, Pozzoli, 1696, Napoli, 1697. Vol. II. p. 86. 3. "A Journal of the Venetian Campaigne, A.D. 1687, translated from the original Italian, sent from Venice, and printed by the most Serene Republic." It was licensed to be printed on the 16th December, 1687, and published with the royal arms of James II. in the title page. A copy

On the 4th of October, 3000 Turks, of whom 500 were military, marched out, and were embarked.

of this journal is in the British Museum, King's Library, 4to, 44 pages. The following is an extract from this document:—
“ On the 21st (the Venetians) landed all their militia, horse and foot, but not so much as one Turk appeared in the field; whereupon they passed on to Athens, and made themselves masters of the town, which is only inhabited by the Greeks, while the Ottomans were retired into the upper enclosure. His Excellency, understanding the strong situation of the place, because he would not be constrained to ruin it with his bombs, summoned the defendants to a surrender. But the enemy returned answer by word of mouth that they were resolved to hold out. The 22nd, two mortar pieces of 500, and two pieces of cannon of 50, with two lesser guns of 20, were landed, which were easily brought to the batteries that were raising, because the way was smooth and level, and but six miles in length. On the 23rd, they went on with their work in raising the batteries, during which labour Serjeant Major Perez, of the regiment of Cleuters, died the 24th at night of a wound received by a musket-bullet. The 23rd, four more great guns, two of 50 and two of 20, with two mortar-pieces, were landed and brought to the battery. The 26th they began to play with their bombs upon the fortress; one of which fell among their ammunition, and fired a great part of it, to the great terror of the besieged, whose defences began to fail them, their parapets being ruined, and their great guns dismounted. The 27th, this day the trenches were opened in order to make the approaches and to advance under the walls. The 28th, towards evening, through the continued playing of our bombs, which fell all into the small enclosure, there happened another great fire, which increasing upon the fuel of the houses and the continual playing of our bombs, endured so furious all that day and the next night, that the enemy, astonished to see their houses and their goods consumed, and their families burnt, resolved to hang out a white flag, and with earnest and loud cries towards the battery of the superintendent, Count Felice, begged them to fling no more bombs, which the Count understanding caused all hostility to cease.” The second “great fire” was the explosion of

The Venetians found eighteen pieces of cannon in the fortress. These they distributed in three redoubts, which they built between the city and Peiræus, to secure the road from the cavalry of the Seraskier. But a more formidable enemy now assailed them. It was not long before the plague made its appearance among their troops in the Acropolis, when Morosini, to prevent its spreading from the city to the fleet in Peiræus, and to the camp at Munychia, and partly as a military security, ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up across the isthmus between the harbours of Munychia and Peiræus. He soon discovered likewise that some defences would be required for the town of Athens, which was then unwallèd; and in the course of the preparations which were made during the winter for the expedition against 'Egripo, he became equally convinced that this enterprise would demand all his armament, while a considerable force would be required to secure the communication of the garrison of Athens with the sea, from whence alone it could be supplied with provisions. He resolved, therefore, upon the abandonment of his recent con-

the Parthenon, as the other authorities leave no room to question. In thus alluding, therefore, to this catastrophe, the Venetian government seems to have wished to keep it unknown to the rest of Europe. The description of Athens, which follows the narrative of the siege, is more erroneous and ignorant than the Greek accounts of the preceding century. The Parthenon is described as follows:—"In this inclosure (the Acropolis) stood a temple dedicated to the unknown God, the inscription of whose altar is still to be seen; and though the workmanship be very costly for the marble, yet it serves for no use either to Christians or Turks."

quest, after having dismantled the Acropolis. In vain the Greeks, dreading the vengeance of the Turks against them, offered the payment of 20,000 ducats, besides maintaining the garrison. In the month of March, 1688, the captured ordnance was conveyed from Athens to the Peiræus; and the Greeks proceeded to the same place, not without some disturbance from the Turkish cavalry, and bitterly complaining that the pretended friendship of their fellow-Christians had produced no other result than the loss of their homes and estates.

On the 4th of April, the Venetian garrison evacuated the Acropolis, retired into the entrenched camp of Munychia, and three days afterwards embarked. Some of the emigrant Greeks were conveyed in Venetian ships to Salamis, Ægina, and the islands of the Ægean; others to Corinth and Nauplia. Near the latter place the senate of Venice allotted habitations and portions of land to some of the emigrants in the district of Iri (the ancient Asine); to others they gave annual stipends. The greater part of the emigrant families were, however, in the course of a few years prevailed upon by the Turks of Athens to return.

Thus ended this fatal expedition, no less destructive to the remains of Athenian art, than useless as a military enterprise; for it contributed nothing to facilitate the acquisition of Eubœa, or to complete the conquest of Peloponnesus. In three days the works of Pericles received from a nation which not only prided itself upon the encouragement of the arts, but which had even rivalled the ancients in painting, more injury than had been caused by many

centuries of the grossest ignorance and barbarism¹. A few years before the siege, when Wheler, Spon, and De Nointel visited Athens, the Propylæa still preserved its pediment; the temple of Victory Apterus was complete; the Parthenon, or great temple of Minerva, was perfect, with the exception of the roof, and of the central figures in the eastern, and of two or three in the western pediment; the Erechtheum was so little injured that it was used as the harém of a Turkish house; and there were still some remains of buildings and statues on the southern side of the Parthenon. If the result of the siege did not leave the edifices of the Acropolis in the deplorable state in which we now see them, the injury which they received on that occasion was the cause of all the dilapidation which they have since suffered, and rendered the transportation of the fallen fragments of sculpture out of Turkey their best preservative from total destruction.

The great cause of these disasters has been the practice prevailing among the Athenian Turks, of deposit-

¹ Morosini seems to have foreseen the effect of his bombardment—at least in some degree; for a Swedish lady, who accompanied the Countess Königsmarck, writes, in a letter to her brother, “Il répugnait à son Excellence de détruire le beau temple, mais en vain, les bombes firent leur effet: ainsi jamais dans ce monde le temple ne pourra être remplacé.”—See Bröndsted, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, ii. p. 182.

The “Venetian Captain,” in describing the temple, says, “In alcuni luoghi per ornamento vi erano alcune cupole, le di cui estremità si componevano di mattoni di mosaico. In uno di queste cupole cadde la bomba.” These cupolas, with summits of brick in mosaic, have the air of a Byzantine work, and tend to favour the conjecture in p. 82, note 1, as to the columns of the Pronaos.

ing their ammunition in the convenient receptacles afforded by the ancient edifices. Although works so exquisitely finished as those of the Acropolis could not fail to receive cruel injury from a bombardment and cannonade at a range of six or seven hundred yards, the solidity of Athenian architecture might have defied the Venetian projectiles, but for the combustible materials placed in the buildings. It was by a deposit of gunpowder, supposed to have been inflamed by lightning, that the eastern portico of the Propylæa, together with the adjacent parts, was thrown down about the year 1656¹: and to a similar cause we may probably attribute the demolition of the temple of Victory; for we know that eleven years prior to the siege, that temple served as a powder-magazine².

The removal of the statues of the western pediment of the Parthenon, which even the explosion had been unable to displace, was begun by Morosini himself, who thought that the car of Victory, with its horses of the natural size, and of such admirable workmanship as to strike the Venetians themselves when they came to examine them with astonishment and regret, would be a fine accompaniment to his triumphal entry into Venice, and a noble monument of his conquest of Athens, or according to the more

¹ Spon, *Voyage* II. p. 81. Wheler, *Travels*, p. 359.

² Spon, *ibid.* p. 80. Wheler, *ibid.* p. 358. In the year 1835, in removing the Turkish battery below the Propylæa, all the component parts of this temple, except its roof and that part of the frieze which is in the British Museum, were found among the materials, and in the following year the temple was reerected. The Propylæa was about the same time cleared of the modern masonry which obstructed its columns. See the Addenda, this page.

candid expression of Fanelli, of his "voluntary abandonment of the Attic conquest." By the awkwardness of the Venetian engineers, however, the whole group was thrown down in the act of lowering it, and, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, was broken to atoms¹.

We have already seen, that, until the middle of the sixteenth century, Athens was hardly known in western Europe, to preserve any remains of antiquity, or even to exist as an inhabited place. The study of Greek literature produced at length an endeavour to penetrate the darkness which had enveloped Greece since the Turkish conquest, and which had rendered it almost as little known as the wilds of the lately discovered new world. It was not that travellers had not occasionally penetrated into Greece at an earlier period; for it appears that Ciriaco d'Ancona copied some inscriptions at Athens in 1437: and we are informed by Spon, that he saw at Rome a manuscript, on vellum, of an Italian architect named Giambetti, of the date of 1465, in which the artist had given designs of the Tower of the Winds at Athens, of Sparta, and of other places²; but the progress of literature was still so slow, that little curiosity was shown for such inquiries. In the year 1573, not very long after Greek had begun to

¹ The Venetian Captain above mentioned, whose company was quartered in the Acropolis, expresses himself as follows: "Sopra l'entrata eravi l'effigie di Giove, i trionfi della nascita di Minerva, e molti (due) cavalli che tiravano il carro, ove essa sedeva. L'eccellentissimo Capitan Generale mandò a levare quei cavalli, ma la poca accortezza di alcuni gli fece cadere e si ruppero non solo, ma si difecero in polvere."

² Voyage II. p. 104.

be a branch of education in Germany, Martin Kraus, or Crusius, professor at Tubingen, curious to ascertain the actual state of Greece, and of its language, contrived to open a communication with some natives at Constantinople upon those subjects. In a letter addressed to Theodore Zygomalás, he states that Athens was described by the modern historians of Germany as totally destroyed, and occupied only by a few fishermen's huts, and he desires to know from his correspondent whether such was the truth. Zygomalás answers that, being a native of Nauplia, he had often visited Athens, and he attempts to describe its antiquities, but exposes his ignorance, by calling the Parthenon the Pantheon¹. Another correspondent of Crusius, Symeon Kavásila, of the city Acarnania (as Arta was then called by the *learned*), describes the Parthenon as the temple of the unknown God². These and many other ancient

¹ Τὸ πάνθειον, οἰκοδομὴν νικῶσαν πάσας οἰκοδομὰς, γλυπτῶς ἐκτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἔχουσαν τὰς ἱστορίας Ἑλλήνων καὶ ταῦτα τὰς θείας· καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπάνω τῆς μεγάλης πύλης, ἵππους δύο φρουασσομένους ἀνδρομέαν εἰς σάρκα, τὸ δοκεῖν ἐμψύχους, οὓς λέγεται ὅτι ἐλάξενσε Πραξιτέλης. Theod. Zygomalás ap. Mart. Crus. Turco-Græc. l. 7. ep. 10. The writer was probably thinking of the horses of Diomedes. In alluding to *two* horses he seems to show that the horses of the car of Neptune were already wanting; that the pediment therefore was nearly in the same state in which it was designed a century later by Carrey.

² Πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄστυ τρίπλοκον ἦν, καὶ ἅπαν οἰκούμενον. Νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐσώτερον, ὅπερ ἀκρόπολις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναὸς τῇ Ἀγνώστῃ Θεῷ, ἅπαν ὑπὸ μόνων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν οἰκούμενον· τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς (τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ φημι) ὅλον ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν· τοῦ δὲ ἐξωτερικοῦ (ἐν ᾧ καὶ βασιλεῖα διὰ μαρμάρων καὶ κιόνων

appellations, not more correctly applied, such as lantern of Demosthenes, palace of Themistocles, school of Aristotle, arsenal of Lycurgus, show the ignorance of the Greeks of those days, and how thoroughly the real history of Athens and its buildings had fallen into oblivion; though in this respect perhaps the Athenians were not much more remarkable than the Romans, or the people of any ancient city which had preserved monuments of antiquity, so great had been the effects of the ten preceding centuries of moral darkness upon the countries which had formed the empire of Rome. Kavásila states the citadel of Athens to have been then inhabited by Turks, and the lower town by Christians, or precisely as the Venetians found them a century later. The Turks probably began to inhabit the lower town after their recovery of the Morea in 1715. The extent of habitations appears to have been greater near the Olympium in the sixteenth century, than it is at present; for Kavásila states one-third of the

μεγίστων, ἐφ' ὧν, τῆς πύλης ἐπιγέγραπται μονόστιχον καὶ ἐπισωζόμενον—Αἰδ' εἰς' Ἀθῆναι, Θεσέως ἢ πρὶν πόλιν)· τὸ τρίτον οἰκούμενον· ὅλον δὲ ἐν ὧσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες τυγχάνουσιν (τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδες δώδεκα) ἀφ' ἑξ ἢ ἐπτά μιλίων περιεχόμενον. S. Kabasilas ap. M. Crus. Turco-Græc. l. 7. ep. 18.

The Ἀγνωστος Θεός is obviously derived from the Acts of the Apostles, but St. Paul alluded only to an altar, which, if he landed at Phalerum, may have been the same noticed at that place by Pausanias (Attic. 1, 2). This and some of the other absurd names of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries may be traced to the fifteenth, in the MS. of an anonymous Greek, in the Imperial library of Vienna, who wrote in the time of the Dukes of Athens. See Appendix, No. V.

ancient Hadrianopolis to have been inhabited, where in another century there remained only a few cottages. With this exception Athens seems to have been nearly of its present dimensions, to which indeed we have reason to believe that it was reduced long before the time of Kavásila¹. If therefore his computation of 12,000 inhabitants be correct, the city since his time has been curtailed of its dimensions on the northern side.

Deshayes, who was French ambassador to the Porte in 1621, visited Athens in his way to Constantinople, and published a few observations upon the place, the value of which may be understood from his having adopted the supposition of the Parthenon having been the temple of the Unknown God.

Thus, until the middle of the seventeenth century, although curious inquirers might learn that Athens was not only a considerable city, but that it still contained many monuments of antiquity, they must notwithstanding have been totally at a loss to understand which of the celebrated buildings of the ancients had survived. It was to the establishment in Greece of the monastic orders of the Roman church, that Europe was indebted for the first accurate information upon this subject². Dr. Spon, a physician and learned antiquary, of Lyons, having opened a correspondence with the Père Babin, a Jesuit residing at Athens, received from him such a

¹ See page 68, note 1.

² The Jesuits first went to Athens in 1645; the Capuchins in 1658.

description of it as Spon thought worthy of being published. This was done at Lyons in 1674, and may possibly have assisted in inducing the Marquis de Nointel, who in that year was sent to Constantinople for the second time as ambassador of France¹, to carry with him to Athens a pupil of the painter Lebrun, named Jacques Carrey, who was employed at Athens for about five weeks in making drawings². The originals of these designs, executed very rudely and inaccurately, partly in red chalk, and partly in black lead, are now in the National Library at Paris, and correct copies of them have been presented to the British Museum. They represent in twenty-eight drawings the two pediments of the Parthenon, the metopes of the southern side of the same temple, and a great part of the frieze on the outside of its cella. Among the buildings of the lower town there delineated, are the church of the Megáli Panaghía, with three Corinthian columns in its wall, two ancient friezes in the wall of the church of Gorgópiko, a view of the eastern extremity of the city, which comprises the Olympium, the banks of the Ilissus, and Mount Hymettus, and lastly a nearer view of the Olympium.

¹ De Nointel left France on his first embassy in August, 1670, and arrived at Constantinople in October. Chardin, *Voyage en Perse par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*, p. 35. 12mo.

² Wheler (p. 362) says two months, but it appears from one of the published letters of Cornelio Magni, who accompanied De Nointel, that the permission to draw was not obtained until the 14th of November, that on the 15th of December they were all preparing to depart, and that at Christmas they were at Khios.

These drawings agree with Spon and Wheler in showing that very little of the quarter of Hadrianopolis then remained. A few cottages are seen near the fountain Enneacrunus, and some others standing in a range of gardens, on the banks of the Ilissus, which extended below Enneacrunus as far as the bridge in the road to Sunium. We learn from Spon, that Callirhoe, the ancient name of Enneacrunus, which is still applied to the river Ilissus, as well as to the fountain, was then attached also to the hamlet near it¹. In the time of Chandler there were no houses at the fountain, but two or three remained on the opposite side of the river², which have long since disappeared.

It further appears from Carrey, that there existed the ruins of a building attached to the northern end of the bridge of the Stadium; of which a fragment, together with an arched entrance to the bridge, remained in the time of Stuart. We learn from Spon that this ruin had been a monastery of nuns abandoned at the Turkish conquest³. The columns of the Olympium were in the same state in the time of Carrey as at present, with the exception of the single column, which Stuart and Chandler mention to have been taken down a little before their visit to Athens. Within the area of the great cluster of these columns, Carrey has represented a Greek church, which no longer exists. It was called the church of St. John at the Columns (*σταῖς κολόναϊς*), and its position, not connected with any part of the

¹ Voyage II. p. 146. Wheler, p. 379.

² Travels, p. 88. 8vo. 1766. ³ Voyage II. p. 123.

ancient building, seems to indicate that the ruin of the Olympium took place at a remote period.

In the year 1675, Athens was visited by the Earl of Winchelsea, English ambassador to the Porte, and in the following year by Mr. Vernon, of whose travels in Greece a short account was soon afterwards published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The same year was distinguished in Athenian annals by the visit of Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheeler, from whom, and from the drawings of Carrey, we derive all our knowledge of the state of Athens prior to that siege, which forms the chief æra in the modern history of Athenian antiquities; for, as to Guillet, who published in 1675 the pretended travels in 1669 of his brother La Guilletière, it is evident that the work is nothing more than a romance, constructed indeed with some degree of learning and ingenuity, and founded probably upon some correct information acquired by Guillet from Greeks or from the missionaries, then recently established in Greece, added to that which he may have found in the printed account of the Père Babin; but confounding places and objects in a manner which could not have occurred to any one personally acquainted with the localities, and mixing up with adventures of his own invention, descriptions taken from Pausanias or other ancient authors, of buildings and monuments which had been long annihilated, but which he represents as still in existence¹. What

¹ Spon at first was inclined to defend Guillet against Vernon, who, having carried Guillet's book with him to Athens, gave testimony to its falsehood in his letter to the Royal Society. In the *Voyage* of Spon, first published at Lyons in 1677, he even

are we to think, in the present day, of a traveller who asserts that he saw an inscription to the Unknown God on the front of the Parthenon, who describes a Pantheon near the Bazar more magnificent than the Pantheon at Rome¹, who pretends to have seen ruins of the temple of Neptune, of the Prytaneium, of the Metroum, of the Bucoleium, and of several of the porticos of the Cerameicus, together with many of the statues described in that quarter by Pausanias,—who discovers the theatre of Bacchus in the plain half-hidden amidst trees and grass—who finds a circular building called the Lanthorn of Diogenes, which Spon inquired for in vain²—who discovers a magnificent temple of Jupiter, and temples of Vulcan and Venus Urania, where Spon and Wheler saw only a Greek church and two mosques—and who finds the marble seats still remaining in the Stadium, although none of them

allows that La Guilletière had been seven days at Athens; but feeling himself unable at the same time to avoid making some observations upon Guilletière's absurdities, Guillet replied in a "*Dissertation sur un Voyage, publié par un Médecin Antiquaire. Paris, 12mo. 1679.*" Spon immediately published a "*Réponse à la Critique, publiée par M. Guillet, sur le Voyage de Grèce de Jacob Spon. 12mo. Lyons, 1679.*" In this work Spon expresses doubts that such a person as La Guilletière had ever existed, brings proofs of the manner in which Guillet's information was obtained, and gives a list of 112 errors in his book.

¹ Before it, he adds, were two horses, the work of Praxiteles, evidently borrowing the blunder of Zygomalás, as to the Parthenon, and applying it to his pretended Pantheon in the city.

² *Voyage II. p. 128.*

were to be seen six years after his pretended journey?

As frequent reference will be made in the course of the present work to the description given of the buildings of Athens, by Spon and Wheler, it will be unnecessary to say more at present upon the state of Athens in their time.

One cannot, however, pass the mention of their names without expressing surprise that their publications, which first gave civilized Europe an adequate idea of the treasures of ancient art which Athens still retained, should not have roused any government or individual to some more effectual mode of rendering those treasures useful, than that of the Marquis de Nointel; that Louis XIV., in particular, who obtained some glory as a patron of art and learning, and sent out missions to the Levant to collect drawings, coins, and inscriptions, should not have endeavoured to enrich his capital with copies derived from the purest school of architecture and sculpture, or at least that an interest should not have been created in favour of the Athenian monuments, sufficient to save them from the artillery of Morosini. But the ignorance and barbarism of feudal times was still too profoundly rooted and too extensively diffused.

It was not until ninety years after the publication of the travels of Spon and Wheler, that an English artist, studying at Rome, having perceived that he was not yet at the fountain-head of true taste in architecture, determined to proceed to Athens and to reside there, until he should have made technical drawings of all the principal remains of antiquity. Stuart, having engaged Revett, another architect, to join him, they

arrived at Athens in the year 1751, and remained there during the greater part of three years¹. The first part of the result of their labours was published in 1762; soon after which some further knowledge of Greece and of its remains of antiquity was obtained by a private society in London, which has done more for the improvement of the arts by such researches than any government in Europe.

In the year 1764, the society of Dilettanti engaged Mr. Revett to return to Greece, in company with Mr. Pars and Dr. Chandler; the former an able draftsman, the latter well qualified to illustrate the geography and antiquities of the country by his erudition. The result of this mission placed the public in possession of the designs of several Athenian monuments, left imperfectly examined by Stuart, together with architectural details of some of the most celebrated temples of Asiatic Greece, a volume of Greek inscriptions by Dr. Chandler, and two volumes of travels in Asia Minor and Greece by the same person.

As Chandler, with the exception of Spon and Wheler, is the earliest modern traveller who has applied a competent share of judgment and learning to the examination of any part of Greece; and as

¹ See Preface to Stuart's *Antiq. of Athens*, vol. i. In the year 1755, Athens was visited by Leroy, a French architect, for a similar purpose, and the result was published in one volume in 1758. From such a rapid proceeding, great accuracy could not be expected, and accordingly we find fourteen columns on the sides of the temple of Theseus in Leroy's drawing of that building.

the public has consequently been indebted to him for many important discoveries in illustration of its ancient history and topography, it would perhaps be ungrateful to accuse him of indolence, or want of enterprise; but he cannot so easily be excused for having omitted to cite the ancient authorities in any of those very numerous passages of his works in which he had recourse to them, as the omission renders it often difficult to judge of the accuracy of his conclusions.

The researches of Stuart and Chandler upon the topography of Athens have cleared up much that had been left obscure and faulty by Spon and Wheler, and in some instances Chandler's superior learning enabled him to correct the mistaken impressions of Stuart; but others he has left uncorrected, and he has added many errors and negligences of his own, as well in the application of ancient evidence, as in regard to the actual condition of the ruined buildings.

The changes which occurred in the state of Athens, between the Venetian siege and the time of Chandler, were so small that Chandler found it sufficient for the explanation of his topography to insert a copy of the plan of Athens, published by Fanelli from the Venetian engineers.

The dilapidations produced in the half century which has elapsed since the visit of Chandler have been more considerable. Five years afterwards, the descent of the Albanians into Greece, which followed the insurrection excited in the Moréa by the Russians, obliged the Athenians to surround their city with a wall. In this operation the two Ionic columns belonging to the frontispiece of the aqueduct of

Hadrian, at the foot of Mount St. George, were demolished, and its inscribed architrave was placed over a neighbouring gate in the modern walls. The temple of Triptolemus, designed by Stuart, and found by Chandler somewhat impaired, with one of the columns prostrate, was destroyed upon the same occasion; so that a few years later nothing but the site and a part of the pavement were to be seen¹. The Roman bridge leading to the stadium was swept away by the same occurrence, as well as the remains of the monastery which had been attached to it.

It would be highly unjust, however, to accuse the Turks as the sole dilapidators of the ancient works of Athens, or of any other part of Greece. Their hatred of images has indeed been peculiarly destructive to every work of sculpture representing the animal form; but the Greeks themselves, although often anxious to preserve inscribed or sculptured marbles, and for that purpose depositing them in the churches, have generally been too unenlightened not to prefer the claims of temporary convenience to a desire of preserving the works of their ancestors. In fact, there is scarcely a Greek village that does not bear marks of having been built or repaired with the materials of ancient edifices, the squared blocks of the ancient walls furnishing convenient materials to the mason; while the finer marbles which the ancients employed for their sculpture, or for the

¹ The original cause of its destruction was a mass celebrated, according to the Latin rites, in the temple, which was then a Greek church of the Panaghía, by the Marquis de Nointel, in 1674. The Greeks having desecrated the church in consequence, it fell into neglect and gradual dilapidation.



more decorative parts of their architecture, have supplied him with the choicest substance for his cement or coatings¹. Many works of ancient sculpture have in this manner disappeared, nor ought we to forget, as a cause of the more recent diminution or degradation of Greek monuments, the depredations of travellers and collectors, often destroying more than they carry away.

In those cities which have never ceased to be inhabited, the remains of antiquity have been continually disturbed and applied to purposes of modern construction. Where the chief population of the district has established itself at no great distance from the ancient site, the same cause of destruction has been almost equally in operation. The ancient cities therefore which, having been abandoned or reduced to a very small population at an early period, have at the same time been at too great a distance from any modern town to be largely resorted to for materials, are those which are most likely still to preserve valuable remains of antiquity below the surface of the soil².

¹ It frequently happens indeed that the wrought stones of the ancients are too massy for the artisans of the present day; but the magnitude of the masses has not always saved them, for the finished materials of the ancients are often broken into smaller masses, for the convenience of transportation.

² Perhaps the reader will not be displeased if I take this opportunity of naming the places which appeared to me to be most remarkably in the latter predicament. In the Peloponnesus were Corone (at the modern Petalidhi), Messene, Thurium, the city of the Tænarii, or Cænepolis of the Eleuthero Lacones (at seven or eight miles to the north-west of Cape Matapán), Gythium, Amyclæ, Prasæ, Thyrea, Asine of Argolis, Her-

But the situations which afford the best prospect of finding productions of the ancient masters, are the ἄλσῃ, or sacred groves, which were generally removed from the ordinary habitations of men, sometimes in sequestered valleys or mountain solitudes¹, and hence comparatively secure from spoliation; for in some of these places the works of the most renowned artists were originally more abundant than any where, except in cities of the first rank.

The sea-coast has generally been unfavourable to

mione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenus, Clitor, Phigaleia, Psophis, Elis, Dyme, Pallene, Sicyon. Beyond the Isthmus were Eleusis, many of the Demi of Attica, Eretria and Histiaë in Eubœa, Plataea, Tanagra, Thespiaë, Haliartus, Coroneia, Chæroneia, Orchomenus, Stiris, Cirrha, Opus, Elateia, Thronium, Heracleia of Mount Ceta. To these may be added many cities in Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Macedonia, particularly the following:—In Thessaly, Thebæ Phthioticæ, Pagasæ, Demetrias, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, Gomphi, and Cyretiaë. In Epirus, Phœnice, Gitanæ, Pandosia, Cichyrus, Cassope, and Nicopolis. In Acarnania, Argos Amphilochicum, Thyrium, Stratus, and the city of the Cœniadæ; and in Ætolia, Thermus, and Calydon. In all these places the state of the soil appears to indicate that the sites have been little disturbed since the respective places fell to ruins, and to promise a rich harvest of ancient remains.

¹ It is hardly necessary to name Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus, as places to which I particularly allude. To these may be added the Grove of the Muses on Mount Helicon, the sanctuaries of Jupiter Lycæus, and of Despœna in Arcadia, the Heræum of Argolis, the Hierum of Epidauria, the oracular fane of Apollo in Mount Ptous, the temples of Minerva Itonia in Bœotia and in Thessaly, Actium, and a very remarkable hierum to the south of Ioánnina in Epirus, of which the ancient name is unknown. The sites of many insulated temples in various parts of the country might also be mentioned, though little now remains of their buildings above ground.

the preservation of remains of antiquity, on account of the facility which it afforded of transporting materials for the construction of new buildings in other places near the sea. Many modern towns, churches, and monasteries, have thus been built or repaired at the expense of the ruined cities on the coast, which have greatly suffered also from the spoliation or wanton violence of Turks, Genoese, Venetians, French, and other nations, who have carried on war or commerce in the Grecian seas during the last eight centuries.

In some instances the magnitude of the ancient city has been such, that its materials are not yet exhausted, even although placed in a situation very much exposed to modern depredations. Such are Sparta and Tegea, which, although they have served for ages as quarries to the neighbouring towns of Mistrá and Tripolitzá, yet still retain numerous remains of antiquity.

But above all the cities of Greece, Athens, although it has never ceased to be a large inhabited place, still affords the best prospect of discoveries interesting to the artist and antiquary. Here every fragment that is found bears testimony to the pre-eminent taste and skill of the ancient people; every inscription throws light on history or philology. The buildings of the modern town may forbid researches throughout a great part of the site, but all the southern and western parts of the Asty, the suburbs of the Gardens and of Agræ, the Longomural town, and the entire Peiraic city, are open to the excavator, whose labours, if they are increased by the depth of soil, which the successive ruins of buildings, during a long course of

ages, have accumulated, are perhaps the more likely on that account to afford a valuable result.

Of the three great branches of art in which the ancients peculiarly excelled, little can be discovered at this distance of time in the more perishable art of painting. Some new proofs may perhaps yet reach us of their having been at least our equals in *design*; but as to their proficiency in the other attributes of painting, we can scarcely hope to obtain any very satisfactory information.

Although modern Europe has produced many fine works of sculpture since the revival of the arts in Italy, it will hardly be denied that the discovery of some of the productions of the great masters of the fifth and fourth centuries before the Christian æra, would add extremely to our materials of improvement in this branch of art. In considering, that, while there is no end to the examples of ancient perfection, afforded by smaller works, such as bronzes, coins, and gems, we have scarcely any undoubted originals of human or larger size, belonging to those favoured ages, with the exception of the marbles of the Æginetan, Athenian, and Phigaleian temples, it must be allowed that the acquisition of some of those numerous works of the ancient masters, which were still untouched in the second century of the Christian æra, and probably much later, would be the most interesting discovery that could occur in sculpture.

But it is particularly in architecture that we need the guidance of the Greeks. By following the modern Italians, who took for their models corrupted Roman imitations of Greek architecture, a style was introduced into England, which, having prevailed for

about two centuries, has not been much corrected in the course of the half century during which we have enjoyed a knowledge of the genuine architecture of the Greeks, by means of the drawings which have been published of the antiquities of Athens, Ionia, Magna Græcia, and Sicily.

The more we examine the buildings of the ancients, the stronger do the proofs appear of that profound study which they bestowed upon this most useful and ornamental of arts. Nor is their taste and judgment less conspicuous in the application of their rules according to circumstances of place and occasion; which some recent examples show to be not more easy of attainment than the rules themselves.

There are few problems more difficult of solution than to find a sufficient reason for the perfection which the Greeks attained in the elegant arts, and for its wide diffusion among them during several centuries. Something may be attributed to the more acute perceptions, to the more beautiful forms and colours of animate and inanimate nature, and to the brighter skies of a southern climate. Something more may be ascribed to circumstances from which we are happy to be exempt; such as the eager collision of rivalry between small independent states, the excitement given to the imagination, and the encouragement afforded to the display of its powers by a mythology closely allied to the senses, and which gave the honours of divinity to the productions of the artist. Even with these advantages, to arrive at the productions of the age of Pericles required several centuries of trials and improvements, during which extreme diligence

was applied by a series of gifted men to one pursuit, which, when successful, obtained as much worldly fame and advantage as that of arms, or of the conduct of public affairs. Without such an equalization of the rewards of genius and labour, science, literature, and the arts, are more degraded than encouraged or protected.

SECTION I.

THE DESCRIPTION OF ATHENS BY PAUSANIAS.

As the only detailed description of ancient Athens is found in the work of Pausanias, I shall begin by submitting to the reader a translation of all his information upon the topography of the city ;— retaining his more important remarks upon the buildings, monuments, and works of art, but omitting the greater part of the history or mythology which he has introduced.

After having described the remains of the maritime city, Pausanias speaks of the two roads, which led from thence to Athens, in the following terms :

“ In the road which leads to the city from Phalerum there is a temple of Juno, without doors, and without a roof. It is reported to have been burnt by Mardonius, son of Gobrias¹. The statue which it now contains is said to be the work of Alcamenes. At the entrance into the city² is the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. The Athenians possess likewise a tomb of Molpadia³. Cap. 1.

Cap. 2.

¹ Pausanias (Phocic. 35, 2) again mentions this half-burnt temple on the Phaleric road (*ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ*).

² *Ἐσθλόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν.*

³ The Athenian tradition adopted by Pausanias (in this place, and in 15, 2) was, that Antiope had been brought to Athens as a

Cap. 2. "In the ascent from Piræus¹ are the ruins of the walls which Conon raised after the sea-fight at Cnidus; for the walls of Themistocles, built after the departure of the Medes, were destroyed under the government of the men called the Thirty. The most illustrious tombs on the road are those of Menander, son of Diopithes, and of Euripides, the latter of which is empty, Euripides having been buried in Macedonia. Near the gates² is a monument, upon which is the statue of a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is, I know not; but Praxiteles made both the horse and the soldier.

"At the entrance into the city³ is a building set apart for the equipment of certain processions, some of which occur every year, and others at longer intervals⁴. Adjacent to it⁵ is a temple of Ceres,

captive by Theseus, when, in company with Hercules, he took Themiscyra on the Thermodon; that, when the Amazones invaded Attica, Antiope was slain by an arrow from Molpadia, and that Molpadia was slain by Theseus. For various legends on this subject, see Plutarch in *Thes.* 26 et seq.

¹ Ἀνιόντων ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

² οὐ πύρρῳ τῶν πυλῶν.

³ Ἐσελθόντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

⁴ By the latter, Pausanias seems to allude to the greater Panathenæa, which were celebrated at the end of every four years. The Πομπεῖα, or vases of gold and silver used in the sacred processions (*V. Meurs. Attic. Lect.* 2, 15), were kept in this building, which itself also bore the name of Pompeium, and contained a brazen statue of Socrates by Lysippus (*Diogen. Laërt.* 2, 43), a picture of Isocrates (*Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat.*), and the portraits of certain comedians by Craterus. *Plin. H. N.* 35, 11, (40). At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the value of the vases of the Pompeium formed a large portion of the

⁵ πλησίον.

containing statues¹ of Ceres, of Proserpine, and of Iacchus holding a torch. It is written on the wall, Cap. 2.

500 talents at which the public plate, together with the Persian spoils, was estimated by Pericles. Thucyd. 2, 13. Diod. 12, 40. They were renewed or augmented out of the property of the Thirty Tyrants (Philochor. ap. Harpocrat. in *Πομπεία*), and again by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron (Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Pausan. Att. 29, 16), and again by Androtion. Demosth. c. Androt. p. 615, Reiske. Alcibiades was accused of applying some of them to his own use. Plutarch. Alcib. 13. Andocid. c. Alcib. p. 126, Reiske. The Pompeium was one of the buildings in which corn and flour were deposited, and measured before the proper officers. Demosth. c. Phormion. p. 918.

¹ It may be right to remark, in entering upon this description of Athens, that Pausanias has four words to express our words *statue, image, figure*, namely, *ἄγαλμα, ξόανον, ἀνδριὰς* and *εἰκών*; the two former are applied by him to gods, or deified or ideal persons, the two latter to portraits of men. *Ξόανον*, though employed by Strabo (p. 396), in speaking of one of the most celebrated works of Phidias in marble, was reserved by Pausanias exclusively for rude statues, and principally those of wood: *εἰκών* is the only general word applicable to figures of animated beings of every kind. When Pausanias makes mention of detached and entire statues, he joins one of the four substantives above mentioned to the verbs *ἵστημι, κεῖμαι*: in speaking of works in relief (which he sometimes calls *τύποι*) he employs the verb *ἐπιεργάζομαι* or *ἐπιεξεργάζομαι*. Paintings are always described by *γράφω* and its derivatives; *ποιῶ* is applied to all the arts, to poetry, painting, and sculpture. *Ναὸς* was properly a closed building, or temple properly so called, and might thus be applied to a cella, exclusive of the exterior; but *ιερόν* (a sanctuary of any kind) is frequently used by Pausanias, in speaking of a building which we know to have been a *ναὸς*, as of the temples of Theseus and of Mars at Athens, and of Ceres at Phalerum; of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in Ægina; of the temple of Latona at Argos, &c. So that in Pausanias *ιερόν*, without any other designation, may generally be taken in the

Cap. 2. in Attic letters¹, that these statues are the works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple² is a Neptune on horseback, hurling his trident³ at the giant Polybotes; but the inscription which is now upon the statue ascribes it to another, and not to Neptune. From the city gates to the Cerameicus, extend porticoes⁴, before which are brazen images of illustrious men and women. One of these porticoes contains certain temples of the gods, the gymnasium of Mercury, and the house of Polytion, wherein some noble Athenians are said to have imitated the Eleusinian ceremony⁵. The house is now sacred to Bacchus, who is surnamed Melpomenus, for the same reason that Apollo is called Musagetes. Here are statues of Minerva Pæonia, of Jupiter, of Mnemosyne, of the Muses, and of Apollo, the works and dedications of Eubulides⁶. Here also

same sense as ναός, and the more so as he has the expressions, *ιερόν τέμενος*, and *ιερὸς περίβολος*, to describe sanctuaries where there was no ναός, or where the ναός is not particularly referred to. In like manner we find *σῆμα*, *μνῆμα*, *τάφος*, applied to one and the same monument in the Achaica (25, 7. 8).

¹ Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν; meaning the characters in use before the archonship of Eucleides in B. C. 404—3. See Pausan. El. post. 19, 3. Harpocrat., Hesych., Phavorin. in v. Lex. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 461. This was the more remarkable, as Praxiteles lived after the archonship of Eucleides.

² τοῦ ναοῦ οὐ πόρρω.

³ δόρυ.

⁴ στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τὸν Κεραμεικόν.

⁵ Pausanias here alludes to Alcibiades, and his companions, who were accused of having privately represented in derision the Eleusinian mysteries. Thucyd. 6, 27. Plutarch. Alcib. 19. Andocid. de Myst. p. 7, 19, Reiske.

⁶ Ἐντραυθὰ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς ἀγαλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλωνός τε, ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον

is seen the face of Acratus, one of the companions of Bacchus, projecting from the wall¹. Next to the sanctuary of Bacchus² there is a building containing images of clay, which represent Amphictyon, king of the Athenians, entertaining Bacchus and other gods. Here also is Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the worship of Bacchus among the Athenians. Cap. 2.

“The district³ named Cerameicus is so called from the hero Ceramus⁴, who is said to have been the son of Bacchus and Ariadne. The first portico on the right is that named Basileius, where the Archon Βασιλεὺς holds his court⁵. His office, called Βασιλεία, lasts for one year⁶. Upon the earthen roof of this Stoa⁷ are statues of baked clay, representing Theseus throwing Scyron into the sea, and Aurora⁸ Cap. 3.

Εὐβουλίδου. This passage has generally been translated as meaning that the statue of Apollo only had been the work and gift of Eubulides. We have a similar expression in Attic. 1, 3, τῆς στοᾶς ὅπισθεν ἑστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον.

¹ ἐνφυκοδομημένον τοίχῳ.

² μετὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενος.

³ χωρίον.

⁴ The Greeks were fond of tracing their names of places to heroes: but Herodotus (5, 88), in alluding to the Athenian *pottery* manufactured for exportation in very ancient times, suggests a more probable derivation of Cerameicus than that given by Pausanias.

⁵ καθίζει.

⁶ In the Lexicon Rhet. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 222, the name of this Stoa is derived not from the archon, but from Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Before the Stoa Basileius was a brazen statue of Pindar, wrapt in a cloak, and seated in a chair, with an open book lying upon his knees. Æschin. in Epist. 4.

⁷ ἔπεισι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς.

⁸ Ἡμέρα.

Cap. 3. carrying away Cephalus. Near the same portico stand statues of Conon, of his son Timotheus, and of Evagoras, king of the Cyprii¹. Here likewise are figures of Jupiter Eleutherius, and of the Emperor Hadrian. Behind (them) is a portico², which contains paintings of the gods, called the Twelve, and other paintings on the further wall³ of Theseus, Democracy, and the People, signifying that Theseus first established equal rights of citizenship among the Athenians. There is also a picture of the action of the Athenians near

¹ The statue of Conon was of brass (Demosth. c. Leptin. p. 487, Reiske. Apsin. de Art. Rhet.), and the others were probably of the same material. Those of Conon and his son are mentioned by Corn. Nepos (Timoth. 2). Evagoras was here honoured, says Pausanias, because, as deriving his genealogy from Salamis, he had been friendly to the Athenians, and had persuaded Artaxerxes to place his Phœnician ships under the command of Conon.

² στοά ὀπισθεν ῥκοδόμηται. This was the Stoa Eleutherius, as appears from the pictures which Pausanias describes in it, and which are referred to by other authors. See p. 113, n. 3. The statue of Jupiter Eleutherius therefore stood in front of the portico, which was named from him. Hypereides (ap. Harpocr. in Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς) described the Stoa as near the statue (πλησίον αὐτοῦ). For this celebrated portico see also Plato (Theag. in init.), and Xenophon (Œconom. 7, 1). This Jupiter Eleutherius was sometimes called Jupiter Soter. Isocrat. Evagor. p. 200, Steph. Hesych. in Ἐλευθέριος. Menandrus ap. Harpocr. in Ἐλευθ. The statue was erected after the Persian war. Aristid. in Or. Panathen. p. 125, Jebb. The proximity of the Basileian and Eleutherian stoæ is confirmed by Harpocraton and Hesychius (in Βασιλειος Στοά), and Eustathius (in Od. A. 395), and that of the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius, and the Pompeium, by Diogenes Laërtius (6, 22). Shields of distinguished warriors were hung up in the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius. They were carried off by the soldiers of Sylla. Pausan. Attic. 26, 2. Phocic. 21, 3.

³ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν.

Mantineia, when they were sent to assist the Lacedæmonians¹. Xenophon and others have described the whole war. The picture represents a battle of horsemen, in which Gryllus, son of Xenophon, is the leading figure among the Athenians, and Epaminondas of Thebes in the Bœotian cavalry. Euphranor painted these pictures² for the Athenians³; he also made (the image of) the god⁴ in the neighbouring temple of Apollo Patrous⁵. Before the same temple⁶ are two (other) statues of Apollo; one is by Leochares, the other by Calamis. The latter, surnamed Alexicacus, is said to have been so called because Apollo, by means of the oracle of Delphi, caused the plague to cease, which afflicted (the Athenians) at the time of the Peloponnesian war⁷. There is a

¹ This painting is again mentioned by Pausanias in Arcad. 9, 4.

² τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν.

³ These pictures of the Stoa Eleutherius were much celebrated. Plutarch. de Glor. Athen. 2. Plin. H. N. 35, 11 (40), Valer. Max. 8, 12. Eustath. ad Il. A. 529.

⁴ ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Euphranor was not less illustrious as a statuary than as a painter. Plin. H. N. 34, 8 (19, *ibid.* § 16).

⁵ Apollo was entitled Patrous at Athens as a guardian deity, but his more common epithet was Pythius. καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς Πατρῴος ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει.—Demosth. de Cor. p. 274, Reiske. (ἡ πόλις) προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱεργητῆν, ἐαντῇ δὲ Πατρῴον τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον.—Aristid. in Or. Panath. I. p. 112, Jebb. Ἀπόλλων Πατρῴος ὁ Πύθιος.—Harpocr. in v.

On the worship of Apollo Patrous at Athens, see Mueller's Dorians, p. 266, 270.

The altar of Apollo Patrous was covered with gold by Neoptolemus, son of Nicocles, who received in consequence the honour of a statue in the Agora. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.

⁶ πρὸ τοῦ νεώ.

⁷ Thucyd. 2, 47, et seq. Diodor. 12, 58; and mentioned again

Cap. 3. temple of the Mother of the Gods¹, whose statue was wrought by Pheidias; and near it² is the council-house³ of those called the five hundred, who form the yearly council of the Athenians. In it stands a wooden image⁴ of Jupiter Bulæus⁵, an Apollo by Peisias, and a statue of the (Athenian) people by Lyson⁶. The Thesmothetæ were painted by Protagenes of Caunus; Callippus, who led the Athe-

by Pausan. Arcad. 41, 5, who informs us that the Apollo of Phigaleia received the epithet of Epicurius on the same occasion.

¹ *φκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρός θεῶν ἱερόν.* The Metroum served as a place of deposit for records, both public and private. Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 576, Reiske. Lycurg. c. Leocrat. p. 184. Athen. 5, 14 (53). 9, 17 (72). Diogen. Laert. 10, 16. Suidas in *Μητραγύρτης*. Dinarch. ap. Harpocr. in *Μητρῶν*. It once contained a brazen statue of a young woman, three feet high, called the *Ὶδροφόρος*, because it had been dedicated by Themistocles when he held the office of *ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης*. The statue was carried by Xerxes to Sardeis, where Themistocles afterwards saw it. Plutarch. Themist. 31. Near the Metroum was an altar of the Eudanemi. Arrian. de Exp. Alex. 3, 16.

² *πλησίον.* Æschines also observes that the Metroum was near the council-house (*ἐν τῇ Μητρώῃ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον*, c. Ctesiph. l. l.). And, according to Arrian (de Exp. Alex. 3, 16), it was over-against the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

³ *βουλευτήριον.*

⁴ *ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον.*

⁵ In the council-house there was a sanctuary of Jupiter Bulæus and Minerva Bulæa, and an altar of Vesta Bulæa. Suppliants placed themselves under the protection of these deities, and oaths were taken upon the altars. Xenoph. Hell. 2, 3, § 52. Andocid. de Myst. p. 22, Reiske. De Redit. p. 82. Antiphon *περὶ χορευνοῦ*, p. 789. Æschin. de fals. leg. p. 227. Diodor. 14, 4. Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat. Dinarch. ap. Hesych. Harpocr. in *Βουλαία*. In like manner, at Sparta, there were altars of Jupiter, Minerva, and the Dioscuri, surnamed the Ambulii. Pausan. Lacon. 13, 4.

⁶ *Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωρος.*

nians to Thermopylæ to protect Greece against the invasion of the Gauls, by Olbiades¹. Cap. 3.

Near² the council-house of the five hundred is a building called Tholus³, where the Prytanes sacrifice⁴, and in which are some small silver images of the gods. Higher up are placed⁵ statues of the heroes, from whom were derived the names of the Athenian tribes. These Eponymi, for so they are called, are Hippothoon, son of Neptune, and of Alope, daughter of Cercyon; Antiochus, son of Hercules by Medeia, daughter of Phylas; Ajax, son of Telamon, and the following Athenians: Leos, who is said to have devoted⁶ his daughters (to death) for the common safety, in obedience to the oracle; Erechtheus, who defeated the Eleusinii in battle and Cap. 5.

¹ An artist not otherwise known. Callippus, son of Mærocles, is again noticed by Pausanias (Phocic. 20, 3) as commander of the Athenians on that occasion, which occurred B. C. 279.

² *πλησίον*.

³ This celebrated building (for which see Meursii Ceram. Gem. 7) was of a circular form (Timæi Lex. Platon., Hesych., Suid., Phot. Lex. in *Θόλος*). It resembled the Tholus of Epidauria, built by Polycleitus (Pausan. Corinth. 27, 3. 5), was *στρογγυλον, παρόμοιον θολίᾳ* (Ammonius ap. Harpocrat. in *Θ.*) and was covered with a dome built of masonry (*όροφὴν εἶχε περιφερῆ, οἰκοδομητὴν, οὐχὶ ξυλίνην, ὡς τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα*. Lex. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 264). The Tholus was also called Scias (Suid. in *Σκιάς*. Ammon. l. l.), probably because it resembled the Scias of Sparta, a very ancient building in which the *ἐκκλησία* assembled. Pausan. Lacon. 12, 8.

⁴ The Prytanes, i. e. the tribe or tenth of the council of five hundred in office, dined every day, as well as sacrificed, in the Tholus. J. Poll. 8, 155. Harpocrat., Suid., Timæi Lex. Platon. in *Θόλος*. Ammon. l. l.

⁵ *Ἀνωτέρω ἐστήκασι*.

⁶ *δοῦναι*.

Cap. 5. slew their leader Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; Ægeus; Æneus, bastard son of Pandion; Acamas, son of Theseus; Cecrops, and Pandion¹. To these ten ancient Eponymi Attalus the Mysian, and Ptolemæus the Egyptian, have been added, and in my time the Emperor Hadrian.

Cap. 8. Next to the figures² of the Eponymi are those of Amphiarus, and of Peace, bearing Plutus, as her son³; of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, in brass; of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, made peace with Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes; and of Demosthenes⁴. Near the last is the temple of Mars, in which are⁵ two statues of Venus, a Mars by Alcamenes, a Minerva by Locrus of Paros, and a Bellona⁶ by the sons of Praxiteles⁷. Around (or near) the temple⁸ stand Hercules, Theseus, Apollo, having his head bound with a riband: Calades, who is said to have written laws for the Athenians, and Pindar, who, having praised the Athenians in a hymn,

¹ Pausanias here expresses a doubt, whether it was the first or the second kings of the names of Cecrops and Pandion, who had the honour of being Eponymi.

² Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας.

³ These figures were the work of Cephisodotus of Athens. See Bœot. 16, 1, where Pausanias commends the wisdom of the artist in making wealth the child of peace. Cephisodotus was brother of the wife of Phocion (Plutarch. Phocion, 19).

⁴ According to the biographer of the ten orators this statue was the work of Polyectus, and stood near the altar of the twelve gods (Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth.).

⁵ ἔνθα κεῖται.

⁶ Ἐννοῦς ἄγαλμα.

⁷ According to Codinus (de Orig. Const. p. 26, Paris), here were also two figures of elephants (see above, p. 57, n. 3), which may have been dedications of one of the Asiatic kings.

⁸ περὶ τὸν ναόν.

received this and other rewards from them¹. Not far (from these) stand² Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchus. The most ancient are the work of Antenor; the others are by Critius. The former³, Xerxes, when he took Athens, and when the Athenians abandoned the city, carried away with him as spoils. They were afterwards sent back to the Athenians by Antiochus⁴. Cap. 8.

¹ See Æschines Epist. 4, from which it appears that the most remarkable words in this hymn, which became a favourite song at Athens, were αἶ τε λιπαρὰ καὶ ἀοίδιμοι Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα Ἀθάναι. It was composed on the defeat of the Persians, and hence was the more hateful to the Thebans, who had medized. They therefore fined Pindar, and never honoured him with a statue. Athen. 1, 16 (34).

² Οὐ πόρρω ἐστᾶσιν.

³ Τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ. Ξέρξην . . . ἀπαγομένου τούτους, &c.

⁴ Brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were first erected soon after the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ in the year 510 B. C. These were the works of Antenor, which Xerxes carried into Persia. In the year 477 (Marmor Par. lin. 70) their place was supplied by those of Critius, with whom Nesiotes (for a proof of whose celebrity see Plutarch Præcept. Polit. 5, Lucian Rhet. Præcept. 9) was united in the work. Lucian Philopseud. 18. Alexander the Great, when at Babylon, gave an order, at the instance of the Athenian envoys, for the restoration of the statues which had been removed by Xerxes: this order was executed after his death by Seleucus, or, according to Pausanias, by Antiochus, i. e. Antiochus I. son of Seleucus. Arrian Exp. Al. 3, 16. 7, 19. Plin. H. N. 34, 8 (19, § 10). Valer. Max. 2, 10. Vit. X. Rhet. in Antiphon. We learn from Arrian that, on the same occasion, a Diana Κερκαῖα was restored to Athens. Pliny, by a singular anachronism, represents Praxiteles, who flourished a century after the time of the later statues, to have been the maker of the more ancient: no other author alludes to any statues of the tyrannicides by that great master.

Near the Harmodius and Aristogeiton were erected gilded

- Cap. 8. "Before the entrance¹ of the theatre called Odeium² are statues of the Ptolemæi kings of Egypt, namely, the son of Lagus, who received the surname of Soter from the Rhodii; Philadelphus, whom I have already mentioned among the Eponymi; his sister Arsinoe;
- Cap. 9. and Philometor, the eighth in succession from the son of Lagus, together with his only legitimate daughter Berenice³. Next to the Egyptians are Philip; Alexander, the son of Philip; and Lysimachus, who was also of Macedonian race, and the spear-bearer of Alexander⁴.
- Cap. 11. There is also at Athens a statue of Pyrrhus, son of Æacides⁵.

statues of Antigonus and Demetrius in a chariot (Diodor. 20, 46), and brazen images of Brutus and Cassius. Dion Cass. 47, 20. The varying policy of the Athenians towards the family of Antigonus, and the speedy ascendancy of the enemies of Brutus and Cassius, are circumstances sufficient to account for the silence of Pausanias concerning these statues, which probably no longer existed in his time.

¹ πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου.

² For the Odeium, see Xenophon Hellen. 2, 4, § 9. Strabo, p. 396. Plutarch de Exil. 14. Suid. in Ὀιδεῖον. Demosth. c. Neær. p. 1362, Reiske; and some other authorities, for which see Section IV. or Meursii Ceram. Gem. 11. In some of these passages not this Odeium, but that of Pericles, seems to have been intended.

³ These two statues were of bronze; and the others probably were of the same material, though Pausanias does not say so.

⁴ Pausanias adds (Attic. 9, 4), that the Athenians erected statues to the Ptolemies, from gratitude (τιμῇ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἐνεργείαις οὖσι); to Philip and Alexander, to please the multitude (κολακίᾳ τοῦ πλῆθους), and to Lysimachus, from temporary considerations (ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες).

⁵ Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ καὶ Πύρρῳ. This remark occurs abruptly in the midst of the historical matter of chapters 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. It is not certain, therefore, that the statue of Pyrrhus was at the entrance of the Odeium.

In the entrance of the Odeium of Athens¹ there is, among other things worthy of inspection, a (statue of) Bacchus. Near (this place) is a fountain². called Enneacrunus (or of nine pipes), constructed in this manner by Peisistratus. For there are wells³ in every part of Athens, but this is the only source⁴. Beyond the fountain⁵ are two temples, one of which is dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine; in the (other) is a statue of Triptolemus⁶, of whom I will relate what is reported. * * * While intending to proceed further in this matter, as well as in those things which relate to the Athenian temple called Eleusinium, I was deterred by a vision in my sleep. I will return, therefore, to that of which it is lawful for all men to write. In front of the temple⁷, in which is the statue of Triptolemus, are a brazen ox, prepared for sacrifice, and a sitting statue of Epimenides of Gnosus. Still farther on⁸ (is) the temple of Eucleia⁹, a dedication from the spoils of the Medes¹⁰, who occupied the district of Marathon.

¹ Ἐς τὸ Ἀθήνησιν εἰσελθοῦσιν ᾤδειον.

² Πλησίον ἐστὶ κρήνη.

³ φρέατα.

⁴ πηγή. Pausanias means the only fountain of sweet water; for he afterwards mentions two other fountains, which were of water not potable.

⁵ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην. It was both a πηγή, or source, and a κρήνη, or constructed fountain.

⁶ ἐν τῇ (ἐτέρῃ?) Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα.

⁷ Πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ.

⁸ Ἐπὶ ἀπωτέρω.

⁹ The same deity probably who was worshipped at Thebes and Platæa, under the name of Artemis Eucleia (Pausan. Bæot. 17, 1); but who, according to another mythus, was daughter of Hercules and Myrto. Plutarch. Aristid. 20.

¹⁰ ἀνάθημα ἀπὸ Μήδων.

- Cap. 14. "Beyond the Cerameicus¹, and the Stoa called Basileius, is the temple of Vulcan. I was not surprised at seeing a statue of Minerva standing by that of the god², knowing what is said concerning Erichthonius³. Observing the blue⁴ eyes of Minerva, I recognised the mythology of the Libyans, according to whom Minerva is the daughter of Neptune and of the lake Tritonis⁵, whence she has blue eyes like those of Neptune. Near⁶ (the temple of Vulcan) is the temple of Venus Urania, (in which) there still remains a statue in Parian marble, the work of Pheidias⁷.
- Cap. 15. "In approaching the portico⁸, which is called

¹ Ὑπὲρ τὸν Κεραμεικόν. Pausanias evidently here employs the word ὑπὲρ in the sense of *beyond*, which indeed may always be considered his meaning when this preposition governs the fourth case.

² This was probably the celebrated Vulcan of Alcamenes Cicero de Nat. Deor. 1, 30. Valer. Max. 8, 11. The temple is called by Plato in the Critias (6) the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, Ἀθηναῖς Ἡφαίστου τε ἱερόν.

³ See Amelesagoras ap. Antigon. Caryst. 12. Apollodorus, 3, 14. Pausan. Att. 2, 5. Hygin. Poet. Astr. 13. Serv. in Virg. Georg. 1, 205. 3, 113. Lactant. Div. Inst. 1, 17. The sequel of this strange fable is, that Minerva took charge of Erichthonius, and delivered him, during her absence from Athens, to the care of the daughters of Cecrops. The well-known event is stated by Pausanias in cap. 18.

⁴ γλαυκούς.

⁶ See Herodotus, 4, 180.

⁶ Πλησίον.

⁷ Pausanias here remarks that Ægeus first established at Athens the worship of Venus Urania, who was the Ashtaroth or Astarte of Syria, introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece (Herodot. 1, 105, 131. Pausan. Lacon. 23, 1), and worshipped at first under the form of a pyramidal stone. See below, p. 133, n. 2.

⁸ Ἰοῦσι πρὸς τὴν στοάν.

Pœcile, from its pictures¹, there is a brazen Mercury, Cap. 15.
 surnamed Agoræus, and near it a gate² upon which
 is a trophy of the Athenians, when victorious in an
 equestrian combat over Pleistarchus, who commanded
 the cavalry and foreign troops of his brother Cas-
 sander³. The first picture in the Stoa represents
 the Athenians and Lacedæmonians opposed to each
 other at Cœnoë of the Argeia, not in the height of
 action, or as yet exhibiting any great actions of
 valour, but just entering into battle, and beginning
 to engage hand to hand. In the middle wall are
 Theseus and the Athenians fighting against the
 Amazones; next to which are the Greeks who have
 taken Ilium, and their kings assembled to consult

¹ Its more ancient name was Στοὰ Πεισιανάκτιος. Plutarch. Cimon, 4. Diogen. Laërt. 7, 5. Suid. in Στοά. The followers of Zeno of Citium received the name of Stoics from the Pœcile. Lucian Demon. 14. Diogen. Laërt. l. l. Eratosthenes, *ibid.*

² See Hesych., Phavor. in Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. This Hermes was one of the most noted statues in Athens (Aristoph. Eq. 218. Demosth. c. Everg. et Mnes. p. 1146, Reiske. Lucian. Jup. Trag. 33), partly perhaps from its position, but also from the beauty of its muscular details. It was commonly called the Hermes at the gate, Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι or παρὰ τὸν πυλῶνα. (Demosth. l. l. Harpocrat., Suid., Phot. Lex., in Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι—πρὸς τ. π. 'E.) It was inscribed with an elegiac distich, preceding the names of the Archons who had been in office when the fortifications of Peiræus were commenced. Philochorus ap. Harpocrat. in Πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς. The gate appears to have been named the Asticgate, ὁ πυλῶν Ἀστικός: for so probably Philochorus ought to be read, and not Ἑρμῆν παρὰ τὸν πυλῶνα τὸν Ἀττικόν, as we find it in Harpocraton in Ὁ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι. The proximity of the gate and the Pœcile is shown by Lucian (l. l.), who describes the Hermes as Ἑρμῆς ὁ ἀγοραῖος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλην.

³ For Pleistarchus, see Plutarch. Demetr. 31. Diodor. 19, 77.

Cap. 15. about the violation of Cassandra by Ajax. Ajax appears in the picture, and Cassandra, together with other female captives. At one end of the picture¹ are those who fought at Marathon; the Bœotians of Platæa and all the Attic forces are fighting with the barbarians. Here the contest is equal; but in the distance², the barbarians are flying, and driving one another into the marsh: at the extremity of the painting³ are the Phœnician ships, and the Greeks slaying the barbarians, who are throwing themselves on board. The hero Marathon, from whom the plain was named, is represented, and Theseus as if rising out of the earth; Minerva also, and Hercules, for the Marathonii say that they were the first to worship him as a god. Among the combatants the most conspicuous are the polemarch Callimachus; Miltiades, one of the commanders, and the hero Echetus, of whom I shall make mention hereafter⁴. In the Pœcile are⁵ brazen shields, on

¹ Τελευταῖοι τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν.

² τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης.

³ ἔσχαται τῆς γραφῆς.

⁴ Micon painted the Athenians and Amazones. Aristoph. Lysist. 681. Arrian de Exp. Alex. 7, 13. It was probably in this picture that the head of Butes appeared from behind a rock, whence the proverb, Θᾶτρον ἢ Βούτης. Hesych., Suid. in v. Zenob. Prov. 4, 28. Polygnotus painted the part relating to Ajax and Cassandra, and introduced among the Trojan women a portrait of Elpinice, sister of Cimon, as Laodice, one of the daughters of Priam. Plutarch. Cim. 4. The battle of Marathon was the joint production of Polygnotus, Micon, and Pantænus, brother or nephew of Phidias. Plutarch. ibid. Diogen. Laërt. 7, 5. Plin. H.N. 35, 8 (34). Ælian. de Nat. Animal. 7, 38. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 11, 2. In this painting were

⁵ κείμεναι.

some of which are inscriptions, signifying that they were taken from the Scionæi and their allies; others, which are covered with pitch, to preserve them from the injuries of time and from rust, are said to be the shields of the Lacedæmonians who were captured in the island of Sphacteria. Cap. 15.

In front of the portico¹ is a brazen statue of Solon², who wrote laws for the Athenians; a little beyond which is another statue in brass of Seleucus³. Cap. 16.

"In the Agora are some objects not understood by all men⁴, and among them an altar of Pity⁵, to Cap. 17.

portraits of Miltiades, leading the other commanders, and giving orders for engaging, of Æschylus, of Cynægeirus represented without hands, of Epizelus, of Callimachus, of Datis, of Artaphernes (Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 576, Reiske. Plin. H. N. 35, 8 (34). Corn. Nep. in Miltiad. 6. Lucian. Jup. Trag. 32. Demon. 53), and of a dog, which was said to have accompanied one of the soldiers to Marathon. Ælian. l. l. There was no inscription naming Miltiades (Æschin. l. l.) but the following distich :

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι

Ἐκτείναν Μήδων εἴκοσι μυριάδας.

Suid. in Πουκίλῃ.

There was also a painting by Pamphilus of Alcmena and the Heraclidæ, imploring the assistance of the Athenians against Eurysthenes. Aristoph. Plut. 385, et Schol.

¹ *πρὸ τῆς στοᾶς.*

² Probably the same statue alluded to by Demosthenes (c. Aristog. p. 80, Reiske), and by Ælian (Var. Hist. 8, 16), as being in the Agora.

³ Seleucus Nicator, who, among other actions better known, which Pausanias here relates of him, respected the temple of Belus at Babylon, and restored to the Milesii the brazen Apollo of Branchidæ, which Xerxes had carried to Ecbatana.

⁴ *οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα.*

⁵ Ἑλείου. This altar was renowned among the Greeks. Diodor.

Cap. 17. whom the Athenians alone of all the Greeks give divine honours. They have likewise altars of Modesty, of Fame, and of Impetuosity¹.

“In the Gymnasium, which is not far distant from the Agora, and which is called Ptolemæum from him who built it², are Hermæ of stone worthy of inspection³, a brazen image of Ptolemæus, and statues of Juba the Libyan⁴, and of Chrysippus of Soli.

13, 22. Apollod. 2, 8, § 1. 3, 7, § 1. Philost. Sophist. 2, 1, § 5. 2, 12, § 2. Ep. 59, 70. Lucian. Timon 42. Demon. 57. Statii Theb. 12, 481. Claudian. de B. Gildon. 405.

¹ Αἰδοῦς καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὁρμῆς. It is doubtful in what part of Athens these three altars stood. That of Ædo was in the Acropolis, according to Phavorinus (in Αἰδῶ). The altar of Fame is alluded to by Æschines (ὑμῶν τοὺς προγόνους Φήμης ὡς θεοῦ μεγίστης βῶμον ἰδρυμένους, c. Timarch. p. 140, Reiske), and again de falsa leg. p. 311.

² τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου. Although neither Pausanias, nor Cicero, who mentions the Gymnasium Ptolemæum (de Fin. 5, 1), nor any other author, distinctly indicates to which of the Ptolemies the Athenians were indebted for this gymnasium, we cannot hesitate in believing that it was one of the benefactions in return for which the Athenians attached the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus to one of their φυλαὶ or tribes.

³ The Athenians were the first who gave the name of Hermæ to square στήλαι, or columns, surmounted with the head of a deity, and often with a portrait. Pausan. Attic. c. 19, 2. 24, 3. Arcad. 32, 1. 39, 4. Hipparchus erected many, inscribed with short moral precepts in verse. Plat. Hipparch. 4. Hesych. in Ἰππάρχειος Ἑρμῆς. Harpocrat. in Ἑρμαῖ. Some Hermæ, or their remains, are still to be seen at Athens, with the names of victors in gymnastic contests upon them.

⁴ Juba was descended from the Ptolemies, his father Ptolemæus having been son of Cleopatra Selene, daughter of M. Antonius and Cleopatra. Juba, the father of Ptolemæus, was son of the Juba who was opposed to Julius Cæsar, and who, having been defeated, destroyed himself. Juba, his son, was restored to the kingdom

“Near the Gymnasium¹ is the temple of Theseus². Cap. 17.

Here are pictures, one of which represents the battle of the Athenians with the Amazones. The same subject is wrought upon the shield of Minerva³, and upon the base of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia⁴. There is a painting also in the temple of Theseus of the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, in which Theseus alone is represented as having slain a Centaur, the others being engaged in an equal combat. The picture of the third wall is not very clear to those who do not understand the subject, partly because it is injured by time, and partly because Micon has not expressed the whole affair. When Minos brought Theseus, and the other young men and women of Athens to Crete, he became enamoured of Peribœa, and being enraged with Theseus for opposing his wishes, among other indignities which he cast upon Theseus, denied that he was the

of Libya by Octavianus Cæsar. Strabo, p. 828. Dion Cass. 51, 15. The Juba, whose statue was in the Gymnasium Ptolemæum at Athens, had a son named Ptolemæus, who was also honoured by the Athenians, as appears from an inscription published by Stuart (III. p. 1). He was the same person favoured by Tiberius, and afterwards put to death by his own kinsman Caligula. Tacit. Annal. 4, 24. 26. Dion Cass. 59, 25. Sueton. Calig. 26. 35. Seneca de tranq. anim. 11. See the remarks of Boeckh on the inscription above mentioned, C. Ins. Gr. No. 360.

¹ Πρὸς τῇ γυμνασίῳ.

² The vicinity of these two buildings is noticed also by Plutarch in the life of Theseus, 36. Θησεύς . . . κείται ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον.

³ In the Parthenon. Plin. H. N. 36, 5 (4, § 4). Pausan. Phocic. 34, 4.

⁴ See Pausanias, Eliac. pr. 11, 2.

Cap. 17. son of Neptune, or that he could recover a seal-ring, which Minos, happening to have on his finger, threw into the sea. It is said that Theseus not only brought up the seal, but also a golden crown, which had been presented to him by Amphitrite¹. The Athenians established the temple² of Theseus, after the Medes had been at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, having expelled the people of Scyrus, punished them for the death of Theseus, and brought back his bones to Athens.

Cap. 18. "The temple of the Dioscuri is ancient³. Here are (statues of) the Dioscuri on foot, and of their sons⁴ on horseback : here also is a painting by Polygnotus, of the wedding of the two former with the daughters of Leucippus⁵, and another painting by Micon, of those who sailed with Jason to the Colchi, in which the

¹ Polygnotus was probably the colleague of Micon in the painting of this temple, as well as of the Pœcile and of the Anaceium (Pausan. Attic. 18, 1); for Harpocration, on the authority of Artemon and Juba, states (in Πολύγνωτος, repeated by Suidas) that Polygnotus, who was of Thasus, was made an Athenian citizen for having painted τὰς ἐν Θησαυρῷ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀνακείῳ γράφας: where Θησαυρῷ is probably an error for Θησεῖα.

² σῆκος.

³ ἀρχαῖον.

⁴ Their names were Anaxis and Mnasinous. Pausan. Corinth. 22, 6. The temple was often named Anaceium, because Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri) were commonly called οἱ Ἀνακες, or Ἀνακοί, by the Athenians. Plutarch. Thes. 33. Ælian. Var. Hist. 4, 5. Suid., Etym. M. in Ἀνακοί. Harpocrat. in Ἀνακείον, Πολύγνωτος.

⁵ Leucippus, son of Perieres, had two daughters, Hilacira and Phœbe. The Dioscuri carried them off from Messene, and married them, Castor the former, and Pollux the latter. Apollod. 3, 11, § 2. Pausan. Attic. 18, 1. Corinth. 22, 6. Lacon. 17, 3. 18, 7.

artist has chiefly bestowed his care on the figures of Cap. 18.
Acastus and his horses.

Beyond (the temple of) the Dioscuri is the sacred inclosure of Aglaurus¹. It is said that Minerva gave a chest² containing Erichthonius, to the care of Aglaurus, and of her sisters Herse and Pandrosus, with orders to them not to examine into the contents: that Pandrosus obeyed, but that the two other sisters, having opened it, were seized with madness upon seeing Erichthonius, and threw themselves from the Acropolis where it was most precipitous³. Here the Medes ascending, slew those Athenians, who, thinking that they understood the oracle better than Themistocles, fortified the Acropolis with wooden works and palisades⁴. Near⁵ (this place) is the Prytaneium, in which the laws of Solon are preserved in writing⁶. Here are images of the

¹ Ὑπὲρ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερόν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν.

This metathesis in the name Agraulus had probably been introduced in late times, as we find it only in Ovid. Herodotus, Euripides, the authors of the Atticides, and the grammarians, all properly write it Agraulus.

² κιβωτόν.

³ ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον. See Herodotus 8, 53. Antigonus Carystius (12) names Pandrosus and Agraulus as the disobedient sisters; but this is contrary to the tenor of the whole mythus, and is more probably an error of Antigonus or his transcribers, than of the Athenian antiquary Amelesagoras, whom he followed.

⁴ ξύλοις καὶ σταυροῖς.

⁵ Πλησίον.

⁶ The ancient laws, written chiefly in βουστροφηδόν, were registered in the Acropolis on pillars of stone or on brazen

Cap. 18. goddesses Peace and Vesta¹, and, among other images of men², that of Autolycus the pancratiast³. The names on the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles have been changed into those of a Thracian and a Roman.

"In going from thence to the lower parts of the city occurs the temple of Sarapis, whom the Athenians received as a god through Ptolemæus⁴. Not far from

tablets (δέλτοι χαλκαῖ), or on instruments of wood called *ἄλυνες*, *κύρβεις*. In the middle of the fourth century B. C. they were removed to the Buleuterium, Stoa Basileius, and Prytaneium, which last, from the time of Solon, had been the ordinary place of record. The *κύρβεις* were triangular pyramids: the *ἄλυνες* were quadrangular, and revolved vertically on *περόναι*, fixed at either end in the roof and floor. Plutarch. Solon. 25. Polemon. ap. Harpocrat. in *Ἄλυνες*. J. Poll. 8, 128. Lex. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 413. Harpocrat., Phot. Lex., Suid., Etym. M. in *Κύρβεις*. Schol. Aristoph., Nub. 447, Av. 1354. Schol. Apollon. Rh. 4, 280. Zenob. Prov. 4, 77. Harpocr. in *Ἄλυνες*, Ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος.

¹ *Εἰρήνης καὶ Ἑστίας*. The statue of Vesta was near the entrance of the Prytaneium. Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth. A lamp, never extinguished, burnt before it. Theocrit. Idyl. 21, v. 36. J. Poll. 1, 7. To the right of the statue of Vesta in entering, was the statue of Demochares, son of the sister of Demosthenes, clothed, and girded with a sword. Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth. There was also a statue of Good Fortune (*Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης*) in the Prytaneium. Ælian. Var. Hist. 9, 39.

² It seems from Pausanias (Attic. 26, 3) that one of the statues of men was that of Olympiodorus, who commanded the Athenians against Demetrius Poliorcetes and Cassander.

³ Xenoph. Sympos. 1. The statue of Autolycus was by Leochares. Plin. H. N. 34, 8 (19, § 17).

⁴ *Ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν εἰς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο*.

the temple of Sarapis is the place¹ where Theseus and Peirithous are said to have entered into an agreement to proceed to Sparta, and afterwards to Thesprotia²; and near (it)³ is the temple of Lucina⁴. Among the Athenians alone the wooden images⁵ of this goddess are clothed to the extremity of the feet. The women report that two such statues (in this temple) are from Crete, and were dedicated by Phædra, and that the third and most ancient was brought from Delus by Erysichthon⁶. Cap. 18.

Before the temple of Jupiter Olympius are images of Hadrian; two of Thasian, and two of Egyptian stone. This emperor of the Romans dedicated both the temple and the statue⁷, which is remarkable, not so much for its magnitude (for there are other statues equal to it in size, and the Colossi of Rome and of Rhodes are much greater), as from its being made of ivory and gold, and with great skill, considering its magnitude⁸. Before the columns stand brazen statues

¹ τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ δὲ Σαραπίδος οὐ πόρῳ χωρίον ἐστίν.

² For the purpose of carrying off Helena, daughter of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, and Persephone, wife of Aidoneus, king of the Molossi. Plutarch. Thes. 31. Pausan. Attic. 17, 4. Sophocles seems to place the meeting near the Colonus Hippius. Œdip. Col. 1664.

³ πλησίον.

⁴ ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας.

⁵ τὰ ξόανα.

⁶ Erysichthon was said to have been son of the first Cecrops, and brother of Pandrosus, Herse, and Agraulus. He died in the lifetime of Cecrops on his return to the port of Prasæ, in Attica, from Delus, where he had been sacrificing. His tomb was seen at Prasæ by Pausanias. Apollod. 3, 14. Phanodemus ap. Athen. 9, 11 (47). Pausan. Attic. 2, 5. 18, 5. 31, 2.

⁷ See Dion Cassius (69, 16), Spartian (Hadrian, 13), Philostratus (Sophist. 1, 23). Spartian adds, *dedicavit aram sibi*.

⁸ Pausanias informs us (Corinth. 27, 2) that the Epidaurian

Cap. 18. (of Hadrian, presented by those) cities which the Athenians call colonial¹. The whole exterior inclosure² is about four stades in circuit, and is full of statues of Hadrian, each of the cities of Greece having placed one³; but the Athenians have greatly surpassed them all by the colossus, worthy of examination, which they have erected behind the temple. The peribolus contains the following antiquities⁴—a Jupiter in brass, a temple of Cronus and Rhea,⁵ and a sacred por-

Æsculapius, another chryselephantine statue, was less than half as large as the Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

¹ As this passage cannot be clearly rendered into English in the exact order of the text of Pausanias, I subjoin the Greek, adopting Mr. Boeckh's emendation (C. Ins. Gr. No. 331), namely, the insertion of οὗ after 'Ολυμπίου. Πρὶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου, (οὗ) 'Αδριανὸς ὁ 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα, θεᾶς ἕξιων, οὐ μεγέθει μὲν, (ὅτι μὴ 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ 'Ροδίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀποδείκνυνται), πεποιήται δὲ ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὁρῶσιν· ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες 'Αδριανοῦ, δύο μὲν εἰσι Θεσίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαὶ δὲ ἑστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων (ἃς ἀνέθεσαν) ἃς 'Αθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποικὸν πόλεις. ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος, &c. As the text of Pausanias abounds with errors of omission, caused by the consecutive recurrence of one or more syllables, it becomes so much the more probable that the two words, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν, resembling ἃς 'Αθηναῖοι, have been omitted in this passage.

² ὁ πᾶς περίβολος.

³ For the inscriptions upon the pedestals of some of these statues, see Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 321 et seq.

⁴ ἀρχαῖα.

⁵ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ 'Ρέας. In the Lex. Rhetor. (Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 273) there is a reference to this temple (Κρόνιον τέμενος: τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν 'Ολύμπιον). Between these words and those which immediately follow (μέχρι τοῦ Μητρώου τοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ) there seems to have been something lost.

tion called that of Olympia¹, where is a chasm in the earth one cubit in width, through which the waters of the deluge of Deucalion are said to have descended. Into this chasm they throw every year wheaten flour, mixed with honey². There is a statue of Isocrates upon a column³, and a representation in Phrygian marble, of Persians supporting a brazen tripod: both the statues and the tripod are worthy of observation. Deucalion is said to have erected the most ancient temple of Jupiter Olympius; and his tomb, which is not far distant from the present temple, is shown as a proof that he dwelt at Athens. Hadrian constructed other buildings for the Athenians, namely, a temple of Juno and Jupiter Panhellenius, and a sanctuary common to all the gods. The most conspicuous things (are) a hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian stone. The walls of the porticos are made of the same material, and in the same place are apartments adorned with gilded roofs and alabaster stone, and with statues and paintings: books are deposited in this sanctuary (or in these apartments). There is likewise a Gymnasium, called the Gymnasium of Hadrian,

¹ *τέμενος τὴν ἐπικλησιν Ὀλυμπίας*. This seems to be the same as the *τὸ τῆς Γῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερὸν* mentioned by Plutarch (Thes. 27), and the same also as the temple of the Earth (*τὸ τῆς Γῆς*), which Thucydides (2, 15) names among the ancient establishments of this quarter. Pausanias therefore probably wrote *τέμενος τῆς Γῆς ἐπικλησιν Ὀλυμπίας*, "the temenus of Tellus Olympia."

² This ceremony took place at the new moon of Anthesterion. Plutarch. Syll. 14.

³ Dedicated and inscribed with a distich by his son Aphareus. Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat.

Cap. 18. where are a hundred columns from the quarries of Libya ¹.

Cap. 19. Near the temple of Jupiter Olympius occurs a statue of Apollo Pythius, and there is another sanctuary of Apollo, surnamed Delphinus ².

¹ Different interpretations have been made of this passage, and different conclusions as to the buildings of Hadrian have been drawn from it. The words are these: 'Αδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα 'Αθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου, καὶ Θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν· τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι, καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὁρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἡγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατὰκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ (al. αὐτὰ) βιβλία· καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπώνυμον 'Αδριανοῦ· κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων. Pausanias, in another place (Attic. 5, 5), informs us that in the Pantheon of Athens there was a catalogue of all the temples which Hadrian had built from the foundations, or had adorned with dedications or constructions, and of all his gifts to the cities, both Greek and Barbarian. The library is noticed by Hieronymus (Euseb. Chron. Ol. 227), Cassiodorus (Chron. in Hadrian.), and Syncellus (Chron. p. 349, Paris).

² Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἁγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκκλησιν Δελφινίου. In the Pythium the Thargelia were celebrated, and tripods were dedicated by those who were victorious in the cyclic dance. Suid. in Πύθιον. Suidas adds, ἱερὸν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός, confounding the establishment by the archon Peisistratus of the altar on which was the distich,

Μνῆμα τόδ' ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισιστράτος Ἰππίου νιός

Θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει,

with that of the Pythium itself, which was one of the most ancient temples in this part of the city. Compare Thucyd. 2, 15. 6, 54. For the importance of the Delphinium see Plutarch (Thes. 12. 18). It was sacred to Apollo Delphinus and Diana Delphinia (J. Poll. 8, 119). Apollo was so named ὅτι τὸν ἐν Πυθῶνι δελφῖνα δράκοντα τοξεύσας ἀνέῖλε (Heliodorus ap. Tzetz. in Lycoph. 208). This temple was said to have been

“Of the district ¹ called Κῆποι (the Gardens) and Cap. 19.
of the temple of Venus nothing remarkable is related ;
nor of the Venus which stands near the temple. This
statue is of a square form like the Hermæ, and the
inscription upon it signifies that it is Venus Urania,
the eldest of the Fates². The statue of Venus in
the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and is among
the things (most) worthy of notice at Athens³.

“There is a place sacred to Hercules called Cynos-
arges⁴. The story of the white bitch (from which

founded by Ægeus, whose dwelling was near it : hence a Hermes
on the eastern side of the temple was surnamed ἐπ’ Αἴγεως πύλαις.
Pausanias here relates, that while the structure was in progress,
Theseus having entered the city in a long vestment (χίτων ποδήρης),
and with platted hair, was mistaken for a woman by the workmen
who were then engaged in placing the roof, and who reproached him
as such for walking about alone ; when, without making any reply,
he unyoked the oxen from a waggon, and raised it above the roof
of the temple. On the correction of the text of this passage of
Pausanias, see Siebelis in Pausan. Attic. Annot. p. 62.

¹ χωρίον.

² Μοιρῶν. According to Epimenides (in fragm. ap. Schol. Lycophr. 406), Venus and the Fates were, as well as the Furies, children of Cronus. The square form of the statue seems to have been derived from the square pillar or pyramidal stone, the original representative of the Venus Urania or Syrian Venus, as described by Maximus Tyrius (8, 8), and as seen on the coins of Tyre, Sidon, and Paphus. In one of the temples of Venus, more probably that of the Agora, was a picture of Love crowned with roses (Aristoph. Acharn. 991), a subject again painted by Zeuxis. Schol. in Aristoph. ibid. Suid. in Ἀνθέμων.

³ τῇ (Ἀφροδίτῃ) ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῇ ἐν Κήποις ὁμοία. Lucian. pro Imag. 8. Pliny says (36, 54, § 3), that Phidias was thought to have put the finishing hand to this celebrated work of his scholar Alcamenes.

⁴ See Herodotus, 5, 63. 6, 116. Athen. 6, 6 (26). Liv. 31, 24. Plutarch, Themist. 1. Harpocr. in Ἱεράκλεια.

Cap. 19. the name is derived) is known to those who are acquainted with the oracle¹. Here are altars of Hercules and of Hebe, daughter of Jupiter, whom they consider to be the consort of Hercules: here are also altars of Alcmene and of Iolaus, who was the companion of Hercules in most of his labours.

"The Lyceium takes its name from Lycus, son of Pandion. From the beginning it has been held sacred to Apollo, and it continues to be so². Behind the Lyceium is the monument of Nisus, who, having been slain by Minos, king of Megara, was brought hither and buried here by the Athenians.

"The rivers of Athens are the Eilissus³, and a river

¹ The dog carried away part of a victim, when sacrifices were here first offered to Hercules. Hesych., Suid., Steph. Byz., in *Κυνόσαργες*. Eustath. in Il. B. 11. Cynosarges was a gymnasium as well as a Heracleium (Liv., Plutarch, l. l.), and became the school of the followers of Antisthenes, called Cynics. Diog. Laërt. 6, 13.

² *ἐξαρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς*. The statue of the god represented him as in repose, leaning against a column with a bow in the left hand, the right resting upon his head. Lucian, *Gymnas.* 7. The Lyceium was a common place of assembly for military exercises, and the greatest of the Athenian gymnasia for the corporeal education of the Athenians. Peisistratus, Pericles, and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, all contributed to its embellishment and completion. Before the palæstra, built by Lycurgus, was a column recording his actions. Hesych., Harpocrat., Suid., in *Λυκείον*. Bekker. *Anecd. Gr.* I. p. 277. Aristoph. *Pa.* 353, et Schol. Xenoph. *Hipparch.* 3, 6. Vit. X. *Rhet.* in Lycurg. Pausan. *Attic.* 29, 16. The Peripatetic philosophers, or followers of Aristotle, received that name from their custom of walking in the Lyceium. Diog. Laërt. 5, 2. Cicero, *Acad. Qu.* 1, 4 (17).

³ The description by Statius of the Elissus of Sicyonia will equally apply to the Athenian river: "anfractu riparum incurvus Elissos." Theb. 4, 52.

of the same name as the Celtic Eridanus, which descends into the Eilissus. It is said that Oreithyia was playing near the Eilissus, when she was carried off by the wind Boreas; that Oreithyia is the consort of Boreas¹, and that, on account of this affinity, he assisted the Athenians by destroying many of the barbaric triremes². The Athenians consider the Eilissus sacred also to other deities. There is an altar on its bank to the Musæ Eilissiades³. They likewise show the place where Codrus, son of Melanthus, king of the Athenians, was slain by the Peloponnesians. Beyond the river is the district called Agræ, and the temple of Diana Agrotera. Here Diana is said to have first hunted when she came from Delus, whence her statue has a bow (in the hand).

¹ Oreithyia was the daughter of king Erechtheus the Second, and sister of Procris, Creusa, and Chthonia. Apollod. 3, 15, § 2. Boreas was a Thracian prince, son of Astræus (Hesiod, Theog. 378), or of Strymon (Hesagoras ap. Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1, 211): according to the former authority, his mother was Aurora (Ἥως). Herodotus (7, 189) shows that there was a sanctuary of Boreas near the Ilissus (ἵπὸν Βορέω παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἰδρύσαντο). Socrates, in the Phædrus (7), supposes the fact as to Oreithyia to have been, that as she was playing with her sister Pharmaceia on the banks of the Ilissus, she was thrown from the rocks by the force of the north wind, and killed by the fall.

² In another place (Arcad. 24, 9), Pausanias, mentioning the assistance given by Boreas to the people of Megalopolis, when besieged by Agis, whose machinery was destroyed by the wind, remarks that his favour on the former occasion was bestowed upon all the Greeks.

³ The other deities were the Nymphs, Achelous, Pan, and the χθόνιοι θεοί. See Plato (Phædr. 9, 29, 91, 103, 147) and Appendix VI.

Cap. 19.

"The stadium of white marble is wonderful to behold ; its magnitude is not very easily credited by those who only hear of it ¹, but may be imagined from this : it is a hill rising from the Eilissus, of a semi-circular form in the upper part, and extending from thence in a double right line to the bank of the river². It was built by the Athenian Herodes, who used a great quantity of marble from the quarries of Pentele in its construction.

Cap. 20.

"There is a street leading from the Prytaneium, called Tripodes : the place is so named because there are certain temples of the gods, upon which stand great tripods of brass, which, for the most part, encircle works worthy of mention ³; for here is the Satyr of which the maker Praxiteles is said to have had a high opinion ⁴. In the adjacent temple a young

¹ ἀκούσασι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν.

² ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηννοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην, εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν.

³ The following are the words of Pausanias : "Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο, μεγάλοι καὶ σφισιν ἐφεσθήκασιν τρίποδες, χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ δῆλα μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. It has been supposed that in this passage there is an omission of οὐ before μεγάλοι; so that, instead of "temples having large tripods on them," we should read "small temples, having tripods on them," such a description exactly suiting the Choragic monument, vulgarly called the lantern of Demosthenes (τὸ φανάρι τοῦ Δημοσθένους). On the other hand, μεγάλοι is well adapted to describe the tripods, which were far beyond the ordinary dimension of tripods, and so large as to have contained statues standing within them.

⁴ φρηνῆσαι μέγα. It was commonly called ὁ περιβόητος. Plin. N. H. 34, 8 (19, § 10). Pausanias here relates the celebrated stratagem of Phryne, who had received permission from her lover

Satyr extends a cup to Bacchus, which latter figure, as Cap. 20. well as a Cupid standing by it, is the work of Thymilus¹. But the most ancient sanctuary of Bacchus² is adjacent to the Theatre³. Within the inclosure⁴ are two temples and two statues of Bacchus; one surnamed Eleuthereus⁵; the other, made of ivory and gold, is the work of Alcamenes. Here also are pictures

Praxiteles to make choice of one of his works, and who wished to discover to which of them he himself gave the preference. She raised a false alarm of his laboratory being on fire; upon which he ordered that, above all, his Cupid and his Satyr should be saved. Of these two Phryne very naturally made choice of the Cupid, which she presented to the temple of Love in her native city Thespiæ. Athenæus, in relating the same story, describes the Satyr as τὸν ἐπὶ τριπόδων σάτυρον, the Satyr of the Tripods. Pausan. Boeot. 27, 13. Athen. 13, 18.

¹ Διόνυσος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον, Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα. Ἐρωτα δ' ἐστηκότα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θύμιλος ἐποίησε.

² At this temple the ancient festival of the great Dionysia was celebrated. The sacred inclosure, described as a μέγας περίβολος, was known by the name of Lenæum, and the quarter in which it stood by the name of Limnæ. Hesych. in Ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων, Λιμναγενίς. Phot. Lex. in Ἀθηναίων. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 278. Thucyd. 2, 15. Athen. 11, 3. Harpocr. in Ἐν Λιμναίᾳ Διόνυσον. Aristoph. Ran. 218. Callimach. ap. Schol. ibid. Steph. Byzant. in Λίμναι.

³ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ. The Theatre was sacred to Bacchus, and included in the sanctuary; hence it was called (to distinguish it from the other Theatres of Athens) the Dionysiac Theatre, τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν (Psephisma ap. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. J. Poll. 8, 133), and sometimes τὸ Ἀθηναϊκὸν (J. Poll. 4, 121), or τὸ ἐν Διονύσειον θέατρον. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Hesych., Phot. Lex., in Ἴκρια.

⁴ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου.

⁵ It was made of wood, and received its epithet from its having been brought from Eleutheræ. Pausan. Attic. 38, 8. This was the more ancient Bacchus. The temple of Bacchus Eleuthereus was burnt—perhaps safter the time of Pausanias. Clem. Alexand. in Protrept. p. 16, Sylb.

Cap. 20. (representing) Bacchus conducting to heaven Vulcan, whom he had intoxicated¹; Pentheus and Lycurgus punished for their injuries to Bacchus; and Ariadne sleeping, while Theseus is seen retiring, and Bacchus approaching. Near² the temple of Bacchus and the Theatre is a building said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes³. The ancient edifice having been burnt by Sylla, commander of the Romans, when he took Athens⁴, was afterwards built a second time⁵.

¹ Pausanias here informs us that Vulcan, in order to be revenged of Juno for turning him out of heaven, made her a present of a golden throne with hidden springs, which prevented her, after being seated upon it, from rising up again. Bacchus alone of all the gods could succeed in persuading Vulcan to liberate the queen of heaven.

² πλησίον.

³ The Odeium of Pericles. Its form is described by Plutarch, and alluded to by the comic poet, whom he cites :

τὸ δὲ Ὀιδεῖον τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινές καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους. Διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράγταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν.

Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται

Περικλῆς τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου

Ἐχων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται. Plutarch, Pericl. 13.

The well-known deformity in the cranium of Pericles, which the poet compares to the tent-shaped Odeium, induced artists to cover his head with a helmet, as we find him represented in a bust at the British Museum.

⁴ According to Appian (B. Mithr. 38) it was destroyed by Aristion in defending Athens against Sylla, that the besiegers might not make use of the timber in assaulting the Acropolis, into which Aristion had retired: and this is the more probable account; for Sylla entered by the wall of the Cerameicus, and though he slaughtered the citizens, gave orders for the buildings to be spared, and did not besiege the Acropolis, but reduced Aristion

The Theatre contains many statues of tragic and comic poets, who, for the most part, are of obscure reputation; for, among them, Menander is the only one who attained to glory as a writer of comedy⁶. Here are images of the illustrious tragedians, Euripides and Sophocles⁷: the statue of Æschylus appears to have been made long after his death, and long after the picture wherein the battle of Marathon is described⁸. Cap. 21.

by famine (Plutarch, Syll. 14. Appian, l. l.). On the contrary, the adventurer Aristion, who began by being an itinerant sophist, and ended by obtaining supreme power, and by exposing the Athenians as allies of Mithradates to the vengeance of the Romans; who, by his tyrannical conduct, had reduced the Athenians to extreme misery, and had shocked their religious feelings by causing the extinction of the perpetual fire of Minerva Polia, may easily be supposed to have adopted any measure to save the Acropolis, when upon the defence of it depended the only chance of saving his own life. See Posidonius ap. Athen. 5, 13 (49), who calls him Athenion. Dion Cass. frag. 124. Plutarch. Num. 9. Lucull. 19.

⁶ By Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. Vitruv. 5, 9. An inscription, of which a copy taken by the Consul of France in 1743, was sent to Paris, shows that the king who repaired the Odeium was Ariobarzanes Philopator, who succeeded to the throne B. C. 65. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 357. Hence he appears to have been the son of the prince with whom Cicero describes his interview in Cappadocia. Cicer. Ep. ad Fam. 15, ep. 2.

⁷ Dion Chrysostom (Orat. Rhod. p. 355, ed. Morell) reproaches the Athenians with having placed the statue of an obscure poet near that of Menander.

⁸ V. Philin. ap. Harpocr. in *Θεωρικά*.

⁹ That of the Pœcile, in which the portrait of Æschylus was introduced. V. sup. p. 122, n. 4. The statues of the three tragic dramatists in the Theatre, noticed by Pausanias, are probably the same which Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, caused to be erected to

Cap. 21. "In the wall of the Acropolis, which is towards the theatre¹, and is called Notium (the southern), there is a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and around it an ægis². On the summit of the theatre is a cavern in the rocks under the Acropolis. Upon this cavern stands a tripod, and within the cavern are (images of) Apollo and Diana, destroying the children of Niobe³. In proceeding from the theatre to the Acropolis occurs the tomb of Calos⁴. He was a pupil of Dædalus, and son of his sister, and was slain by Dædalus, who, in consequence of the murder, fled to Crete⁵. The temple of Æsculapius is

them in bronze; at the same time that it was enacted that their tragedies should be written out and kept in the archives of the state, and should not be communicated to the players but through the γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.

¹ ἐς τὸ θέατρον τετραμένον.

² It was dedicated by Antiochus . . . Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρον τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ἡ αἰγίς ἡ χρυσῇ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 12, 2.

³ Ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτεμις τοὺς παῖδάς εἰσιν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης.

⁴ Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρον τίθαπαται Κάλως. Οὗ Talos, Ταλαοῦ, δὲ νῆιοι, διὰ τοῦ Κ, Κάλαον προσαγορεύουσι. Schol. Œdip. Col. 1385. But Talos was more commonly employed. See Diodorus (4, 76), Lucian (Piscator, 42), Apollodorus (3, 15, § 9), Clemens (Protrept. p. 14, Sylb.), Suidas in Πέρδικος ἱερὸν.

⁵ Dædalus was said to have envied his nephew for his discovery of the saw and compasses, and to have treacherously thrown him down from the Acropolis; upon which his mother Perdix destroyed herself, and was honoured with a sanctuary by the Athenians. Some authors have given the name of Perdix to the nephew. See on this Attic tale, besides other authorities in the preceding note, Sophocles Comic. ap. Suid. in

worthy of inspection for the statues of Bacchus Cap. 21. and his children, and for the pictures¹ which it contains. In the same temple is a fountain, at which Halirrhothius, son of Neptune, is reported to have been slain by Mars, for having disgraced his daughter Alcippe; and this murder is said to have been the first upon which judgment was pronounced². In the same temple, among other things, is a Sarmatian breast-plate, which shows that the barbarians are not less skilful in the arts than the Greeks³.

“Next to the temple of Æsculapius, proceeding Cap. 22. by the same road to the Acropolis, is the temple of Themis, and before it is the monument of Hippolytus⁴. The worship of Venus Pandemus and Peitho was established by Theseus, when he collected the Athenians from the villages into one city⁵. The

Πέρδικος ἱερὸν. Ovid, Metam. 8, 3. Hygin. fab. 39, 244, 274. Serv. ad Virgil. Georg. 1, 143.

¹ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφάς. The MS. Vindob. has παιδῶν ἐς, “the pictures of his children.”

² See Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 641, Reiske.

³ Pausanias describes it as made of the hoofs of horses, wrought and joined together, so as to resemble the skin of a serpent, and adds that the Sarmatians were ignorant of the use of iron. The best representation of the armour is on the Trajan column at Rome. Both horse and man were closely enveloped in it.

⁴ Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτη πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστιν· κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημα Ἰππολύτῃ· τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν, i. e. the curses of his father Theseus. See Euripides Hippol. 44, 891.

⁵ ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν. Hence the epithet πάνδημος (Thucyd. 2, 15. Plutarch, Thes. 24), and not for the reason given by Apollodorus (ap. Harpocr.) and by Suidas, Photius, and Phavorinus, in Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη—πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὥς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς. For the well-known union of Venus and Peitho, see

Cap. 22. ancient statues no longer remain, but those which now exist are not by the most obscure artists¹. There is also a temple of Tellus Curotrophus and Ceres Chloë, concerning whose epithets information may be obtained from the priests².

“ There is but one entrance to the Acropolis, which on every other side is precipitous, and surrounded

Ibycus ap. Athen. 13, 2 (17). Pausan. El. pr. 11, 3. Winckelmann Mon. Ined. No. 115. Horat. Ep. 1, 6. v. 38. Pausanias differs from Euripides as to Phædra and Hippolytus, having followed the Træzenian mythus, according to which Hippolytus dwelt at Træzen, and was not seen by Phædra until Theseus retired thither with his wife, after having slain the Pallantidæ. Pausanias describes the stadium at Træzen, in which Hippolytus exercised, and the temple of Venus Catascopia, from whence Phædra was said to have beheld him. Corinth. 32, 3. The Athenian fable furnishes the argument of the tragedy, in which the poet represents Phædra to have seen Hippolytus at Athens, and on his departure for Træzen to have founded a temple of Venus. This also is the version of Diodorus (4, 62), and hence the Athenians sometimes called this temple the Hippolyteium (Schol. Hom. Od. A. 321), and the deity 'Αφροδείτη ἐφ' Ἴππολύτῳ as well as Πάνδημος. Eurip. Hippol. 29, et Schol. in v. 25 et seq. Tzetz. in Lycophr. 1329.

¹ The ancient statues dedicated by Theseus were of Aphrodite, Eros, and Hermes, which had the epithet Psithyristes, from the calumny of Phædra against Hippolytus, or because it was a custom for persons to whisper to one another their wishes before these statues. Lex. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 317. Demosthenes alludes to a Hermes Psithyristes in a different part of Athens, c. Neær. p. 1358, Reiske. Harpocr. Suid. in Ψιθυρίστῃς Ἑρμῆς. Eustath. in Od. γ. 18.

² Erechtheus was said to have established this worship in gratitude to the gods for the fruits of the Earth, to whom it was therefore ordered that a sacrifice should be made prior to those of the other deities. Sch. Aristoph. Thesm. 307. Suid. in Κουρότροφος. For Demeter Chloë, see Aristophanes (Lysist. 835), Eupolis (ap. Sch. Soph. CEd. Col. 1600), and Semus of De-

with a strong wall. The roof of the Propylæa is of white marble, and excels all other works in ornament and in the magnitude of the stones. As to the equestrian statues, I cannot positively say whether they represent the sons of Xenophon, or whether they were made only for decoration. On the right hand of the Propylæa, is the temple of Victory without wings¹. From thence² there is a prospect of the sea; and there³ Ægeus, it is said, threw himself down, and perished⁴. His monument exists among the Athenians, and is called the heroum of Ægeus⁵. On the left of the Propylæa is a building containing pictures⁶. Those which are not obliterated by time represent Diomedes, bringing from Lemnus the bow of Philoctetes; and Ulysses carrying off the (statue of) Minerva from Troy: there also are pictures of Orestes slaying Ægisthus, while Pylades kills the sons of Nauplius, who come to the

lus (ap. Athen. 14, 3 (10). The reference of Pausanias to the priests is a part of his silence on all matters relating to the mysteries of Ceres.

¹ τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οἱ παῖδες εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημέναι· τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν ἀπτόρου ναός.

Near the Temple of Victory stood a triple statue of Hecate, by Alcamenes. It was called Epipyrgidia (Pausan. Corinth. 30, 2).

² ἐν τεύθειν.

³ ταύτην.

⁴ Pausanias adds that Theseus, in leaving Athens for Crete, agreed with his father, that if he slew the Minotaur, he was to return with white sails (instead of the black with which he departed on his hazardous and sorrowful mission): but that in consequence of his affair with Ariadne he had forgot his promise.

⁵ Αἴγεως ἡρώων ἐν Ἀθήναις. Suid. in Αἰγείων. There was also an oracle of Ægeus. Dinarch. *ibid*.

⁶ ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν Προπυλαίων οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς.

Cap. 22. assistance of Ægisthus; Polyxena about to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles: Achilles disguised among the virgins of Scyrus; Ulysses encountering Nausicaa, and her attendants, washing clothes at the river, as described by Homer—the two latter by Polygnotus; and among others a picture of Alcibiades, signifying that he was victorious in a horse-race at Nemea¹: here also is Perseus bringing the head of Medusa to Polydectes at Seriphus; a boy carrying balloting-vases; a wrestler, by Timænetus; and Musæus, who is said to have received the gift of flying from Boreas².

“Immediately in the entrance of the Acropolis, a Mercury Propylæus, and the Graces, are said to have been made by Socrates, son of Sophroniscus³, whom the Pythian priestess declared to be the wisest of men. There is a brazen Lioness⁴; and beside

¹ In this picture, which was by Aglaophon, Nemea was personified, bearing Alcibiades upon her knees. This insolent person dedicated, at the same time, a picture, by the same master, in honour of his victories at Delphi, and at Olympia, in which Pythias and Olympias were personified as crowning him (Athen. 12. 9 (47)). The latter picture seems to have been among those obliterated by time.

² Pausanias was of opinion, that certain verses in which this was asserted were written by Onomacritus; and that of Musæus himself nothing was extant, but a hymn to Ceres which he made for the Athenian γένος the Lycomidæ.

³ In the Bœotics (35, 2) Pausanias says that the three Graces by Socrates were *before* the entrance into the Acropolis (πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου). Here his words are κατὰ τὴν ἐσόδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν. The Graces of Socrates were draped, (Pausan. Bœot. l. 1. Diogen. Laërt. 2, 19,) like all the more ancient Graces. In later times the Graces were represented naked. Pausan. Bœot. l. 1.

⁴ Concerning this statue Pliny, though not differing from Pausanias, is more particular. Iphicratis Leæna laudatur.

it¹ a Venus, which is said to be the work of Calamis, and to have been dedicated by Callias². Near it³ is a brazen statue of Diitrephes, pierced with arrows⁴; and near the latter⁵ (for I do not wish to speak of the portrait-statues of persons of little note) are a Hygieia, called the daughter of Æsculapius, and a Minerva, surnamed Hygieia⁶. Here

Scortum hæc lyræ cantu familiare Harmodio et Aristogitoni, consilia eorum de tyrannicidio usque ad mortem cruciata a tyrannis non prodidit. Quamobrem Athenienses et honorem habere ei volentes nec tamen scortum celebrasse, animal nominis ejus fecere, atque ut intelligeretur causa honoris in opere linguam addi ab artifice vetuerunt. H. N. 34, 8 (19, § 12). Plutarch (de Garrul. 8), who states that the figure stood ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως.

¹ παρὰ δὲ αὐτήν.

² The Venus, and Lioness, probably stood in the same sanctuary; for it appears from Demochares (ap. Athen. 6, 13, (62) that there was a sanctuary at Athens, called τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Λαίης Ἀφροδίτης.

³ Πλησίον.

⁴ For the exploits of Diitrephes, see Pausanias in this place, and Thucydides (7, 27. 29).

The basis of the statue of Diitrephes, a square mass of white marble, has lately been discovered with the following inscription on it, in characters of the fifth century B. C. *Ἡρμόλυνκος Διαιτρέφος ἀπάρχεν*. Hence it appears that the statue of Diitrephes was dedicated by his son.—Note of 1839.

⁵ πλησίον.

⁶ The union of Minerva and Hygieia occurred also in the temple of Amphiarus in the Oropia (Paus. Att. 34, 2) and at Tegea (Arcad. 47, 1). The Minerva Hygieia of the Propylæa was of bronze, and dedicated by Pericles. A favourite workman of Mnesicles, the architect of the Propylæa (Plutarch. Pericl. 13), or a favourite slave of Pericles (Plin. H. N. 22, 17 (20)), was so much hurt by a fall from the roof of the temple, as to be despaired of by the physicians, when Minerva appeared to Pericles, in a dream, and recommended a remedy, which

Cap. 23. likewise is a small stone, upon which Seilenus is said to have reposed, when Bacchus visited the earth.

“ In the Acropolis of Athens I also beheld the brazen image of a boy, bearing a vessel for lustral aspersions, by Lycius, son of Myron, and Perseus slaying Medusa, by Myron himself¹. There is likewise a sanctuary of Diana Brauronia², with a statue by Praxiteles; and a figure in brass of the horse Durius, from which Menestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus, are looking out³. Of the statues which stand next to the horse, that of Epicharinus prepared to run a race in armour, was made by Critius⁴; then occurs Cænobius, who obtained a

effected a speedy cure. Pericles in consequence raised a statue of Minerva, in the character of Health, near an altar of Hygieia, in the Acropolis. The remedy was said to have been a plant, which grew on the walls of the Acropolis, and which was thenceforth called Parthenium.

¹ The Perseus of Myron is noticed by Pliny (34, 8 (19, § 3).

² So called from the town Brauron, where, adds Pausanias, “ still remains the ancient *ξόανον* called *Ἀρτεμις ἡ Ταυρική*.” This is repeated in 33, 1. For the festival τὰ Βραυρώνια, see Meursius. (Græc. feriat. in v.)

³ *ὑπερκύπτουσι*. Spears also projected from this statue of the Trojan horse (*ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δόρατα*, Hesych. in *Δούριος ἵππος*). *Δούρειος ἵππος, κρυπτὸν ἀμπίσχων δόρυ*, Eurip. *Troad.* 13. Pausanias does not allude to the magnitude of the figure, but Aristophanes leaves no doubt that it was colossal: *ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ Δούριος*, *Av.* 1128.

⁴ *Ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον ἐστήκασιν, Ἐπιχαρίνον μὲν ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος, τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας* (i. *Κρίτιος*). This passage has lately been illustrated by the discovery of the basis of the statue thus inscribed in old Attic characters :

Επι . ἀρίνο ν

Κρίτιος καὶ Νεσιότες ἐπο(ισ)άτεν.

The deficient letters of the first line contained probably the

decree for the recall, from exile, of Thucydides, son of Olorus, who, having been treacherously slain, is buried not far from¹ the gates Melitides²; then Hermolycus the pancratiast³; and Phormio, son of Asopichus⁴. There also is Minerva punishing the Seilenus Marsyas for taking up the flutes which she had wished to throw away⁵. Over against these⁶ is Theseus contending with the Minotaur; Phrixus sacrificing the ram which had carried him to the Cholci, and looking at its thighs burning upon the altar. Among other statues, are Hercules strangling the serpents; Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter; and a Bull, dedicated by the council of Areiopagus. There is also a temple containing the deity venerated by industrious men⁷. To him who prefers works made with skill, to such as are

Cap. 23.

Cap. 24.

names of the father and of the demus of Epicharinus. Nesiotes and Critius (not Critias, as hitherto given in the text of Pausanias) were joint sculptors of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Lucian Philopseud. 18.—Note of 1839.

¹ οὐ πόρῳ.

² See Marcellinus in vita Thucyd.

³ Son of Euthynus: for his actions see Herodotus 9, 104.

⁴ See Thucydides 1, 64. Diodor. 12, 37. 47. Pausan. Phocic. 11, 5.

⁵ For this fable see Apollodorus, 1. 4. § 2. Hygin. 165, and in Stuart (Antiq. of Athens, II. p. 27) a marble, found at Athens, which represents Minerva throwing away the flutes, and Marsyas about to take them up.

⁶ τούτων πέραν.

⁷ Δέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτον δ' (ἀνέθεσαν) ἀκώλους Ἐρμᾶς· ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῇ ναφ̄ Σπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν. Minerva, as inventress and protectress of arts and industry, was worshipped in many parts of Greece with the epithet Ergane. Pausan. Lacon. 17, 4. El. pr. 14, 5. El. post. 26, 2. Arcad. 32, 3. Boeot. 26, 5. Diodor. 5, 73. Phot. Etym. M. in Ἐργάνη. But Ἐργάνη,

Cap. 24. remarkable for antiquity alone, the (two) following are worthy of observation, (namely,) a Man, having a helmet on his head, and finger-nails of silver, by Cleætas; and Earth imploring showers from Jupiter. There also stands¹ Timotheus, son of Conon, and Conon himself; Procne and Itys, dedicated by Alcamenes; Minerva causing the olive to sprout, while Neptune raises the waves; a Jupiter, by Leochares; and another Jupiter surnamed Polieus².

“In entering the temple called Parthenon³, all the works in the pediment relate to the birth

like *Nίκη*, was sometimes a separate *δαίμων*, as well as an identity of Minerva. (Plutarch. de Fortunâ, 4. Ἐργάνης δαίμωνος Ælian. Var. Hist. 1, 2.) It seems, therefore, that the “dæmon of industrious men” was a statue in a temple of Ergane, or Minerva Ergane, which stood between the sanctuary of Diana Brauronia and the Parthenon.

Three dedications to this deity have recently been found in the Acropolis; two in which she is entitled Minerva Ergane: in the third, Ergane only.—Note of 1840. ¹ *κεῖται*.

² Pausanias here, and again in 28, 11, informs us, that, at the festival of Jupiter Polieus, called Diipolia, an ox was sacrificed; that the Buphonus having slain the ox, ran away, leaving the axe with which he had killed the animal to be tried for the injury. The custom was as old as the reign of Erechtheus, before whose time there was a law against slaying oxen (Varro de Re Rust. 2, 5). For the Diipolia, or Buphonia, see Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 980. Pa. 419. Ælian. Var. Hist. 5, 14. 8, 3. Lex. Rhet. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 238. Meurs. Græc. feriat. in vv.

³ The common appellation of the celebrated statue by Phidias, in the great temple of Minerva, was ἡ Παρθένος, “the virgin,” (Pausan. Eliac. pr. 11, 5. Phoc. 34, 4.) whence the temple was called ὁ Παρθενών, or the virgin’s habitation. Παρθενὼν ναὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, περιέχων τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Φειδίας ὁ ἀνδριαντοπλάστης ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος. Schol. in Demosth. c. Androt. p. 597, Reiske.

of Minerva; those behind represent the contest of Neptune with Minerva for the (Attic) land ¹. The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. The figure of a sphinx is on the summit of the helmet, and on either side of it are griffins ². The statue of Minerva is erect, with a robe reaching to the feet. On the breast is a head of Medusa made of ivory; in one hand a Victory, about four cubits high, and in the other a spear; at the feet a shield, and near the spear a serpent, which may represent Erichthonius ³; Cap. 24.

¹ 'Ες δὲ τὸν ναὸν, ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιούσιν, ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κείται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν· τὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

² γρύπες. The words ἐπικείται and ἐπιεργασμένοι, which, in this passage, are applied, the former to the sphinx, and the latter to the griffins, confirm the remarks upon those words in page 109, n. 1; for we know from existing monuments, that the sphinx was an entire figure, and that the griffins were in relief. "Aristeus of Proconnesus (adds Pausanias in this place) describes these animals as having the body of a lion, and the wings and beak of an eagle." Such is precisely their form on the ancient heads of Minerva.

³ Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀρθόν ἐστιν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδήρει, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἡ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη, καὶ Νίκη τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κείται καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἷη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθύνως ὄντος ὁ δράκων. There can be little doubt that this text is defective. It is evident from monuments of Minerva in the character represented by this statue, that the Victory stood upon her hand, as described by Hesiod, who (Theogon. 384) makes Victory her daughter. (Νίκην ἀθανάτης χερσὶν ἔχουσα, Scut. Herc. 339.) Epictetus thus describes this particular statue, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ Φειδίου ἐκτείνασα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐπ' αὐτῆς δεξαμένην. Arrian. in Epict.

Cap. 24. on the basis of the statue the birth of Pandora is figured in relief¹. The only statue which I observed in the temple, was that of the emperor Hadrian², and towards the en-

Dissert. 2, 8. In Pausanias, therefore, after *πηχῶν*, we should read perhaps *μὲν ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χεῖρι*.

Maximus Tyrius (14, 6) thus describes the statue: *Ἀθηναῖαν οἷαν Φειδίας ἐδημιούργησεν, οὐδὲν τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν φαυλοτέραν, παρθένον καλὴν, γλαυκῶπιν, ὑψηλὴν, αἰγίδα ἀνεζωσμένην, κόρυν φέρουσαν, δόρυ ἔχουσαν, ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν*. Diss. 14. From Pliny H. N. 36, 5, (4, § 4,) we learn that it was about forty-seven English feet in height (*cubitorum viginti sex*). He then proceeds to say, *ebore hæc et auro constat: sed scuto ejus, in quo Amazonum prælium cælavit (Phidias), intumescente ambitu parmæ, ejusdem concavâ parte Deorum et gigantum dimicationem: in soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum: adeo momenta omnia capacia artis illi fuere*. In base autem quod cælatum est Pandoræ genesin appellant. Ibi Dii sunt xx. numero nascentes: Victoria præcipue mirabili. Periti mirantur et serpentem ac sub ipsa cuspide æream sphingem. For the mythus of Erichthonius see the authors cited in note 3, page 120. Hyginus says that the serpent produced from the earth, took refuge behind the shield of Minerva, and was educated by her. Poet. Astr. 13. The gold of the statue (*αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ χρυσοί*) weighed forty talents, and being all removable (*περιαιρετὸν ἅπαν*) was considered by Pericles a part of the disposable resources of Athens, Thucyd. 2, 13. The eyes were of ivory, except the pupils, which were of stone. Plato Hipp. Maj. 23.

¹ *ἔστι δὲ τῇ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπεργασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις*. Pausanias refers to Hesiod for this fable, which is found in Op. 60. Theogon. 570.

² *ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν Ἰφικράτους*. The Hadrian was not an *εἰκὼν γραπτὴ*, or picture; for Pausanias mentions elsewhere, that there was a *γραφὴ* or painted portrait in the Parthenon of Themistocles, dedicated by his sons, and another of Heliodorus. Att. 1, 2.

trance¹ that of Iphicrates, the author of many admirable works². Over-against³ the temple, is a brazen Apollo, said to have been made by Phidias, and surnamed Parnopius (the expeller of locusts). Cap. 24.

“ In the Acropolis of the Athenians are statues of Pericles son of Xanthippus, and of Xanthippus himself, who fought at sea against the Medes, but that of Pericles is not in the same situation as the latter⁴. Near the Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, represented as a man singing when intoxicated. Near it⁵ are images, by Deinomenes, of Io, daughter of Inachus, and of Callisto, daughter of Lycaon; the former of whom was changed into a cow, and the latter into a bear, and both from the same cause, namely, the love of Jupiter, and the anger of Juno. Cap. 25.

“ At the southern wall are represented the war of the giants, who once inhabited Thrace and the peninsula of Pallene, the battle of the Athenians with the Amazones, the exploit at Marathon against the Medes, and the destruction of the Gauls in

¹ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον.

² Pliny (35, 18 (36, § 20) says that in the Propylæum of this temple, or that part which is usually called the Pronaus, Protogenes, a celebrated painter of ships, had represented the triremes Paralus and Hammonias, together with several other vessels on a smaller scale. The painting of the Paralus is praised by Cicero (Verrin. 4, 60).

³ πέραν.

⁴ ἐτέρῳθι ἀνακεῖται. Namely, near the brazen tethrippus. See below in Paus. cap. 28.

⁵ πλησίον.

- Cap. 25. Mysia. Each of these are three feet (in height) : they were dedicated by Attalus¹. Here likewise stands
- Cap. 26. an image of Olympiodorus², and near it a brazen statue of Diana, surnamed Leucophryne, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles ; for Diana Leucophryne is worshipped by the Magnetes, the government of whose city Themistocles received from the king (of Persia). There is also an ancient sitting statue of Minerva, with an epigram upon it, signifying that it was the offering of Callias, and the work of Endœus, an Athenian, a disciple of Dædalus, who followed him to Crete, when he fled in consequence of the death of Calos.

“ There is likewise a building³ called Erechtheium, before the entrance (of which)⁴ is an altar of Jupiter Hypatus ; in the entrance⁵ is an altar of Neptune (whereon sacrifices are also made by command of the oracle to Erechtheus) ; another altar of

¹ Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ, Γιγάντων πόλεμον ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον.

² The principal events of the time of Olympiodorus occupy the remainder of this and a part of the following chapter. He was the more illustrious, says Pausanias, from having distinguished himself at a time when Athens was afflicted with misfortunes. He took an active and often a successful part against Cassander, when Demetrius had delivered the Athenians from the Macedonian garrison in Munychia ; and invited by the Elatenses of Phocis, he saved their city from being taken by Cassander. Phoc. 18, 6. 34, 2. But the most renowned of his exploits was, the capture of the Museum, which Demetrius had formed into a separate fortress, and had garrisoned with Macedonians. For this he was honoured by the Athenians with statues in the Acropolis and Prytaneium, and with a painting at Eleusis. The Elatenses set up his image at Delphi.

³ οἶκημα.

⁴ πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου.

⁵ ἐσελθοῦσι.

Butes¹; and a third of Vulcan: on the walls are pictures of the Butadæ². The building is two-fold; in the inner part is a well of salt water³, which is remarkable for sending forth a sound like that of waves when the wind is from the south. There is also the figure of a trident upon the rock⁴: these are said to be evidences of the contention of Neptune (with Minerva) for Attica⁵. Every part of the city is sacred to Minerva as well as the whole land: whatever other deities may be worshipped in the demi, she is no less honoured by them; but her most sacred statue is that which was a common offering of the demi, many years before they were united in the city, and which is now in the Acropolis, Cap. 26.

¹ Butes, according to Hesiod, as cited by Eustathius (in Hom. Il. A. v. 1), was a son of Neptune, but, according to the common Athenian legend, son of Pandion, or twin brother of Erechtheus the second, and priest of Neptune. His descendants became hereditary priests of Minerva Polias, and Neptune Erechtheus. Apollod. 3, 14, § 8. 3, 15, § 1. Hesych., Harpoc. in *Ἐρεοβουτάδαι*.

² *γένους εἰσι τῶν Βουτάδων*. The *gens* called themselves *Ἐρεοβουτάδαι*, as a distinction from the rest of the demus Butadæ. Among the portraits were those of the orator Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and of his family, by Ismenias of Chalcis. There stood also in the portico wooden statues of Lycurgus and of his three sons, made by the two sons of Praxiteles (Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.).

³ *καὶ (διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα) ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρεάτι*. This was the *θάλασσα Ἐρεχθίδης*, fabled to have been produced by a blow of Neptune's trident. Herodot. 8, 55. Apollod. 3, 14, § 1. Pausan. Arcad. 10, 3.

⁴ *Ὅρῳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τριαίνης ἔχει τι σημεῖον*. Hegesias ap. Strabon. p. 396.

⁵ *τῆς χώρας*. In memory of the amicable termination of this contest, there was an altar of Oblivion in the temple of Polias. (Plutarch. Sympos. 9. qu. 6.)

- Cap. 26. then called Polis. It is reported to have fallen from heaven. Callimachus made a golden lamp for the goddess, which, being filled with oil, burns night and day during an entire year, having a wick of Carpasian flax, the only kind of flax which is not consumed by fire¹. A brazen palm-tree rising above
- Cap. 27. the lamp to the roof, carries off the smoke. In the temple of Polias is a wooden Hermes², said to have been presented by Cecrops, and now almost hidden by branches of myrtle. Of the ancient offerings those most worthy of mention are a folding chair, made by Dædalus; and some spoils of the Medes³, namely, the breast-plate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataeæ, and a scimitar, said to be that of Mardonius⁴. Concerning the olive-

¹ ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὼς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀσβεστος λύχνος. Strabo, p. 396. Carpasian flax was the mineral called Asbestus or Amiantus, and received its name from Carpasus, a town of Cyprus. Aristion, when besieged in Athens by Sylla, allowed the flame of the lamp to expire. See above, p. 138, n. 4.

² Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου.

³ Demosthenes mentions among these spoils the δίφρος ἀργυρόπους, or silver-footed chair, upon which Xerxes sat to view the battle of Salamis. (Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 741, Reiske. Sch. in Olynth. 3, p. 35.) Harpocration and Suidas (in ἀργυρόπους) state the chair to have been in the Parthenon; but, as Demosthenes names it, in conjunction with the scimitar of Mardonius, which we find to have been, as late as the time of Pausanias, in the temple of Minerva Polias, the grammarians appear to have confounded the Parthenon with the temple of Polias. In like manner Clemens (in Protrept. p. 13, Sylb.) describes the chryselephantine Minerva of Phidias in the Parthenon as τὴν Ἀθήνησι Πολιάδα.

⁴ This Pausanias doubts, because Mardonius was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, and was slain by a Spartan soldier.

tree, nothing is related, except that it is an evidence of the contest (of Neptune and Minerva) for the country¹; and that when the Medes set fire to the city of the Athenians, the olive was burnt, but sprouted the same day to the length of two cubits². Contiguous to the temple of Minerva is that of Pandrosus³, who alone of the sisters remained faithful to her trust⁴. Near the temple of Polias dwell two virgins, called Arrhephori, who after having resided a certain time with the goddess⁵, receive

Cap. 27.

¹ From this stock, the gift of Minerva, the Athenians supposed one of the most important productions of their soil to have been derived. It was called ἡ ἀστὴ ἔλαια, and πάγκυφος from its low and crooked form. Hesych. in ἀστὴ and πάγκυφος. Eustath. in Od. A. 3. The Pancyphus is represented on a coin of Athens published by Stuart, II. 2, and seems to have been the usual accompaniment of Minerva in her contest with Neptune. Its more immediate descendants were the moriæ or sacred olives of the academy. Aristoph. Nub. 1001. Pausan. Attic. 30, 2. Istrus ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 730. Suid. in Μορίαι.

² According to Herodotus (8, 55), it had sprouted only one cubit on the second day. Time had improved the marvellous story.

Pausanias omits to notice the οἶκουρος ὄφις or Erechthonian serpent, whose habitation in the Erechtheium was named ὀράκανλος, (Aristoph. Lysist. 760. Plutarch. Themist. 10. Demosth. 26. Hesych. in Οἶκουρον. Sophocl. ap. Etymol. Mag. in Δράκανλος,) although Philostratus (in Icon. 2, 17), a contemporary of Pausanias, seems to have considered the serpent as being still there. Herodotus however (8, 41) says only, that honey-cakes were presented in the temple every month, as if the serpent were present (ὥς εἰόντι).

³ Τῇ γὰρ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου γὰρ συνεχὴς ἐστὶ.

⁴ Thallo received divine honours in this temple, together with Pandrosus (Pausan. Bæot. 35, 1). Thallo and Carpo were the two Horæ.

⁵ παρθένοι ἐξοὺ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρῳ, καλοῦσι

Cap. 27. in the night, on the approach of the festival, from the priestess of Minerva a burden, the contents of which are unknown to themselves as well as to the priestess. This they carry upon their heads to an enclosure in the city, not far from (the temple of) Venus in the gardens, where, having descended into a subterraneous natural cavern¹, they leave below that which they bear, and carry away another covered burden. The two virgins are then dismissed, and two others are conducted to the Acropolis in their place.

“At the temple of Minerva (Polias) is a well-wrought statue of an old woman, about one cubit in height, said to be the priestess Lysimacha²:

δεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρήφόρους· αὗται χρόνον μὲν τινα διαίταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῇ.

The Arrhephori, Errhephori, or Ersephori, were four girls of old Attic families, not younger than seven years, nor older than eleven, who were chosen as servants of Minerva. Two were employed in assisting the ἐργαῖραι, who embroidered the peplos renewed every fifth year at the greater Panathenæa: the other two dwelt in the place mentioned by Pausanias, and were there instructed in their duties, during the year preceding each annual festival of the Panathenæa, on which occasion they wore a dress of white adorned with gold. Their provisions were conveyed to them by their parents, and were of a prescribed kind. Adjoining to their dwelling was a sphærestra, or place for playing at ball. Aristoph. Lysist. 642. Athen. 3, 28 (80). Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat. Harpoc., Hesych., Suid., Etym. M. in Ἀρρήφορία, Ἀρρήφόροι, Ἀρρήφορεῖν. Lex. ap. Bekker. I. p. 446. Suid., Etym. M. in Χαλκεῖα. Hesych. in Ἐργασταῖραι. Harpoc., Suid., in Δειπνοφόροι. Suid. in Ἀνάστατοι.

¹ Ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρῳ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαυος αὐτομάτη· ταύτῃ κατὰσιν αἱ παρθένοι.

² Πρὸς δὲ τῇ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι μὲν εὐῆρις πρεσβύτις, ὅσον τε πῆχεος μάλιστα, φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχῃ. Lysimacha is mentioned by Plutarch (περὶ ἐνσωπίας, 14). She was famous

here also are great brazen images of two men, ready to engage in fight; one is called Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus¹: upon the base is the figure of . . . who was the soothsayer of Tolmides, and another of Tolmides himself². Here are some ancient statues of Minerva, no part of which is consumed, though they could not bear a blow, and are still black with the fire which burnt them when the Athenians retired to their ships and Xerxes took the defenceless city³. Here also are the hunting of a wild boar; Cynus fighting with Hercules; Theseus finding the slippers and sword of Ægeus under the rock, every part of which is of bronze, except the rock; and Theseus leading the Cretan bull from Marathon to be sacrificed to Minerva in the Acropolis⁴; a dedication of the Marathonii.

“For what reason Cylon, who attempted to obtain Cap. 28.

for the long duration of her priesthood (annis lxiv.) al. xlv. Plin. H. N. 34, 8 (19, § 15), and for her statue by Demetrius, (Plin. *ibid.*) who, according to Quintilian (12, 10, § 9), *tanquam nimis in veritate exprimendâ reprehenditur, et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior.*

¹ “Those Athenians (adds Pausanias) who are knowing in antiquity, are not ignorant that this is Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; he having been the person who was slain by Erechtheus, and not Eumolpus himself.” Apollodorus, on the contrary, (3, 15, § 4.) says it was Eumolpus.

² Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βήθρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἑκτὸς, ὃς ἐμαντεύετο Τολμίδῃ καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, where the corruption ἑκτὸς stands in the place of the name of the augur. Πολύευκτος?

³ ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ.

⁴ Pausanias followed the legend, according to which the bull, after having been brought to Eurystheus by Hercules from Crete, had wandered from Mycenæ to Marathon. Apollod. 2, 5, § 7. According to Plutarch, the bull was sacrificed to Apollo Delphinus. *Thes.* 14.

Cap. 28. the tyranny of Athens¹, was thought worthy of a brazen statue, I cannot say; I suppose it was for his beauty, and because he became illustrious by a victory in the Diaulus at Olympia, and married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. Besides all the other things which I have described, there are two dedications from the tenth of military spoils. One of these is a brazen image of Minerva, made by Pheidias, from (the spoils of) the Medes who landed at Marathon; on the shield of which are sculptures of Lapithæ fighting with Centaurs. They say that these, and all the other figures in relief upon the shield, were wrought by Mys, but that Parrhasius, son of Evenor, designed both these and the other works of Mys². Of this statue the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear may be seen even by those who are sailing onwards from Sunium³. The other

¹ τυραννίδα ὅμως βουλεύσαντα. See Herodotus (5, 71) and Thucydides (1, 126).

² λέγουσι τορεῦσαι Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μῦν ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων Παφρᾶσιον καταγράψαι τὸν Εὐήνορος.

³ ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν ἔστιν ἤδη σύνοπτα. This fact leaves no doubt that the statue was colossal, which is confirmed by Demosthenes; a pillar recording the infamy of Arthmius of Zelia παρὰ τὴν χαλκὴν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἕστηκεν· ἦν ἀριστεῖον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον, δύντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα, ἀνέθηκε. De falsâ leg. p. 428, Reiske. This image of Minerva was surnamed Promachus. The Scholiast of Demosthenes (c. Androt. p. 597) observes that there were three statues of Minerva in the Acropolis: the ancient one of Minerva Polias made of wood, that of bronze (χαλκοῦ μόνου) erected after the victory of Marathon (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο Προμάχου Ἀθηνᾶς), and the Παρθένος Ἀθηνᾶ, which was made of ivory and gold, when the Athenians had become richer after the battle of Salamis. See also Sch. in Demosth. Olynth. 3, p. 35.

offering from the tenth of military spoils, is a brazen chariot, dedicated after the victory of the Athenians over the Bœotians and Chalcidenses of Eubœa¹. There is likewise a statue of Pericles, son of Xanthippus², and another brazen Minerva, which is the finest of the works of Phidias, and is surnamed Lemnia, as having been dedicated by the people of Lemnus³.

"The enclosure of the Acropolis, with the exception of that part of it which was built by Cimon, son of Miltiades, is said to have been constructed by the Pelasgi, who dwelt formerly below the Acropolis⁴.

"In descending towards the lower city there is a fountain a little below the Propylæa⁵, near which is a sanctuary of Apollo and Pan in a cave, where Apollo is said to have had connexion with Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus⁶. Not far distant is the

¹ καὶ ἄρμα κείται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτῃ καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ.

Herodotus, who has described the battle with the Bœotians (5, 79), remarks that the brazen chariot, dedicated from the spoils, had four horses, and that it stood on the left hand on entering the Acropolis, through the Propylæa, τέθριππον χάλκεον, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ Προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει.

² See above, p. 151.

³ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Φειδίου θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον, Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας. This was probably the Phidias Minerva, which Pliny describes (34, 8, (19) as tam eximie pulchritudinis, ut formæ nomen acceperit; in Greek καλλιμορφος.

⁴ περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγοὺς οἰκήσαντας ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν. The remainder of this passage is defective, but seems to indicate that the chiefs of the Pelasgi were named Agrolas and Hyperbius. Pausanias then adds, that all he could learn of the Pelasgi was, that they were Siculi who had migrated to Acarnania.

⁵ Καταβάσι οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἄλλα ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ Προπύλαια, πηγὴ τε ὑδατός ἐστι.

⁶ i. e. of Erechtheus the second, according to the genealogy of

Cap. 28. Areiopagus¹, so called because Mars² was the first person here tried for the murder of Halirrhothius³. Here is an altar of Minerva Areia, dedicated by Orestes, on escaping punishment for the murder of his mother. Here also are two rude stones, upon one of which the accuser stands, and upon the other the defendant⁴. Near⁵ (this place) is the sanctuary of the goddesses called Semnæ, but whom Hesiod in the Theogonia names Erinnyes⁶. Æschylus was the

Apollodorus. Euripides (Ion, 11) says Φοῖβος ἔζηξεν γάμοις—*Bίq Kρέουσιν*, thus endeavouring to save the credit of the future wife of Xuthus. The worship of Apollo in this cavern dated from early time. That of Pan, as appears from Pausanias in this place, from Herodotus (6, 105), and from Lucian (bis accus. 9), was not introduced until after the battle of Marathon, when Phidippides the messenger sent for aid to Sparta, pretended to have met Pan in crossing Mount Parthenium in the Argolis, and to have received from him a promise of assistance in the battle.

¹ Καθ' ὃ καὶ ὁ Ἀρειος πάγος. Some words are probably wanting. Opposite to, or over-against, seems the most natural description of the position of the Areiopagus, with reference to the grotto. This relative position may be inferred from Lucian, Bis Accus. 9. See below, Sect. II. For the various authorities on the Areiopagus see Meursii Areopagus.

² Ἄρης.

³ See above, p. 141, and Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 641, Reiske.

⁴ τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν, ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν ὑβρεως, τὸν δὲ ἀναιδείας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι. The Athenians were said to have erected a temple or altar to Contumelia and Impudentia, after the murder of Cylon, by the advice of Epimenides of Crete (Cicero de Leg. 2, 11. Clem. Alexand. Protrept. 16). Istrus ap. Phot. Lex. in Θεός ἡ Ἀναιδεια.

⁵ Πλησίον.

⁶ Τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διὸ δὴ τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἶκημα ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δῆμιον κοινόν· τὰς δὲ Ἐρίννας, Εὐμενίδας ἢ Σεμνάς Θεάς.—Helladius ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1593.

See Euripides Orest. 403. Iphig. in Taur. 945, where Orestes

first to represent them with snakes in their hair; but here their statues have nothing ferocious in their aspect¹, nor have those of the other subterranean deities here represented, namely, Pluto, Hermes, and the Earth². Here persons acquitted in the court of Areiopagus sacrifice, as well as others, both strangers and citizens of Athens. Within the same inclosure is a monument of Œdipus³."

Pausanias then proceeds to notice the other *δικαστήρια*, or courts of justice at Athens. He mentions the Parabystum, Trigonum, Batrachius, and Phœnicus: the first situated in an obscure part of the city; the second, so called from its form; the two last, from their colours. The greatest, and that in which the assemblies were most numerous, was the Helixæa. Those which took cognizance of homicide, besides the Areiopagus, were the Palladium⁴, where Demophon, king of Athens, was tried on his return from the Trojan war for an accidental manslaughter: the Delphinium⁵, in which those were brought to trial who justified a homicide, as Theseus, for killing Pallas

alludes to them as *αἱ ἀνώνυμοι θεαί*. In the Œdipus Coloneus (v. 107) the chorus addresses them,

"*Ἴρ' ὃ γλυκεῖαι παῖδες ἀρχαίου Σκότου.*"

Schol. *εὐφύμως ἵνα μὴ πικραὶ αὐτῷ γένωνται.*

The temple is said to have been founded by Epimenides (Lobon Argius ap. Diogen. Laërt. 1, 112), but it appears from other authorities to have been more ancient. Thucyd. 1, 126. Plutarch. Solon, 12.

¹ Two of them were works of Scopas: the third was by Calos. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 13, Sylb.

² The Eumenides were supposed to be daughters of the Earth. Hesiod. Theogon. 185. Istrus ap. Sch. Sophoc. Œd. Col. 42.

³ "*Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνημαὶ Οἰδίποδος.*"

⁴ *τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.*

⁵ *τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ.*

and his sons: the Prytaneium¹, where instruments which had been the cause of death, either by accident or in the hands of unknown murderers, were judged and condemned to be ejected from Attica²: the Phreatys in the Peiræus, where those guilty of involuntary murders, and for which they had fled from Attica, pleaded their cause from a ship before judges on the adjacent shore³.

Pausanias closes his description of the city by stating that near the Areiopagus a ship was exhibited, which had been made for the use of the Panathenaic procession⁴.

Besides the objects which Pausanias has described or named, there are some others, the fame or importance of which were such, that we are surprised to find that he has omitted all notice of them. For example, in the midst of the Cerameicus was the Leocorium, or monument of the daughters of Leos, one of the most revered among the ancient monuments of Athens⁵. The altar of the twelve gods in the Agora was not less celebrated⁶.

¹ τὸ ἐν Πρυτανείῳ.

² Demost. c. Aristocr. p. 645, Reiske. Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 636. Pausan. Eliac. post. 11, 2. Compare above, p. 148, n. 2.

³ For the Courts of Justice at Athens, see Julius Pollux 8, 120, and Meursius in Areopag. 11.

⁴ Τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον, δέκνυνται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν.

⁵ Thucyd. 1, 20. 6, 57. Schol. in 1, 20. Cicero de Nat. Deor. 3, 19. Ælian Var. Hist. 12, 28. Strabo, p. 396. Hegesias, ibid. Demosth. c. Conon. p. 1258, Reiske. Phanodemus ap. Harpocrat. in Λεωκόρειον. Meurs. Ceram. Gem. 17. The altar was first erected by Peisistratus, son of Hippias, and grandson of the great Peisistratus, when Archon, and who placed on it an

The quarter of Melite was noted for a temple of Hercules Alexicacus, containing a statue by Ageladas, the master of Phidias⁷, and for a temple of Diana Aristobula, built by Themistocles, in which the statue still remained, as it is mentioned by Plutarch, the contemporary of Pausanias,—as well as for other buildings. Among the Athenian edifices of later date, may be mentioned the Agrippeium, or theatre of Agrippa in the Inner Cerameicus⁸. In addition to these, Athens still retains evidence, in some of its ruins, of the incompleteness of the description of Pausanias; for example, in the Pnyx and the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes. As to the gate of Hadrianopolis, it was probably not erected until after Pausanias, who makes no allusion to the city of Hadrian, had written his Attica, and perhaps not until the reign of Antoninus Pius, who completed the aqueduct of Hadrianopolis⁹.

inscription, which the People obliterated when they enlarged the altar. A distich, inscribed on another altar, erected by him in the Pythium, remained in the time of Thucydides. See above, p. 132, n. 2.

⁷ Herod. 6, 108. Thucyd. 6, 54. Xenoph. Hipparch. 3. Lysurg. c. Leocrat. p. 198, Reiske. Plutarch. Nic. 13. Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth. Adjacent to the altar of the Twelve Gods was an inclosure called the *περισχοίνισμα*. Here votes of ex-
ostracism were taken, and 6000 *δρακμα* were required to condemn a citizen to exile. Plutarch. Aristid. 7. J. Poll. 8, 20. Etym. M. in *ἐξοστρακισμός*. Sch. Aristoph. Eq.

⁸ Hesych. in *Ἐκμελίτης*. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 504. Tzetz. Chil. 8, 192.

⁹ Philost. Sophist. 2, 5, § 3. 2, 8, § 2.

¹⁰ Spon, Voyage, &c. II. p. 99.

For a summary of the less noted buildings, monuments, and places, with the authorities referring to them, see Appendix VII. *

SECTION II.

Of the Positions and existing Monuments of Ancient Athens, as to the identity of which there can be little or no doubt.

THE features of Athenian topography, which ancient history and local evidence concur in determining with the greatest certainty, are its rivers, the Ilissus and Cephissus; the Acropolis, with its three principal buildings, namely, the Propylæa, Parthenon, and Erechtheium; the hills, Areiopagus and Museum; the temples of Theseus and of Jupiter Olympius; the fountains Clepsydra and Enneacrunus; the three places of public assembly, called the Pnyx, the Dionysiac Theatre, and the Odeium of Regilla; the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes; the Stadium; the Academy; and two of the works of Hadrian, namely, the gate leading into the quarter around the Olympieium, which assumed the name of Hadrianopolis, and the aqueduct, which the emperor commenced, but left to his successor to complete.

It cannot be necessary to offer any proofs of identity as to the two rivers, or as to the Acropolis and its three buildings, in the present state of our knowledge of the topography of Athens. Several of the other monuments or natural objects having, at no distant period of time, been mistaken by travellers

who have visited or described Athens, it may be right to offer a few remarks upon them, as they involve considerations which may facilitate a determination of some more disputable localities, without which it is impossible to trace the description of Pausanias amidst the existing ruins of Athens.

The identity of the Areiopagus with that rocky ^{Areio-} height which is separated only from the western end ^{pagus.} of the Acropolis by a hollow; forming a communication between the northern and southern divisions of the ancient site, is found in the words of Pausanias, indicating that proximity¹; in the remark of Herodotus, that it was a height over-against the Acropolis, from whence the Persians assailed the western end of the Acropolis²; and in the lines of Æschylus, who refers to it in similar terms as the position of the camp of the Amazones, when they attacked the fortress of Theseus³. Nor ought we to neglect the strong traditional evidence afforded by the church of Dionysius the Areopagite, of which the ruins were seen by Wheler and Spon at the foot of the height on the north-eastern side⁴.

¹ Attic. 28, 4. See above, p. 159, n. 5.

² Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλεῖονσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκειον τρύπον τοιόνδε. Herodot. 8, 52.

³ Πάγον δ' Ἀρειων, τὸν δ' Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν,
Σκηνάς θ' ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον
Στρατηλατοῦσαι· καὶ πόλιν νεόπολιν
Τὴν δ' ὑψίκυργον ἀντεκύργωσαν τότε·
Ἄρει δ' ἔθνον, ἔνθεν ἔστ' ἐκώνυμος

Πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἀρειος.—Æschyl. Eumenid. 689.

⁴ Compare Wheler's Travels, p. 384; Spon, Voyage, &c. II. p. 116; Stuart, Ant. of Ath. II. p. vi.

Museum. The Museum is described by Pausanias as a hill opposite to the Acropolis, and included within the *ancient* circuit of the city-wall, where the poet Musæus had been buried ¹, and where, in latter times, a monument had been erected to a certain Syrian, whose name Pausanias has not stated ². By the first part of this description, we are at once directed to that height, which, separated by a valley from the south-western side of the Acropolis, almost equals it in altitude: and where we not only find foundations of the city-walls crossing the summit of that hill, but just within the walls an ancient structure; some inscriptions upon which prove it to have been the monument of Philopappus, a grandson of Antiochus, the fourth and last king of Commagene, who, having been deposed by Vespasian, went to Rome with his two sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus ³. Epiphanes, it appears, was father of the Philopappus to whom this monument was erected, and who had become an Attic citizen of the demus Besa ⁴. This, it is evident, is the Syrian to whom Pausanias alluded.

Theseium. The identity of the temple of Theseus may be presumed, from the magnitude of the existing building, and from its situation; the former being in accordance with ancient testimony, as to the respect

¹ Diogenes Laërtius says (1, 3) that Musæus died at Phalerum, and has preserved his epitaph.

² "Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὺς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ᾄδειν καὶ ἀποθανόντα γῆραι ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ μνημα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ψικοδομήθη Σύρῳ. Pausan. Attic. 25, 6.

³ A. D. 72. Sueton. in Vespas. 8. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. 7, 7.

⁴ For some further remarks on the monument of Philopappus, see Appendix VIII.

paid by the Athenians to the memory of Theseus, and the importance of his temple¹; the latter agreeing with that which may be understood from a general consideration of the narrative of Pausanias as to the situation of the Theseium. But the best proof is to be found in some of the remaining sculptures of the building itself. The ten metopes of the eastern front, together with the four adjoining metopes of either flank, are adorned with figures in high relief, which represent the labours of Hercules and Theseus; the union of whose worship at Athens, in consequence of the gratitude of Theseus towards Hercules, is well known².

We are equally well assured that the cluster of lofty columns of Pentelic marble at the south-eastern end of the ancient site near the Ilissus, are the remains of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Their vast proportions, exceeding those of any other building at Athens, would alone have been a presumption, almost amounting to a proof, that they belonged to that temple, which was the greatest ever undertaken in honour of the supreme deity of the Greeks³, and one of the four most renowned examples of architecture in *marble*⁴, even if Thucydides had not pointed to this side of the city as the position of the Olym-

Olympi-
eum and
Hadriano-
polis.

¹ Hegesias ap. Strab. p. 396, and Strabo himself in the same place. Plutarch. de exil. 17. Meurs. Athen. Attic. 1, 6.

² Euripid. Herc. fur. 618, 1145, &c. Philochorus ap. Plutarch. Thea. 35. For further remarks on the Theseium, see Appendix IX.

³ Jovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine dei. Liv. 41, 20.

⁴ The three others were the temples of Ephesus, Branchidæ, and Eleusis. Vitruv. 7. in præf.

pieium¹, or if Vitruvius had not described it as a dipteron of the Corinthian order²; of which there was no other example at Athens, and which perfectly agrees with the plan derivable from the existing ruins. Nor is further confirmation wanting. Enough remains of the artificial platform on which the temple stood, to show that the sum of its four sides was about 2300 feet, a circuit nearly coinciding with the four stades which Pausanias attributes to the peribolus or inclosure of the temple. Again, the same author states that the peribolus was full of statues, raised by a great number of cities or individuals in honour of Hadrian³, and of these many of the inscribed bases have been found upon the spot⁴. Lastly, two inscriptions on an ancient arch or gate, which adjoined the north-western angle of the peribolus, demonstrate that this was the quarter of Athens which received the name of Hadrianopolis⁵, chiefly because it contained the temple of Jupiter Olympius, for the completion of which by Hadrian, after a succession of efforts by Athenians and foreign princes during 650 years, that emperor was complimented with the title of Olympius⁶.

¹ Thucyd. 2, 15. See below, p. 173. n. 1.

² Vitruv. 1. 1.

³ Pausan. Attic. 18, 6. See above, p. 130.

⁴ Published by Spon, Wheler, Pococke, Stuart, and Chandler. See Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. from No. 321 to No. 346 incl.

⁵ See below, near the end of this Section.

⁶ The Athenians of Delus (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ, Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 2270) built an Olympieum in that island, and their town assumed the name of αἱ Νέαι Ἀθηναὶ Ἀδριαναί. Phlegon. Trall. ap. Stephan. in Ὀλυμπιεῖον. Remains of the town and of the temple still exist. For some further remarks on the Olympieum, see Appendix X.

The cavern sacred to Apollo and Pan is described by Herodotus as having been below the Acropolis¹, and by Pausanias as a little below the Propylæa, near a spring of water². We find, accordingly, the cavern, and adjacent to it the source, which in modern times has supplied an artificial fountain a little lower down the hill, from whence it was conveyed by an aqueduct to a mosque in the bazár. The spring was named Clepsydra, and more anciently Empedo, the former name having been derived from a supposed subterraneous communication with Phalerum³. It is described as having been in the Acropolis. This is explained by a flight of steps cut in the rock, which formed a communication to the fountain from the platform of the Acropolis, at the northern end of the Propylæa⁴.

¹ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱερόν.
Herod. 6, 105.

² See above, p. 159, n. 5.

³ ΚΙ. δοῦν τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς καλόν.

ΜΥ. καὶ πῶς ἔσθ' ἀγνὴ δῆτ' αὖν ἔλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν;

ΚΙ. κάλλιστα δῆπου λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.

Aristoph. Lysistrat. v. 910.

πλησίον τοῦ Πανείου ἢ Κλεψύδρα. Schol. ibid.

Ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει ἦν κρήνη ἢ Κλεψύδρα, πρότερον Ἐμπεδῶ λεγομένη ἔχει δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ὑπὸ γῆν, φέρουσα εἰς τὸν Φαληρέων λιμένα. Schol. Arist. Lysist. 912. V. et Schol. Arist. Vesp. 853. Av. 1694. Hesych. in Κλεψύδρα, Κλεψίβρυτον, Πέδω. The same spring had the reputation of swelling, like the Nile, at the beginning of the Etesian winds, and of falling at their termination (Istrus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1694); a peculiarity easily credible, as the cessation of the wind occurs at the end of August, the driest season of the year.

⁴ It now appears (1837) that the fountain, which was imme-

In further conformity with ancient evidence, we may remark, that in the cavern are two excavated ledges, on which we may suppose statues of the two deities to have stood, and that its sides are pierced with numerous niches and holes, for the reception and suspension of votive offerings; some of the nails which filled the holes have even been found in the cave. A statue of Pan, which is now in the public library at Cambridge, was discovered in a garden at no great distance below the cavern; possibly the identical figure, dedicated by Miltiades, when Pan was first associated in this cavern with Apollo for the services attributed to him at Marathon, and for which dedication Simonides wrote an epigram¹. We find the position of the cave of Pan exactly represented on a coin of the British Museum².

Enneacrunus.

Judging only from Pausanias, we might suppose that Enneacrunus was not far from the western

diately below the cave of Pan in 1807, was not the real and ancient issue of the Clepsydra. Its present state is thus described by Mr. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 82:—"The only access to this fountain is from the enclosed platform of the Acropolis above it. The approach to it is at the north of the northern wing of the Propylæa. Here we begin to descend a flight of forty-seven steps, cut in the rock, but partially cased with slabs of marble. The descent is arched over with brick, and opens out into a small subterraneous chapel, with niches cut in its sides. In the chapel is a well, surmounted with a peristomium of marble, below which is the water, now at the distance of about thirty feet."

¹ Τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων
Τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων σήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

Anthol. I. p. 131, Brunck.

² See Plate I. fig. 1.

extremity of the Acropolis: for he mentions this fountain soon after having described the Stoa Basilæus, which was in the inner Cerameicus, and reverts to the same stoa after having treated of the fountain together with some buildings near it. It might be naturally inferred, therefore, that Enneacrunus was in the inner Cerameicus, to the westward of the Acropolis, and not far from the Areiopagus. Wheler accordingly identified it with a fountain, which in his time issued from a structure of the usual Turkish form on the ridge which connects the Acropolis with the Areiopagus, and which may also be described as a hollow separating them. Stuart traced this spring to the foot of the lower battery in front of the Propylæa, from whence, when not diverted, it naturally flows to join the rivulet originating in the source near the grotto of Pan¹.

The consequence of this position of Enneacrunus would be, that the most ancient Odeium, as well as the temples of Ceres and Proserpine, of Triptolemus and of Eucleia, all which Pausanias places near Enneacrunus, are to be looked for towards the western end of the Acropolis; and the supposition has this great convenience, that the description of Pausanias then becomes locally continuous: instead of which, if Enneacrunus be placed at the south-eastern extremity of Athens, we are under the neces-

¹ Wheler, p. 383. Stuart, II. p. v. In the time of Stuart, the Turkish fountain no longer flowed, and the water was conveyed by pipes to a mosque in the bazâr.

sity of admitting that the writer leaps over half the diameter of the city without notice, and without mention of any intermediate object. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt, that Enneacrunus was really at the south-eastern extremity of the city.

Herodotus relates, on the authority of Athenian traditions, that the Pelasgi, to whom lands had been assigned at the foot of Hymettus, as a reward for having fortified the Acropolis, were afterwards expelled from thence, because, among other offences, they ill-treated the sons and daughters of the Athenians when the latter were sent (there being at that time no servants in Greece) to draw water from Enneacrunus¹. The fountain, therefore, was on the side of Athens towards Hymettus, a position confirmed by Thucydides, who thus describes Athens as it existed before the time of Theseus, and when it was only one of twelve townships into which Attica was then divided.

“The city (says the historian) then consisted of that which is now the citadel, together with that portion of the present city which lies below it towards the south. A proof of this fact is afforded by the temples of the gods; for some of these are in

¹ Ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγούς ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑμητῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους, ἀδικέειν τάδε· φοιτῆν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐταί, τοὺς Πελασγούς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιῆσθαι σφεας. Herodot. 6, 137.

the citadel, and in the other situation are those of Jupiter Olympius, of Apollo Pythius, of the Earth, and that of Bacchus in the marshes, at which the more ancient Dionysiac festival is celebrated on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion; a custom still observed by the Ionians, who are descended from the Athenians. There are other ancient sanctuaries in the same quarter, as well as the fountain, which, from having been fitted with nine pipes by the tyrants [the Peisistratidæ], is called Enneacrunus, but which, when the natural sources were open to view, was named Callirrhoë: this spring, being near the sanctuaries, was resorted to for all the most important offices of religion, and still continues to be employed by women prior to their nuptials, as well as for other sacred purposes in the temples. It is in memory of this ancient condition of the city, that the Acropolis is even to this day called Polis by the Athenians¹."

¹ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον· τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἰδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ὃ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστεριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἰδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα ταύτῃ. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν, τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων, Ἐννεακρούνη καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιβρόχῃ ὠνομασμένη, ἐκείνη τε ἐγγυὲς οὖση, τὰ πλείστον ἀξία ἐχρῶντο. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι· καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων Πόλις. Thucyd. 2, 15.

To the concurring testimony of the two great historians may be added that of some other writers, who, though less direct in their testimony, or of a later date and inferior authority, furnish a strong corroboration of the fact in question. Tarantinus is cited by Hierocles in the Preface to his Hippiatrics, as asserting, that when the Athenians were building the temple of Jupiter *near* Enneacrunus, they ordered all the beasts of burden in Attica to be brought to the city¹. There was no temple of Jupiter at Athens of any celebrity, except that of Jupiter Olympius, and its remains are found near the source of water at the south-eastern extremity of the site of Athens.

In an ancient lexicon we find Enneacrunus or Callirrhoë described as near the Ilissus²: which fact Cratinus seems also to have had in view, when, ridiculing some contemporary, the comic poet exclaims, "O king Apollo, how the sources and torrents of his words resound! his mouth is a fountain of twelve pipes; his throat an Ilissus: unless some one will close his mouth, he will deluge every thing with his poems³."

¹ Ταραντίνος δὲ ἱστορεῖ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νηὸν κατασκευάζοντα Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνου πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ζεύγῃ ἀπαντα.

² Ἐννεάκρουνος, κρήνη Ἀθήνῃσι παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν, ἥ πρότερον Καλλιῤῥόη ἔσκεν. Etym. Mag. in Ἐννεάκρουνος.

³ Ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν βρυμμάτων
Καραχῶσι πηγαὶ δωδεκάκρουνον στόμα.
Ἰλισσὸς ἐν φάρυγγι. Τί ἂν εἴποιμί σοι;

If not in precise, at least in sufficient, conformity with these testimonies, we find, not far below the south-eastern angle of the peribolus of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, a small stream of water issuing from the foot of a ridge of rock, which here crosses the bed of the Ilissus; so that, in times of rain, the spring is enveloped in a small cascade of the river falling over the rock; but which, when the bed is in its ordinary state, that is to say, dry, or nearly so, forms a pool, which is permanent in the midst of summer, and is resorted to by the inhabitants of the adjacent part of Athens, as the only place furnishing potable water¹. The spring is still called, as well as

Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,
 Ἄπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

Cratin. in *Πυρίνη*, ap. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 523; ap. Suid. in *Ἀφείλεια*, *Δωδεκάκρουνον στόμα*; ap. Tzet. Ch. 8, 184.

On the strength of this passage Suidas seems to have supposed that Enneacrunus was sometimes called Dodecacrunus: it is more probable, however, that the poet amplified for the sake of comic effect, and because fountains of twelve pipes were not uncommon among the Greeks, as the word indicates.

¹ This pool, which seems to be supplied from subterraneous veins on both sides of the torrent-bed, would be more copious, but for a canal which commences near it, and is carried below the bed of the *Ilissus* to Vunó, a small village a mile from the city on the road to Peiræus; where the water is received into a cistern, supplies a fountain on the high road, and waters gardens. The canal exactly resembles those which were in use among the Greeks before the introduction of Roman aqueducts; being a channel about three feet square, cut in the solid rock. It is probably, therefore, an ancient work. A fountain or two on the road from the Peiræus to Athens was an object of the first necessity. One of these seems to be particularly alluded to by Marinus,

the river itself, Kallirrhōi [Καλλιρρόη]. There cannot, therefore, be any question of the identity, although both fountain and river seem anciently to have been better supplied with water than they are now; a change, which has occurred in other parts of Greece besides Attica, in consequence perhaps of a diminished vegetation on the mountains.

In the year 1676, when Spon and Wheler visited Athens, the name Kallirrhōi was applied to a few houses, which had disappeared seventy-five years afterwards, when Stuart arrived at Athens. In the time of Wheler there were two Turkish fountains; from one of which the water of *Callirrhoe* still issued, while the other was dry. This latter circumstance shows that a change was taking place in the course and discharge of this vein of water; and may account for the fact, that the source, which in early times may have been above the right bank of the Ilissus, immediately on the outside of the walls, as Herodotus seems to indicate, (possibly near one of the gates, such having been a common situation for a fountain, as many existing ruins in Greece demonstrate,) has at length removed its issue into the bed of the Ilissus itself. And such a change is the more conceivable, as the Ilissus being a torrent, which occasionally, though rarely, brings down a great body of water, cannot but operate frequent changes in the surface of the soil on its banks. Or, even without adverting to the effects of the torrent, it is obvious that the elevation of soil which occurs in all cities,

a writer of the fifth century of our era, as the site of the monument of Socrates. (Marin. Vit. Procli, 10.)

particularly in their lower grounds, and which has certainly taken place in a remarkable degree at Athens, may very possibly have caused an alteration in the course and issues of the fountain Callirrhoë.

That Enneacrunus, or the ancient Callirrhoë, was a separate vein of water, and not an artificial derivation from the Ilissus, was proved by an excavation which the primates of Athens made about the year 1804, at the pool above mentioned, when a brisk stream of water made its appearance, evidently distinct from the Ilissus, and having a course from the northward into the above-mentioned pool of water. In fact, the Ilissus receives several subterraneous veins of water from Hymettus and Anchesmus: these form pools in the dry bed of the torrent, which are resorted to by the Athenian women for the washing of linen.

When Pausanias said of Enneacrunus, that although "there were wells in every part of Athens, this was the only source of water¹," he manifestly alluded to the kind of water most esteemed for drinking, and which, in all parts of the city distant from Enneacrunus, the Athenians derived from wells, in which respect they are in the same state in the present day, as they were in the time of Vitruvius²;

¹ See above, p. 119, n. 3.

² *Aquæ enim species est, quæ cum habeat non satis perlucidas venas, spuma uti flos natat in summo, colore similis vitri purpurei. Hæc maxime consideratur Athenis: ibi enim ex hujusmodi locis et fontibus et in Asty et ad portum Peiræeum, ducti sunt salientes, e quibus bibit nemo propter eam causam, sed lavationibus et aliis rebus utuntur; bibunt autem ex puteis, et ita vitant eorum vitia.* Vitruv. 8, 3.

Pausanias himself describes two other sources, one at the cavern which was sacred to Apollo and Pan, another in the temple of Æsculapius: the former of these still exists near the cavern of Apollo and Pan; the latter, which was commonly known to the ancients as the fountain of Æsculapius¹, is evidently the same noticed by Wheler, and which, when left to nature, has a northerly course, as Stuart has marked it in his plan, in which direction it joins the stream from the grotto of Pan. But the water of these sources is not esteemed for drinking. Issuing from the hill of the Acropolis, they partake apparently of the same impregnation which gave saltness to the well formerly existing in the Erechtheium, and they were both probably among those saline sources which Vitruvius describes as having existed at Athens and Peiræus, and as having been used for washing and other domestic purposes. It is remarkable that Wheler describes the water of the Turkish fountain, which existed in his time near the western extremity of the Acropolis, as having been employed for similar purposes by the Turks of the citadel, "because it was not fit for drinking²;" a fact, which might have suggested to him that it could not have been the ancient Enneacrunus, as he supposed.

Pnyx.

This earliest place of assembly of the People of Athens in its legislative character, and which continued to serve the same purpose in the time of

¹ Pausan. Attic. 21, 7.

² Wheler's Travels, p. 383.

Demosthenes¹, is indicated by the description of it which may be gathered from ancient writers. It was in a rocky situation² over-against the Areiopagus³, in view of the Propylæa⁴, and at no great

¹ Aristoph. Acharn. 20. Vesp. 31. Eq. 165. 746. 748. 1106. 1134. Pa. 679. Concion. 243. 281. 283. 384. Thesm. 665. *ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις (στεφανοῖ), ἐν Πνυκί ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* Pseph. ap. Demosth. de Cor. p. 244, Reiske. Eum locum, ubi Demosthenes et Æschines inter se decertare soliti sunt. Cic. de Fin. 5, 2. The importance of the Pnyx is well shown by Aristophanes in 'The Knights,' where Demosthenes promises the sausage-seller that he shall be master of every thing at Athens, *καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν λιμενῶν, καὶ τῆς Πνυκός.* Eq. 165.

² *κάπὸ τῶν πετρῶν ἄνωθεν τοὺς φόρους θυνοσκοπῶν.*

Aristoph. Eq. 313.

ἐπὶ ταῖσι πετραῖς οὐ φροντίζει σκλήρως σε καθήμενον οὕτως

(*Δῆμον* sc.)

Ibid. 780.

³ Mercury says to Justice in the *bis accusatus* of Lucian, (9) *αὐτὴ ἐνταυθα που ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου (Ἀρείου) κάθησο, τὴν Πνύκα ὁρῶσα.*

⁴ Προπύλαια ταῦτα Δημοσθένης ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς δύναται μὲν δεικτικῶς λέγεσθαι, ἄτε ὁρωμένων τῶν Προπυλαίων ἀπὸ τῆς Πνυκός. Harpocr. in v. The words Προπύλαια ταῦτα are not found in any of the Philippics, but they appear to have been often used by Demosthenes. In the speech against Androtion, Προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ Παρθενῶν, στοαί, νεωσοῖκοι occurs twice (p. 597. 617), and again in that *περὶ συντάξεως*, which, though it may not be genuine, equally proves that this was a favourite appeal of the orator. Aristides the Sophist refers to them (Art. Orat. 1. II. p. 452, Jebb), but the most remarkable allusion to this practice of Demosthenes is by his rival Æschines: 'Ἀνιστάμενοι οἱ ῥήτορες ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἐκέλευον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμίνι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃ ναυμαχίας μεμνησθαι (de f. leg. p. 253, Reiske). From these words we may infer that the scene of the battle of Salamis was not visible from the place of assembly.

distance from the Museum¹. It was constructed not with the elaborate commodiousness of a theatre, but with the simplicity of ancient times², and it had a βῆμα or *pulpit* of stone³ turned from the sea towards the interior country⁴.

All these data accord so exactly with the remains of a singular and apparently very ancient construction⁵ still existing on the height to the north of the Museum, and to the west of the Areiopagus, that we are surprised there should ever have been a difference of opinion as to those remains⁶. Yet Spon

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν ἄστει κατεστροπέδευσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρῶ περὶ τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον. Plutarch. Thes. 27.

² Πνύξ δὲ ἦν χωρίον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατεσκευασμένον κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπλότητα, οὐκ εἰς θεάτρου πολυπραγμοσύνην· αὐθις δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ θεάτρῳ, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῇ Πνυκί. J. Poll. 8, 132. πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν is obviously an inaccuracy. In later times the only election in the Pnyx was that of the Strategus. Hesych. in Πνύξ.

³ "Ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἐν Πνυκί, Aristoph. Pa. 679. . . . λίθῳ δὲ τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί, Schol. ibid. It is often alluded to by the poet as ὁ λίθος, ἡ πέτρα. Acharn. 683. Eq. 751. Pa. 679. Eccl. 87.

⁴ Plutarch. Themist. 19. See p. 182, n. 1.

⁵ J. Pollux designates the Pnyx as a χωρίον: a Scholiast (Aristoph. Eq. 746) as the τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκκλησίαζον, and Cicero as a locus, all showing the want of a specific term for such a construction.

⁶ We may remark in confirmation of the identity of the Pnyx, that on a part of the rock of the adjacent height to the northward, are inscribed the words ἱερὸν Νύμφαις Δημοσίαις, the epithet showing the vicinity of the place of meeting of the Δημος. —Note of 1837.

took them for the Areiopagus¹, Wheler was in doubt whether they belonged to the Areiopagus or Odeium², and Stuart has given a plan and section of them as of the theatre of Regilla³; thus mistaking the most ancient of the Athenian constructions for one of the most modern.

Stuart opposes to the opinion of Chandler, who first demonstrated the identity of this monument, now generally acknowledged to be the Pnyx, that Lucian, in his *bis accusatus*, places Justice on the Areiopagus, looking westward towards Pnyx, at the same time that she beholds Pan approaching, whose abode was in the grotto under the Acropolis, exactly in the opposite direction; and that Plutarch states the bema to have been turned so as to look towards the sea, which is the reverse of what we now find it to be. To the first of these objections we may reply, that Pan is supposed to be very near to Justice when he is perceived by her; for he immediately begins conversing with her. He perceived her from his grotto in the rocks below the Propylæa, as she was sitting upon the Areiopagus, advanced to meet her, and arrived just as Mercury was setting off to the Acropolis⁴. As to the other

¹ Spon, Voyage, &c. II. p. 116.

² Wheler's Travels, p. 382.

³ Stuart's Ant. of Ath. III. p. 51.

⁴ ΔΙΚΗ. Μὴ πρότερον ἀπέλθης, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, πρὶν εἰπεῖν ὅστις οὗτος ὁ προσῶν ἐστίν, ὁ κερασφόρος, ὁ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ λάσιος ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν.

ἙΡΜΗΣ. Τί φῆς, ἀγνοεῖς τὸν Πᾶνα, τῶν Διονύσου θεραπόντων τὸν βακχικώτατον; οὗτος ᾤκει μὲν τὸ πρόσθεν ἀνὰ τὸ Παρθένιον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Δάτιδος ἐπίπλουν καὶ τὴν Μαραθῶναδε τῶν βαρβάρων

objection, Plutarch states indeed, that the bema of the Pnyx had been so placed as to command a view of the sea, but he adds, that its direction had been reversed by the Thirty Tyrants, because nautical affairs supported democracy, and agriculture was favourable to the oligarchy¹. With reference therefore to the identity of the Pnyx, we may be satisfied with finding the bema formed as the last recorded change had left it, and still more with finding that it commands a view of the Propylæa, as when Demosthenes, in uttering the words *Προπύλαια ταῦτα*, pointed to that building. In fact, there is a great difficulty in understanding how the bema, supposing the Pnyx to have always occupied the present position, could ever have commanded a view of the sea; for the rocks behind the bema are higher than any part of the Pnyx, and immediately behind them were the walls of the Asty, excluding the sight of the sea from every part of the height within them. Or supposing the words of Plutarch to imply, not that the facing of the bema towards the

ἀπόβασιν ἦκεν ἀκλῆτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σύμμαχος καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου, τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος, οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, ἐς τὸ μετοικικὸν συντελῶν καὶ νῦν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἰδὼν ἐκ γειτόνων πρόσεισι δεξιωσόμενος.

ΠΑΝ. Χαίρετε ὦ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Δίκῃ.

Lucian. bis accus. 9.

¹ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠϋξῃσε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναυτὰς καὶ κελευστὰς, καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. Διδὼ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί, πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὕστερον οἱ Τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπρέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν, γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἦπτον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας. Plutarch. Themist. 19.

sea had been an innovation of Themistocles, which the Thirty reversed, but that it was the original mode of construction unaltered until the time of the Thirty, there would be this strong objection to the supposition, namely, that the bema was in that case turned away from the Agora, and its other buildings; and that the transient authority of an unpopular usurpation had effected an important and permanent change on one of the most ancient of the public constructions. Upon the whole, therefore, there is some reason to believe that Plutarch in this instance, as in some others, has been tempted to repeat a story, which, although current at Athens, had no foundation in truth¹.

The Dionysiac theatre, or theatre of Bacchus, is another point of Athenian topography upon which there can be no doubt, and its position is of such consequence, that a mistake in regard to it led Stuart to several erroneous conclusions on the topography of the city. He supposed that the theatre, the ruins of which are seen under the south-western corner of the Acropolis, was the Dionysiac theatre, and that the building, of which the form only, together with some vestiges of one of the wings, are traced near the south-eastern angle, was the Odeium of Pericles; in which opinion, one is surprised he should have imagined that a building, so entirely of the construction of Roman times as the former, could have been the theatre where the works of Æschylus and his followers in the drama were first represented, and equally so that he should have conceived that

Dionysiac
Theatre.

¹ For some further remarks on the Pnyx, see Appendix XI.

so large an edifice as the latter could ever have been covered by a pointed wooden roof, such as that of the tent-shaped building of Pericles¹.

We might indeed apply the situation of the Dionysiac theatre, as described by two writers of the first and second centuries of our æra, to either of those ruins², but there is other evidence which it would be impossible to reconcile with the theatre at the south-western angle of the Acropolis: and accordingly that theatre is now generally admitted to have been neither the Dionysiac theatre nor the Odeium of Pericles, but the Odeium of Herodes, the Dionysiac theatre having been that of which vestiges are seen near the south-eastern angle³. Like many

¹ See Pausan. Attic. 20, 3, and page 138, note 3.

² Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ θεῶνται τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὗ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρχηστραν διατιθέασιν. Dion. Chrysostom. Or. Rhod. p. 347, Morell. The *θέα*, to which the orator alludes, are the exhibitions of the theatre. He then contrasts its situation with that of a Corinthian place of spectacle, "inconveniently placed in the bed of a torrent on the outside of the city, in a place unfit even for the sepulture of freemen." A small amphitheatre still exists at Corinth, on the outside of the ancient walls (a position usually occupied by sepulchres), and near the left bank of the torrent which separates the Acrocorinthus from the heights to the eastward. Philostratus (de v. Apollon. Tyan. 4, 22) seems to mark the vicinity of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens to the Acropolis still more strongly by the words ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει: in fact, as the middle of it has been excavated out of the rock, it may be called a part of the Acropolis.

³ Chandler was the first who gave his opinion that these remains belonged to the theatre of Bacchus. Barthélemy followed him in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, where, speaking of the choragic monuments found in the vicinity of this theatre, he justly remarks, "Il convenait que les trophées fussent élevées auprès du champ de bataille." Jeune Anach. II. 12. But some later

other theatres in Greece, the middle of it was excavated on the side of the hill, and its extremities were supported by solid piers of masonry.

The strongest proof that these remains belong to the theatre of Bacchus is to be found in the choragic monuments still existing in that part of the site of Athens. Upon some of these are seen vestiges of the tripods well known to have been the usual prizes of the leaders of the victorious chori¹, in the contests of music and poetry decided in the Dionysiac theatre², and to have been often dedicated in the sacred inclosure of Bacchus³, of which the theatre was a part.

authors have still adhered to the opinion of Stuart. See *Deux Mémoires*, par Visconti, London, Murray, 1816, p. 122, 127; *Memoirs on Turkey*, edited by Walpole, p. 546.

¹ Plutarch. Arist. 1. Themist. 5. Nic. 3. Lys. defens. largit. p. 698, Reiske. J. Poll. 3, 30. Athen. 2, 2 (6). Plutarch has preserved the inscriptions of the choragic dedications of Aristides and Themistocles, expressed exactly in the same form as many others which have been found at Athens. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. Nos. 211, 212, and from 215 to 227 incl.

² Τῶν δὲ ἀγώνων, οἱ μὲν γυμνικοὶ, οἷδε καλούμενοι σκηνικοὶ, ὀνομασθεῖεν ἂν Διονυσιακοὶ τε καὶ μουσικοὶ, &c. Χωρία δὲ τῶν μὲν στάδιον, τῶν δὲ θέατρον. J. Poll. 3, 30.

³ . . . νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου κατέλιπεν. Plutarch. Arist. 1.

. . . ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νέως· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορήγησας. Plutarch. Nic. 3. Whence it appears that Nicias built a temple to support his tripods.

. . . καὶ τὸ νικητήριον ἐν Διονύσου τρίπους, Athen. 2, 2 (6).

ἐν Διονύσου seems to have been the common expression for *in the sacred inclosure of Bacchus*. Thus also Thucydides says, τὸ ἐν Λιμναῖς Διονύσου, and ἡ ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησία. The theatre in like manner was called τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον, or the Dionysiac theatre. See above, p. 137, n. 3.

Andocides also, according to the biographer of the ten rhetoricians, νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τρίποδα ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἀντικρὺς τοῦ πωρινού

We not only find the cavern at the summit of the theatre in the rocks of the Acropolis, described by Pausanias¹; but we observe also its choragic inscription, and the embellishments of architecture, by which the cavern was converted by Thrasyllus, a victorious choregus, into a small temple, like those erected by Nicias and Lysicrates². The only point wherein the description of Pausanias appears deficient is, that it mentions a tripod above the cavern, without taking any notice of the statue of Bacchus, formerly seated upon the entablature of the small temple, and now in the British Museum. It is to be observed, however, that there are holes in the lap of that statue which indicate the position of a tripod, and that the custom of supporting tripods by statues was not uncommon³. The statue was placed between two other choragic monuments, and just below two columns, formed with triangular capitals, for the support of tripods.

At no great distance from the same spot, to the

Σελίνου, where *ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ* seems to allude to the rocks above the theatre, where many vestiges of these monuments are seen. The *πωρινὸς Σέλινο*s may perhaps have been a *πωρινὸς Σειρήν*, erected on the monument of a dramatic poet, possibly Sophocles himself, whose tomb was surmounted with a Siren. May not Pausanias (in *Attic.* 21, 1) have alluded to this monument of Sophocles, without naming it, in his story of the dream of Lysander, and his remarks on the Seiren as the symbol of a favourite of the Muses? As connected with this question, see *Vit. X. Rhet.* in *Isocrat.* and the Greek life of Sophocles.

¹ *Ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπηλαιὸν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.* Pausan. *Attic.* 21, 5.

² For the monuments of Thrasyllus and Lysicrates, see Stuart's *Antiq. of Athens*, I. 4.

³ Pausan. *Attic.* 18, 8. *Lacon.* 18, 5. *Messen.* 14, 2.

eastward, is the beautiful little temple built by Lysicrates, in honour of the victory of his chorus, with a roof, rising to a triangular apex, for the support of his prize tripod. It appears to have been one of those temples which are mentioned by Pausanias as standing in the street or district called Tripodes, between the Prytaneium and the sacred inclosure of Bacchus. When the connexion, therefore, between the choragic monuments and the Dionysiac theatre are considered on the one hand, and on the other the extreme difficulty of supposing that the quarter in which stands the monument of Lysicrates could have had any connexion with the theatre at the south-western end of the Acropolis, it can hardly be maintained that the latter was the theatre of Bacchus, or any longer questioned that the site of the Dionysiac theatre is indicated by the hollow, and a few other remains, which are observable at the south-eastern end of the Acropolis.

We have a strong confirmation of the identity of these remains in an ancient coin of Athens¹. This curious medal represents the great Athenian theatre viewed from below. Its proscenium and cavea are distinctly seen: its gradation of seats, interrupted by one diazoma, or lateral corridor of communication; and even the cunei, or separations, formed by the radiating steps which led upwards from the orchéstra. Above the theatre rises the wall of the Acropolis, anciently called Notium; over the centre of which is seen the Parthenon, and to the left of it the Propylæa. The magnificent

¹ Belonging to the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum. See Plate I, fig. 2.

appearance of the Parthenon rising above the theatre, as represented on the coin, appears to have been celebrated among the ancients ; for we find it alluded to by an author who described Athens towards the end of the fourth century B.C.¹ In further proof of the identity of this theatre, the designer of the coin has even represented, at the foot of the wall above the centre of the theatre, the σπήλαιον, or grotto mentioned by Pausanias, with a pilaster in the centre, exactly as we see it at the present day, or, still better, as shown by Stuart in its restored state², cleared of the modern wall by which the aperture was closed, when the cave was formed into a small church, dedicated to ἡ Παναγία Σπηλιότισσα, or our Lady of the Cavern. The artist seems even to have intended to describe other smaller excavations, of which traces still exist, in the same line with the great one, and which were probably also small hiera, formed for the reception of statues³.

¹ Dicæarchus remarks, that the streets of Athens were so narrow, and the houses so small and inconvenient, that a stranger suddenly placed in the town would doubt that he was in the famous Athens, but would soon be convinced of it, when he saw the "Odeium, the handsomest in the world ; the theatre magnificent, great, and wonderful ; the sumptuous, conspicuous, and admirable temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, rising above the theatre, and striking the spectator with admiration." Ὀιδεῖον τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ κάλλιστον· θέατρον ἀξιόλογον, μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν· Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολύτελες, ἀπόψιον, ἄξιον θέας, (καὶ) ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενῶν, (ὅς) ὑπερκείμενος τοῦ θεάτρου, μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ποιεῖ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. Vit. Græc. p. 8. Dicæarchus seems to have alluded exactly to the scene commemorated by the designer of the coin, who lived probably about five centuries later.

² Ant. of Ath. II. 4. pl. 3.

³ On a vase found at Aulis were represented the Theatre, the monument of Thrasyllus, the tripodial columns on the rocks, and

Having admitted that the remains at the south-eastern end of the Acropolis are those of the Dionysiac theatre, we can as little doubt that the ruined theatre at the south-western end was the Odeium, built by Herodes, son of Atticus, and named by him, in honour of his deceased wife, the Odeium of Regilla. Its architecture is precisely that of the age when Herodes lived¹; and as to the silence of Pausanias concerning it, when describing the road which led from the Dionysiac theatre to the Propylæa, and which must have passed very near, if not over, a part of the ground where the Odeium stands, he himself explains it in his description of Patræ, by remarking that the Odeium of Herodes at Athens was not commenced at the time he wrote his Attica². As the total diameter of this theatre within the walls was little more than 240 feet, it could not well have contained more than 6000 spectators, a capacity quite incompatible with the multitudes sometimes assembled in the theatre of Bacchus³, which Stuart supposed

Theatre of
Herodes, or
Odeium of
Regilla.

above them the polygonal walls of the Acropolis, crowned by the Parthenon. See Millin, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, II. ; Dodwell's *Travels in Greece*, I. p. 301.

¹ Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, born at Marathion, inherited great wealth from his father. He lived in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Aurelius, and was one of the greatest among the benefactors of Athens.

² *κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ ψῆδεϊον* (Patrense) *ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν· πλὴν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν· τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆρκε κατασκευὴν· ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν· Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρὲθ' τὸ ψῆδεϊον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, ἣ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.* Pausan. *Achaic*. 20, 3.

³ See Appendix XII. on the capacity of the Dionysiac Theatre.

this building to have been : but sufficient, upon the supposition that it was the Odeium of Herodes to allow us to give credit to the assertion of Pausanias, that it excelled all the other odeia or music-theatres in Greece, as well in dimensions as in other respects. The roofing of so large a building required great architectural skill, and excited the greater admiration as having been constructed of cedar¹.

Horolo-
gium of
Androni-
cus.

In one of the most central positions, as well of ancient as of modern Athens, stands the octagonal tower, vulgarly called *στοὺς ἀνέμους*, or the temple or tower of the winds, from the figures and names of the winds to which the eight faces of the building are opposed. Varro affords evidence that this building was erected by Andronicus Cyrrhestes, prior to the year 35 B. C.² From Vitruvius we learn that the figure of a Triton on the summit, bearing a wand in his right hand, served for a weathercock³. An

¹ *Ἀνέθηκε δὲ Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥεγίλλῃ θέατρον, κέδρου ξυνθεὶς τὸν ὄροφον.* Philostrat. Sophist. 2, 1, § 5.

The roof seems to have been the chief distinction between an odeium and a theatre, the cavea of the theatre having scarcely ever been covered, unless with an awning. Pliny alludes (36, 24, 1) to a covered theatre at Ostia, of the time of Cicero, as an astonishing work. An epigram found at Patara testifies the distinction which a citizen of Tmolus had acquired by rebuilding the roof of the Odeium (Beaufort's *Caramania*, p. 5). The roof of so large a building required the support of columns, and hence we find the Odeium of Pericles described by Plutarch as having many columns as well as seats (*πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον*). The numerous columns of the same building are alluded to by Theophrastus (*Charact.* 3), *πόσοι εἴσι κίονες τοῦ Ὀιδείου*.

² This follows from the date of the work, *de Re Rustica*, in which Varro mentions the tower. See the Commentary on the life and writings of Varro, ap. Script. de R. R. I. part 2. p. 229.

³ Vitruv. 1, 6.

accumulation of soil has deprived the building of several feet of its original height; but Stuart, who excavated the interior until he arrived at the floor, has left no doubt that within there was a water-clock¹, similar to the horologium described by Vitruvius, Pliny, and Lucian²; and that it was supplied with water from the stream which flows from the fountain Clepsydra³: in fact, a portion of the aqueduct existed not long since, and formed part of a modern conduit for the conveyance of water to a neighbouring mosque for the service of the Turks in their ablutions. On each of the eight faces of the building is a sun-dial⁴: and thus it appears that the

¹ Ant. of Ath. I. 3.

² Vitruv. 9, 8 (9). Plin. H. N. 7, 60. Lucian. Hipp. 8.

³ It is to be observed, that there was nothing in common between the name of the fountain and that of the water-clocks called Clepsydræ, which were very simple in their construction and much more ancient than the instrument of Andronicus. See Aristophanes, Vesp. 93, 853. One of their uses was to regulate the time of speaking of the public orators. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Κλεψύδρα.

⁴ Delambre supposed (Mag. Encyclopédique an. 1814 V, 1815 I.) that the dials were posterior additions to the building, because neither Varro nor Vitruvius mention them; and because Vitruvius, in describing many other dials, makes no mention of those on the tower of Andronicus. But a dial was an essential part of such a building, and the Athenians had then possessed dials for four or five centuries; a curious fact, we may observe, as showing the great antiquity of Greek civilization, compared with that of Rome: for we learn from Varro (ap. Plin. H. N. 7, 60) that the first sun-dial erected at Rome was brought from Catana, in Sicily, by the consul M. Val. Messala, in the year a. c. 263; and, though made for a different latitude, served to regulate the time at Rome for 99 years, when Q. Marcius Philippus caused a more correct dial to be erected, to which Scipio Nasica added a water-clock in the year 159 a. c.

entire structure served to indicate the half-quarter of the heavens from whence the wind blew, the hour of the day by the sun when it shone, and by water when the weather was cloudy, or during the night.

Stadium. As the Stadium of Athens differed not in its general form from the other stadia of Greece, it is at once recognised by its existing remains, consisting of two parallel heights, partly natural, and partly composed of large masses of rough substruction, which rise at a small distance from the left bank of the Ilissus, in a direction at right angles to the course of that stream, and which are connected at the further end by a third height, more indebted to art for its composition, and which formed the semi-circular extremity essential to a stadium. These particulars accord with, or at least explain, the words of Pausanias, relating to the position and appearance of the stadium of Athens¹. Although it is possible that this place may from early times have been the scene of the gymnastic contests of the Panathenaic and other festivals, as its situation near the walls of the city and the natural formation of the ground concurred to recommend it for that purpose, we find no specific notice of a stadium in this place, or indeed of any Athenian stadium until about the year 350 B. C.², when Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, levelled the bed of the torrent which flowed between the heights, and raised a *κορηπὶς*, or low wall, around the

¹ See above, p. 136.

² We are informed by the biographer of the Ten Orators, that the ground was then the property of an individual, who gave it up to Lycurgus, with a view to assist his designs for the benefit of the city.

level area, at the foot of the slopes¹. It would seem, from the words of the biographer of Lycurgus, that no seats were constructed by him, and that it was not until five centuries later that the slopes were covered with seats of Pentelic marble by Herodes, son of Atticus; an undertaking of such magnitude that nearly four years were required to complete it².

The only remains of this magnificent finishing are a few of the component blocks which are occasionally brought to light by the rain, or by those who still resort to the place in search of building materials. The terms of admiration in which the Panathenaic Stadium is spoken of by Pausanias and Philostratus, who saw it soon after it had been finished by Herodes, is in some measure justified by its present remains, imperfect as they are; for in magnitude it appears to have exceeded all the stadia of Greece. The breadth of the level space, included between the two parallel heights, is about 130 feet, whereas fifty or sixty feet was the ordinary breadth of the Greek stadium: and although the length of the course, or distance between the *aphesis* and *campter*, was probably not more in this stadium than the usual stade of 600 Greek feet, equal to about 607 English, the part destined to the spectators, or length of the cavea at the lowest seat, was not less than 675 English feet. We can hardly suppose that the rows of seats extended to the summits of the existing hills; indeed, the lines of them, still traceable, seem to indicate that they reached to

¹ καὶ τῇ σταδίῳ τῇ Παναθηναϊκῇ τὴν κρηπίδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτο καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὁμαλὴν ποιήσας. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.

² Philostrat. Sophist. 2, 1, § 5.

not more than half that height; their number therefore was probably between thirty and forty. Philostratus, who relates, as an extraordinary fact, that Herodes, having at one of the quadrennial Panathenaic festivals promised to cover the Stadium with seats of Pentelic marble before the next meeting, was able to perform this great undertaking, and who adds that no theatre could then be compared with it, serves to corroborate the supposition that the rows were not fewer than the number just mentioned; for some of the theatres of Greece had sixty rows of seats, with a diameter of four or five hundred feet to the exterior seat. As each longitudinal row, exclusive of the theatre-shaped end, would have been capable of containing four hundred persons, forty thousand might have been accommodated on the marble seats, and as many more on the slopes of the hills above them on extraordinary occasions; such as that when Hadrian gratified the corrupted taste of the Athenians, and disgraced a Grecian stadium, by the Roman exhibition of the slaughter of a thousand wild beasts¹.

¹ Athenis mille ferarum venationem in Stadio exhibuit. Spartian. Hadrian. 19. If we may trust to Philostratus, or rather to Damis, the contemporary of Apollonius of Tyana, the Athenians, 150 years before the time of Hadrian, had exhibited combats of criminals in the Dionysiac Theatre. Philost. in Vit. Apollon. Tyana. 4, 22.

A subterraneous opening, twelve feet wide and ten high, in that part of the Stadium where the semicircular extremity terminates on the eastern side, may have been formed expressly for Roman exhibitions; for it was not on the side where an entrance would be most convenient to the citizens, nor are such openings found in Greek stadia, though essential to Roman places of spectacle.

On one side of the Stadium, according to Philostratus, stood a temple of Fortune, containing an ivory statue of the goddess: it occupied probably the western hill, on the summit of which are considerable remains of rough masonry. The sepulchre of Herodes himself, who was buried in some part of this the proudest monument of his munificence, stood perhaps on the summit of the opposite height.

So noble an appendage to the Attic capital as the Panathenaic Stadium would not have been complete without a suitable approach. Of this approach, the only remains now extant are the foundations of a bridge crossing the Ilissus, and the remains of a causeway which traversed the low ground lying between the river and a rising ground, which has a direction nearly parallel to the river, and marks probably the line of the eastern wall of the asty. We can hardly doubt that there was a gate in that wall in an exact line with the causeway, the bridge and the axis of the Stadium.

The name of that most illustrious of the Athenian Academy. gymnasia, the Academy, has been preserved through the dark ages, and exactly in the situation indicated by ancient testimony. We are informed that the Academy was six or eight stades distant from a gate in the wall of the asty named Dipylum, and that the road from thence to the Academy led through that part of the outer Cerameicus, in which it was a custom to bury the Athenian citizens who had fallen in battle on important occasions¹.

¹ Ab Dipylo accessit: porta ea velut in ore urbis posita, major aliquanto patentiorque quam cæteræ, est; et intra eam extraque

Dipylum was the gate from whence began the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis¹; the exact direction of which latter cannot be doubted as the entrance of the pass of Mount *Pæcillum*, now

latæ sunt viæ, ut et oppidani dirigere aciem a foro ad portam possent, et extra, limes mille ferme passus, in Academiæ gymnasium ferens, pediti equitique hostium liberum spatium præberet. Liv. Hist. 31, 24.

. . . ἐκτὸς τείχους ἐν Κεραμειῷ. Plato, Parmen. 2.

πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμειόν. Plutarch. Syll. 14.

Ἰππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμειῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων . . . ὤρμησαν εἰς τῶν πυλῶν καὶ περιέντυχον τῷ Ἰπάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον. Thucyd. 6, 57.

Constituimus inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academiâ, maximè quod is locus ab omni turbâ id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad Pisonem omnes. Inde vario sermone sex illa a Dipylo stadia confecimus; cum autem venissemus in Academiæ non sine causâ nobilitata spatia, solitudo erat ea, quam volueramus. Cicero de Fin. 5, 1.

ἔστι δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διπύλου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν ἀπώντων οὐ μέγα τὸ χῶμα καὶ ἡ στήλη χαμαί. Lucian. Scyth. 2.

Ἀκαδημία λέγεται δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ Ἀκαδήμον ἀναθέντος καὶ τόπος καλεῖται οὗτος ὁ Κεραμεικός. Hesych. in Ἀκαδημία.

Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι. Ἐγγυτάτω δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ . . . οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στήλαι, τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκάστων λέγουσαι. Pausan. Attic. 29, 2. 4.

Ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ.

Δημοσίᾳ γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν, Aristoph. Aves, 395.

propter has amplitudines sepulchrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus, Cicer. de leg. 2, 26.

¹ See below, p. 223.

Dhafni, through which it proceeded, is a point exactly defined, and vestiges of several of the monuments which bordered the Sacred road still remain. It appears also that the Academy lay between the Sacred Way and the Colonus Hippius, a height near the Cephissus, sacred to Neptune, and the scene of the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles¹; for the Academy was not far from Colonus, and the latter was ten stades distant from the city². That part of the plain which is near the olive-groves, on the north-eastern side of Athens, and is now called Akadhimía (Ἀκαδημία), is entirely in conformity with these data. It is on the lowest level, where some water-courses from the ridges of Lycabettus are consumed in gardens and olive-plantations. These were the waters which, while they nourished the shady groves of the Academy³, and its plane trees

¹ Me ipsum huc modo venientem (sc. a Dipylo in Academiam), convertēbat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cujus incola Sophocles ob oculos versabatur. Cicero de Fin. 5, 1.

Εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶς δὲ χώρας
 ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπανυλα
 Τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν,
 Ἔνθα λίγεια, &c.
 οὐδ' αὖπνοι
 Κρῆναι μινύθουσι
 Κηφισοῦ νομάδες ῥέεθρων.

Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. 668.

κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας (sc. τῆς Ἀκαδημίας). δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος Κολωνός Ἰππείος, ἔνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα. Pausan. Att. 30, 4.

² Κολωνόν· ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἀπέχον σταδίων μάλιστα δέκα. Thucyd. 8, 67.

³ Ἀκαδημίαν ἔκειρε δενδροφορωτάτην τῶν προαστείων οὖσαν. Plutarch. Syll. 12.

(Πλάτων) διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ· τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον προάστειον

remarkable for their luxuriant growth¹, made the air unhealthy². They still cause the spot to be one of the most advantageous situations near Athens for the growth of fruit and pot-herbs, and maintain a certain degree of verdure when all the surrounding plain is parched with the heat of summer. Half a mile to the northward of this position are two small heights, the nearer and larger of which corresponds exactly with Colonus.

On the side of the road leading to the Academy from the centre of Athens, are seen several rude masses of masonry, the remains probably of some of the numerous sepulchral monuments which once embellished this most beautiful³ of the suburbs of Athens. From a part of the ground, called Akadhimía, was removed about the year 1802, a marble (now in the British Museum) which bears part of one of the epitaphs placed in this quarter to

ἀλσώδες, ἀπό τινος ἥρωος ὀνομασθὲν Ἑκαδήμον, καθὰ καὶ Εὐπολὶς ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις φησὶν.

Ἐν εὐσκόλοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμον θεοῦ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τίμων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγων φησί.

Τῶν πάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο πλατύστατος, ἀλλ' ἀγορήτης

Ἡδυεπὴς, τέττιξιν ἰσογράφος, οἱ θ' Ἑκαδήμον

Δένδρεσ' ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειψώεσαν ἰεῖσι.

πρότερον γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ε' Ἑκαδημία ἐκαλεῖτο. Diogen. Laërt. 3, 7. V. et Suid. in Ἀκαδημία.

¹ Plin. H. N. 12, 1 (5).

² Ælian. Var. Hist. 9, 10.

Porphyr. de Abst. ab esu animal. 1, 36.

Æneas Gazæus de Animal. Immort. p. 20, Ven. 1513.

St. Basil. de leg. libris Gent. II. p. 182, fol. Paris, 1722.

Serm. 19, III. p. 572.

³ τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως. Thucyd. 2, 34.

record the names of the Athenians who had been slain in battle. It was the sepulchral monument of the men who fell at Potidæa, in the year preceding the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, or 432 B.C.¹ Thus from the situation where this stone was found, it is no less useful in the illustration of topography, than important as a historical and palæographical document.

The arch of Hadrian, now deprived of the elegant Corinthian columns which adorned it, and covered at the base with three feet of accumulated soil, consisted when complete of an archway twenty feet wide, between piers about fifteen feet square, decorated with a column and a pilaster on each side of the arch, and the whole presenting an exactly similar appearance on either face. Above the centre of the arch stood an upper order surmounted by a pediment, and consisting on either front of a niche between semi-columns; a thin partition separating the niches from each other at the back. Two columns between a pilaster flanked this structure at either end, and stood immediately above the larger Corinthian columns of the lower order. The height of the lower order to the summit of the cornice was about thirty-three feet, that of the upper to the summit of the pediment about twenty-three. On the frieze immediately above the centre of the arch is inscribed on the north-western side,

Arch of
Hadrian,
or gate of
Hadriano-
polis.

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ,

“ This is Athens, the ancient city of Theseus.”

¹ Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 170.



And on the opposite side the following :

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΟΥΧΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΠΟΛΙΣ,

“ This is the City of Hadrian, and not of Theseus ¹. ”

These inscriptions, which are alluded to by the Scholiast of the Sophist Aristides ², were transcribed in the year 1436 by Ciriaco d'Ancona, and again in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Urban di Belluno, preceptor of Pope Leo X.; who published them in his Greek grammar: a copy of the first is found in a letter of Simeon Kavásilas addressed in the year 1578 to Martin Crusius, author of the *Turco-Græcia* ³, and they were both again published by Spon and Wheler, and by Stuart ⁴. According to a common practice of the Greeks in similar cases, they are trimeter iambics, and their form is such as was often found on the two sides of a boundary; as for instance, on an ancient column in the isthmus of Corinth, upon which was inscribed on the Peloponnesian side,

Τὰ δ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἴωνία,

and on the other

Τὰ δ' οὐκὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἴωνία ⁵.

¹ For the architectural details of this monument, see Stuart III. 3.

² Schol. in Arist. p. 69, Frommel.

³ S. Kabasilas ap. Crus. *Turcogræc.* p. 461. See above, p. 89.

Crusius, in a note upon this passage, says, Hunc versum Urbanus, qui Grammaticam Græcam post Gazam scripsit, a se Athenis in arcu marmoreo Adriani imperatoris visum scribit, additumque in fronte orientem versus hunc Αἰδ' εἰς Ἀδριανου̃.

⁴ Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 520.

⁵ Strabo p. 392. Androton ap. Schol. Villos. in II. N. 685.

There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the quarter on the southern side of the arch was a division of the Asty, called Hadrianopolis or New Athens, in honour of Hadrian¹. It is true that some of the buildings which this emperor raised for the Athenians, were not in this quarter; but the benefactions of Hadrian in Attica were neither confined to Athens, nor in Athens to one particular part of the town, circumstances having naturally determined their locality. On the other hand, it is impossible to believe that any part of Athens from which the Olympium was excluded, could have been complimented with the title of Hadrianopolis. For of all the benefits which Hadrian conferred upon the Athenians, the finishing and dedicating of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, a work which had defied the

¹ Quum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit et ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem. Spartian. Hadrian. 20. Chandler dissenting from preceding travellers, as well as from Crusius, Meursius, Gruter, and the other learned men who had had occasion to refer to these inscriptions, supposed ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙ to be ἀ ἴδεις 'Αθήναι, "the things which you see are Athens," which has no support in any customary Greek form, destroys the verse, and has had the remarkable effect of inducing another writer who adopted the same reading (Wilkins, Atheniensia, p. 49) to deduce an inference from the words, directly opposite to that of Chandler; for while Chandler still supposed Hadrianopolis to have been on the south-eastern side of the arch, Mr. Wilkins regarding it as absurd that the words "what you see" should refer to a part of the city upon which the reader of them turns his back, concluded that they were meant to direct his view through the arch: and consequently, that Hadrianopolis was on the opposite side to that on which the name of Hadrian appears.

successive efforts both of the Athenians and their foreign benefactors, was that which conferred the greatest glory upon the Roman emperor. For this he assumed the title of Olympius. Here the cities of Greece concentrated their testimonies of admiration by an immense number of statues dedicated in the peribolus of the temple; and here the Athenians exceeded them all by the colossal statue of the emperor, which they erected ¹.

It is not improbable that the niches which are between the semi-columns of this monument above the centre of the arch contained statues of Theseus and Hadrian; of the former on the north-western, and of the latter on the south-eastern side.

Aqueduct
of Hadrian.

On the southern extremity of the mountain of St. George, at a distance of four or five hundred yards from the north-eastern walls of the Asty, stood in the time of Stuart two unfluted Ionic columns two feet and a half in diameter, supporting an entablature, and forming one side of an arch, of which Stuart by an excavation ascertained the exact dimensions, and determined that it was part of the frontispiece of a reservoir, which had been supplied by an aqueduct conveying water from the Cephissus. The piers of some of the arches of this aqueduct are still extant, particularly to the eastward of the village of Dervish-agú, five or six miles to the north of Athens. The monument at the foot of mount St. George, was not in better preservation when Spon saw it seventy-five years before the time of Stuart. Half the inscription, therefore, was want-

¹ In several of the inscriptions found on the site of the Olympium, Hadrian is styled 'Ολύμπιος καὶ κτίστης.

ing, but this Spon supplied by means of a MS. at Zara in Dalmatia, in which he had the good fortune to discover it entire as follows :

IMP. CAESAR. T. AELIUS. HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P. AQUAEDUCTUM IN NOVIS ATHENIS COEPTUM A DIVO HADRIANO PATRE SUO CONSUMMAVIT DEDICAVITQUE ¹.

It appears, therefore, that one of the last favours conferred upon Athens by Hadrian, was the commencement of this aqueduct. Although it was nominally intended for Hadrianopolis only, there can be little doubt that the whole city enjoyed the benefit of it.

¹ Spon, Voyage, &c. II. p. 99. His testimony is confirmed by a MS. in the Barberini Library, by Sangallo, an architect, deriving his information from Ciriaco d'Ancona, who travelled in Greece in the year 1436.

SECTION III.

Of some other important but more disputable Questions of Athenian Topography—The Mountain Anchermus, or Lycabettus—The Agora—The Cerameicus—Dipylum, and the Peiraic Gate.

Mount Anchermus,
or Lycabettus.

ONE of the most striking features of Athens, one which enters into almost every view of its scenery, and is among the first objects to seize the stranger's attention, is that conical peaked summit considerably higher than the citadel, which, crowned with a small church of St. George, looks down upon the city from the north-eastern side. It has generally been called Anchermus, and not without reason; for although the name occurs but once in ancient history, and Pausanias, the author who mentions it, gives no certain indication of its locality, yet as he shows Anchermus to have been distinct from Parnes, Pentelicum, and Hymettus, and describes it as a small mountain ¹,

¹ "Ὀρη δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν καὶ Πάρνης καὶ Ὑμηττὸς Πεντέλῃσι μὲν Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διὸς καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου. Pausan. Attic. 32, 2.

which will not agree with any part of the ridge on the north-western side of the plain, known to have borne the names of *Ægaleos*, *Corydallus*, and *Pœcilum*, while it is perfectly adapted to the hill of St. George, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that this hill was *Anchesmus*. On its acute summit is a small platform, partly artificial, to which there was an access by steps cut in the rock ; the church which stands upon it is itself, in some degree, an argument that the summit was a *hierum*, as throughout Greece churches are generally the successors of Pagan temples.

But if the presumption is strong that this height was the *Anchesmus* of Pausanias, there is still better reason to believe that it was the ancient *Lycabettus*. According to one of the fables of Attic mythology, *Minerva*, who had gone from Athens to *Pallene* to procure a mountain for an outwork in front of the *Acropolis*, was met, in returning, by a crow, which informed her of the birth of *Erichthonius*, when she dropped *Mount Lycabettus* where it still stands¹.

¹ This fable is related by *Antigonus of Carystus*, an author of the third century B.C., on the authority of an Athenian antiquary, not much earlier in date, named *Amelesagoras*. The infant *Erichthonius* was said to have been inclosed by *Minerva* in a box, which she delivered to the three daughters of *Cecrops*, with strict injunctions that it should not be opened until her return from *Pallene*. *Agraulus* and *Pandrosus* (*Agraulus* and *Herse*, according to *Apollodorus*, 3, 14, § 6, and *Pausanias Attic*. 18, 2), disobeying her commands, opened the box, and found two serpents (one, according to *Apollodorus*) coiled around *Erichthonius*. The crow, for being the herald of bad news, was forbidden ever to enter the *Acropolis*.

.... 'Εριχθόνιον' δὲν τρέφειν τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κίστην

Pallene was a demus to the north-eastward of Athens¹. We may infer, therefore, that Lycabettus was on that side of the city.

Again, in the life of Proclus, a philosopher of the fifth century, who taught and died at Athens, we are informed that he was buried in the same tomb with his master Syrianus, to the eastward of the city near Lycabettus². It seems clear, therefore, that Lyca-

καθίρξαι, καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισὶν Ἀγραύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἑρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ· ἀφικομένην δὲ ἐς Πελλήνην, ἡφέρειν ὄρος ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο Ἀγραυλὸν καὶ Πάνδροσον τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξαι καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντις δύο περὶ τὸν Ἑριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἑριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν ρίψαι τὸ ὄρος ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶ· τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν εἰπεῖν, ὥς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι. *Antigon. Car. 12.*

According to another legend, Erichthonius was said to have made his first appearance in the form of a serpent. See above, p. 120, n. 3. p. 149, n. 3. As to the crow, the explanation seems to be, that these birds, which are seen in great numbers around the rocks of the Acropolis, seldom rise to the summit. Though Pellene is the name in the text of Antigonus, Pallene is the real orthography, as Attic inscriptions prove, as well as the derivation of the name from Pallas, son of Pandion.

¹ Peisistratus had begun his march from Marathon towards Athens, when the Alcæonidæ, obtaining intelligence of the movement, proceeded from Athens against him: the adverse parties arrived, in face of each other, near the temple of Minerva Pallenis, in the demus of the Pallenenses. Peisistratus surprised his enemies as they were reposing after dinner, and defeated them. *Herodot. 1, 62.*

² ἐτάφη ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικωτέροις τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ Λυκαβηττῷ, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος Συριανοῦ κεῖται σῶμα· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ αὐτῷ

bettus was to the north-eastward of Athens, and that Plato, when describing Lycabettus as over-against the Pnyx (καταντικρὺ Πνυκός), intended its diametrical opposition to the Pnyx in reference to the circumference of the asty¹.

We may further remark, in confirmation of the

τοῦτο παρεκελεύσατο ἔτι περιῶν καὶ τὴν θήκην τοῦ μνήματος διπλῇ διὰ τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος.

The following was the epitaph composed by Proclus himself :

Πρόκλος ἐγὼ γενόμεν Λύκιος γένος, ὃν Συριανὸς

Ἐνθάδ' ἀμοιβὸν ἔης θρέψε διδασκαλίας·

Ξυνὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ὅδε σώματα δέξαιτο τύμβος

Αἴτε δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς χῶρος ἔεις λελάχοι.

Marin. v. Procl. 36.

Although the work of Marinus was written as late as A. D. 485, his authority is not to be despised in an incidental allusion to topography. Even at that late period Athens cherished the memory of her history : the Platonic school was the centre of all that remained of ancient literature : and Marinus, both as a resident of Athens, and as a learned man, deriving his knowledge in an interrupted series from former times, may be supposed to have been correctly informed on the ancient topography.

¹ Plato was describing the ancient or fabulous state of the hill of the Acropolis prior to a certain deluge and earthquake, which were supposed to have removed a great quantity of soil, and to have effected an immense change in the site of Athens. The hill of the Acropolis (he says) was then so large as to extend to the Eridanus and Ilissus, comprehending within it the Pnyx, as well as the mountain of Lycabettus, which is opposite to Pnyx :

Τὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως εἶχε τότε οὐχ' ὥς τὰ νῦν ἔχει· τὸ δὲ πρὶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ μέγεθος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἑριδανὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰλισσοῦν ἀποβεβηκυῖα καὶ περιεληφυῖα ἐντὸς τὸν Πνύκα καὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν ὄρον (al. ὄρος) ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ Πνυκός ἔχουσα. Plato Crit. 6.

identity of Lycabettus with the mountain of St. George, that so conspicuous a summit, and so near a neighbour of the city, could not but have had a name of some renown; that Lycabettus accordingly was one of the most celebrated of the Attic mountains¹; that it was not among those which surround the plain, but at an intermediate distance²; and that it had probably an acute summit, from its having served (or said to

¹ ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοῦς
Καὶ Παρνησῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν;

Aristoph. Ran. v. 1088.

The poet, doubtless, meant the Attic Parnesus, or Parnassus, commonly called Parnes. Παρνησὸς, ὄρος μεταξὺ Βοιωτίας καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Timæi Lex. Plat. in v.

Οἱ δ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον (Il. B. 632) κυρίως μὲν γὰρ ἀκούων τις, τὴν πόλιν δέξαιτ' ἂν, ὥς καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Λυκαβηττὸν εἴ τις λέγοι, καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἀτάβυριν, καὶ ἔτι Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Ταύγετον. Strabo, p. 454.

Anchesmus has more the sound of a foreign than of an Attic name: in the Æolic form of Onchesmus, we find it attached to a town and harbour of Epirus. Ἄγχι, in allusion to the proximity of the hill to the city, has been suggested as an etymology of Anchesmus.

² Ἐς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὀργισθεῖσαι, φροῦδαι κατὰ τὸν Λυκαβηττόν. Aristoph. ap. Phot. Lex. in Πάρνης. The clouds, as they were returning to Parnes, vanished near Lycabettus. Photius refers this line to the Νεφέλαι, but it is not found in the extant edition of that comedy. If it means that the clouds were irritated with the reception which they had met with on the Athenian stage, it could not have been in the first edition of the comedy; and yet the extant play alludes to the rejection of a former (ver. 518 et seq.). This line, therefore, which is found only in Photius, may be added to other arguments, leading to the belief that the existing comedy is a third edition. See Petit. Miscel. 1, 3. Clinton, Fasti Hell. II. p. 71.

have served) as an astronomical gnomon to Meton¹. Other ancient allusions to Lycabettus equally tend to the same conclusion. Its dryness is contrasted by Socrates, in one of the dialogues of Xenophon, with the moisture of the Phaleric marsh², and its barrenness was such that its land was considered valueless³.

¹ "Ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ τινα λαβεῖν τοιοῦτον γνῶμονα· καὶ ἔστι σαφέστατα σημεῖα τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων. Διὸ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γεγέννηται κατὰ τόπους τινὰς ἀστρονόμοι ἔνιοι, ὅσον Ματρικέτας ἐν Μεθύμνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεπεγύμνου καὶ Κλεόστρατος ἐν Τενέδῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδῆς καὶ Φαινὸς Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκαβηττοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροπὰς συνείδε· παρ' οὗ Μίων ἀκούσας, τὸν τοῦ ἐνὸς δέοντα εἰκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν συνέταξεν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Φαινὸς μέτοικος Ἀθήνησιν, ὁ δὲ Μίων Ἀθηναῖος. Καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡστρολόγησαν. Theophrast. de Signis Pluviarum.

Undoubtedly some point in Athens may be found (and it would not be far from the Pnyx) from whence the sun may have been observed to rise on the solstitial day, in coincidence with the highest point of the hill of St. George; and thus, by repeated observations, a first approximation to the length of the solar year may have been obtained: but it is difficult to conceive that by such a gnomon, Phaeinus or Meton could have calculated the length of the year with such correctness, that the year of Meton has been found to differ very slightly from modern observations.

If we agree with Hesychius, who says (in v.) Λυκαβηττός· ὄρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς· εἴρηται δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸ λύκοις πληθύνειν, the name is formed from λύκος and βῆσσα. But λύκη is the most probable etymon (Prisci Græcorum primam lucem quæ præcedit solis exortus λύκην appellaverunt. Macrobi. Sat. 1, 17). The name, therefore, without any reference to astronomy, may have been derived from the simple fact, that in all seasons, except the middle of winter, the light of day makes its appearance behind that mountain, so that its summit is the first illumined point in the horizon of the city.

² Πρὸ μὲν γοῦν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ περὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία· ὑγρὰ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἔλει, καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία. Xenoph. Œcon. 19.

³ Ps. Plato Eryx. 18.

At the same time it was noted for its olive-plantations¹, a combination which appears contradictory, but is explained by the fact that the hill of St. George, although having a rocky and barren summit, is surrounded on every side, except that of the city, by plantations of olive-trees.

In admitting Lycabettus and Anchesmus to have been the same mountain, it is not necessary to suppose the former name to have been obsolete in the time of Pausanias, but only that the latter was then more commonly used. We have seen that as late as the end of the fifth century the ancient name was familiar to the learned. In like manner, Brilessus had, in the same ages, become more generally known by the name of Pentelicum, in consequence of the fame of its marble. The period of both these substitutions is marked by the fact, that while Pausanias names neither Lycabettus nor Brilessus, Strabo makes no mention of Anchesmus or Pentelicum, but, like Theophrastus, shows that the three great summits, which inclose the πεδιον or plain of Athens, were Parnes, Brilessus, and Hymettus². There is a similarity also in the kind of importance given by Pausanias to Anchesmus, and by Strabo and the earlier writers to Lycabettus³; an importance derived not from the magnitude of the mountain, but from its conspicuous abruptness and proximity to the city. After all, however, there may possibly have been so

¹ Dives et Ægaleos nemorum, Parnesque benignus
Vitibus et pingui melior Lycabessus olivâ.

Statii Theb. 12, v. 620.

² De signis tempestatum, p. 438, Heins. See *Demi of Attica*, p. 4.

³ See above, p. 205, n. 1. 207, n. 1. 208, n. 1.

far a distinction between Anchesmus and Lycabettus, that while the latter name comprehended the whole of the low ridge to the north-eastward of Athens, which separates the vale of the Ilissus from the plain of the Cephissus, Anchesmus may never have been anything more than the specific name of the summit of St. George. In this sense Lycabettus would perfectly deserve to be described as an olive-bearing mountain.

In the midst of the modern town of Athens a building still subsists which belonged to the Athenian agora, and serves therefore to show the position of that important and central part of the Asty. It is situated opposite to the northern extremity of the rocks of the Acropolis at a distance of about 250 yards, and consists of four Doric columns four feet four inches in diameter at the base, and twenty-six feet high, including the capital; these columns support a pediment surmounted by a large acroterium in the centre, and by a much smaller at either end. Opposite to the exterior columns were antæ terminating the walls of a vestibule before a door eight feet and a half wide, which was distant twenty-five feet from the columns. Part of the jambs of this door still remain, and the southern anta of the vestibule¹. That the structure was a propylæum, and not a pronaus, is proved by the facts, first, that the walls which terminate on either side in antæ, are not continued in a right line within the door, but on the contrary that the wall at right angles to them in which the door is pierced, preserves traces of its pro-

Propylæum of the New Agora.

¹ See Stuart, *Ant. of Ath.* I. 1.

longation on each side beyond the walls of the vestibule. Secondly, that the construction is that of a civil, and not of a sacred building; the columns being six diameters in height, a proportion more slender than is found in any Doric temple at Athens, but conformable to the distinction made by Vitruvius¹: the middle intercolumniation, moreover, is ditriglyph, and bears a large proportion to those on either side (two and a half to one), resembling in these respects the Propylæa of the Acropolis, and other civil works requiring a wide entrance. The middle acroterium is between one-fifth and one-fourth of the whole length of the pediment, a proportion unexampled in a Greek temple, and which could scarcely have been intended for any thing but an equestrian statue or a chariot².

These presumptions as to the intention of the building are confirmed by four inscriptions, 1. On the architrave; 2. On the central acroterium; 3. On one of the jambs of the door; 4. On a pedestal, which Stuart found within the Propylæum. The first is a dedication to Minerva Archegetis

¹ *Aliam enim in deorum templis debent habere gravitatem, aliam in porticibus et cæteris operibus subtilitatem.*—Vitruv. 5, 9.

² On some of the Roman temples there may possibly have been Acroteria of these large proportions, though no extant examples of them are known; for we learn from Pliny, that on the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus there was a composition in earth representing the god in a quadriga, Plin. H. N. 28, 2 (4). 35, 12 (45). And on the Palatine temple of Apollo that Deity and Diana were mounted on a golden car, Propert. 2, 31, v. 11. Plin. 34, 3 (8). In the Propylæum of the Athenian Agora, the basis of the central acroterium has sufficient length to have supported a figure of the grandson of Augustus in a chariot.

by the people, and signifies that by means of donations from Julius Cæsar and Augustus, the building had been raised in the archonship of Nicias, son of Serapion of Athmona, when Eucles, son of Herodes, of Marathon was strategus of the hoplitæ, and who on returning from an embassy had succeeded his father Herodes in the superintendence of the work¹. Such an inscription would have been unexampled on a temple; at the same time, as every building in Athens was dedicated to some protecting deity², the mention of Minerva Archegetis was perfectly appropriate, Minerva having been supposed to preside over markets, and hence sometimes bearing the epithet of Agoræa: at Athens, however, the higher and more appropriate title Archegetis was naturally preferred³.

¹ Ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος Θεοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρχηγέτιδι, στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας Εὐκλέους Μαραθωνίου, τοῦ καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου, τοῦ καὶ πρεσβεύσαντος. Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Νικίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος Ἀθμονεύως.

² The Prytaneium was sacred to Minerva (Παλλάδος ἱερόν. Schol. in Aristid. Panath. I. p. 103, Jebb): The Pnyx to Jupiter the Supreme (Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ), as we perceive from numerous votive offerings in marble, which occupied niches in the rock, and several of which are now in the British Museum.

³ Stuart found the following on a fragment of an entablature at Athens, as follows,

Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρχηγέτιδι καὶ Θ(εοῖς πᾶσι)

Γαργήτιος τὸν . . . Ant. of Ath. I ornament, p. 1.

Alcibiades remarked, among his reasons for not playing on the flute, that Athens was under the peculiar protection of Minerva Archegetis and Apollo Patrous, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other flayed the flute-player (ὧν ἡ μὲν ἔρριψε τὸν αὐλὸν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν ἐξέδειρε. Plutarch. Alcib. 2). Minerva Archegetis was represented with an owl in her hand. Schol. in Aristoph. Av. 515.

If the principal inscription on the architrave was inappropriate to a temple, still more so would have been a statue of Lucius Cæsar, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, on the summit of the pediment¹. But the third and fourth inscriptions leave no doubt when compared with the building itself, that it was the Propylæum of the Agora. The third, which is on the jamb of the doorway, is an edict of the emperor Hadrian respecting the sale of oils, and the duties to be paid upon them². In the fourth inscription, which was on the pedestal of a statue of Julia Augusta, standing within the Propylæum, the magistrates particularly named are the two agoranomi, although one only was at the expense of raising the monument³; in like manner

¹ On the front of the Acroterium is the following: 'Ο δῆμος Λούκιον Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ὄν.

² Κε. νο. θε. Ἀδριανοῦ αὐτοκράτορος

Οἱ τὸ ἔλαιον γεωργοῦντες τὸ τρίτον καταφερέτωσαν, &c.

For the entire document, see Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 355.

³ Ἰουλίαν θεὰν Σεβαστὴν Πρόνοιαν ἢ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ ὄῃμος, ἀναθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διονυσίου τοῦ Αὔλου Μαραθωνίου, ἀγορανομούντων αὐτοῦ τε Διονυσίου Μαραθωνίου καὶ Κοτίντου Ναιβίου Ρούφου Μελιτέως. Stuart, who first published this inscription, judiciously suggests that this was one of several statues of the Octavian family standing within the Propylæum. It is not surprising that the Athenians, after their unsuccessful alliances in opposition to Julius Cæsar and Augustus, ending in both instances in a submission which was followed by clemency and even munificence on the part of the victorious Cæsars, should have endeavoured to propitiate Augustus and his family, by every kind of servility and flattery. In these inscriptions he is styled a god, the son of a god; and Julia Augusta, a goddess, and a personification of Providence. Possibly the embassy which is alluded to on the architrave of the Propylæum, produced the gifts which defrayed

the strategus of the hoplitæ is the magistrate named in the principal inscription, and had the care of erecting the monument, because he was superintendent of the supply of provisions¹.

The Propylæum faces the west: the Agora, therefore, of the Augustan and subsequent ages was to the eastward of it. But other evidence places the Agora in a very different situation, namely, at the foot of the ascent to the Acropolis, including a part of that slope: for we find that the celebrated statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were in the Agora², in an elevated situation near the temple of Victory, which stood immediately in front of the left wing of the Propylæa³, and that the temple of Venus Pandemus,

the completion of the building; and that hence Eucles, on his return, was appointed to the office of strategus, and superseded his father as superintendent of the work. Herodes and Eucles were probably of the same family as the celebrated T. C. Atticus Herodes, his demus as well as theirs having been Marathon.

¹ στρατηγῆσας (Lollianus sc.) τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη πάλαι μὲν κατέλεγε καὶ ἐξῆγεν ἐς τὰ πολέμια· νῦν δὲ τροφῶν ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ σίτου ἀγορᾶς. Philostrat. Sophist. 1, 23.

² Ἀγορᾶσω τ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι. Aristoph. Lysist. 634.

. Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σταθῆναι. Aristot. Rhet. 1, 9.

Ἀριστογείτων . . . νῦν ἔστηκε χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν. Lucian. Parasit. 48.

³ Pausan. Attic. 22, 4. See above, p. 143. Arrian de Exp. Alex. 3, 16. See below, p. 221, n. 3.

In the Ecclesiastusæ of Aristophanes (678), Praxagora declares her intention of placing herself aloft in the Agora, near Harmodius, for the purpose of making a proclamation (κῆρυξ στήσασα παρ' Ἀρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας).

In the Lysistrata (317), the chorus of old men who had sta-

which was very near the same part of the Acropolis¹, was also in or very near the Agora². Apollodorus, in describing the temple of Venus as thus situated, designates the place as the ancient Agora (τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν), as if this had not been the frequented Agora of his own time. There can hardly be any doubt that the earliest Agora was in this situation, and that it originated in the assemblage of the people of the surrounding part of Attica, for the most ordinary purposes of traffic, immediately without the gates of the city, when it was confined to the Cecropian hill: here stood some of the most ancient and revered of the Athenian sanctuaries, and here in consequence were placed the statues of the tyrannicides, to the exclusion of all other statues of men³.

tioned themselves near the statue of Aristogeiton, address themselves to Victory Δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενού.

¹ According to Euripides (Hippol. 30) Phædra founded the temple of Venus πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος. Compare Pausanias 22, 3 (see above, p. 141).

² 'Απολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ περὶ Θεῶν, Πάνδημόν φησιν 'Αθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρευθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν, διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὥς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς. Harpocr. in Πάνδημος 'Αφροδίτη. V. Suid. in Πάν. 'Αφ.

³ An inscription in the collection of George Finlay, Esq., at Athens, among other favours conferred upon some person, whose name is wanting, gives him permission to erect an equestrian statue of himself in any part of the Agora except near Harmodius and Aristogeiton (καὶ εἰκόνα στήσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππον ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὅπου ἂμ βούληται, πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα).

The same situation is alluded to in the extract from a decree in favour of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, to whom a statue was ordered to be erected in any part of the Agora, except where it

If, therefore, we have monumental evidence which proves the existence of an Agora in Roman times eastward of the extant portal of Augustus, and written records not less conclusive in showing that the *ancient* Agora was westward of the ascent to the Acropolis, we are led almost inevitably to the conclusion, that during the many centuries of Athenian prosperity, the boundaries of the Agora, or at least of its frequented part, underwent considerable variation. When the chief sacred buildings were first erected, as Thucydides informs us, on the southern side of the Acropolis¹, and the city began to spread itself over the low grounds to the southward and westward of that height, and round the Areiopagus, the Agora was gradually extended from its earliest position in the hollow, which lies between the Acropolis and Areiopagus, into that on the south-western side of the latter height, having that most ancient place of political assembly, the Pnyx, in a conspicuous position on one side of the hollow, and some of the other buildings connected with the government in or near it, as will be seen hereafter. By degrees the city stretched round the Acropolis to the northward, and the Agora became enlarged in the same direction, until it surrounded the Areiopagus; the circuit around which appears to have been that κύκλος τῆς ἀγορᾶς alluded to by Euripides, as well as by Xenophon in a passage of the Hipparchicus, which will be more particularly

was forbidden by law (καὶ στήσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν Δῆμον χαλκῇν εἰκόνα ἐν Ἀγορᾷ πλὴν εἶπον ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ ἰστάναι. Psephism. 3 ad fin. Vit. X. Rhet.).

¹ Thucyd. 2, 15. See above, p. 173. n. 1.

alluded to¹. At length, the most frequented part of the city having been on the northern side, a new Agora was formed in the midst of that quarter in the course of the last century prior to the Christian era, distinct from the former, but contiguous to its eastern limits, as appears from the Pœcile, having been in the ancient Agora², and at the same time very near the new Agora westward³. The religious motive, or ostensible reason of the change which at length fixed the Agora to the eastward of the Propylæum of Augustus, was probably the defilement of the Ceramic Agora by the massacre which occurred when Athens was taken by Sylla in the year 86 B.C.

Not far eastward of the western limit of the new Agora, indicated by its portal, stands the Horologium, which was built not long after the time of Sylla, by Andronicus of Cyrrhus, in the most convenient situation for such an edifice, namely, towards the middle of the new Agora⁴.

¹ Eurip. *Orest.* 910. Xenoph. *Hipparch.* 3, 2. *Κύκλος* had however another meaning in reference to the Agora; the *κύκλοι* were places in the Agora, so called *ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς*, where slaves, vases, fish, and some other commodities, were exposed to sale. Harpocrat., Hesych., Suid. in *κύκλοι*. J. Poll. 7, 11. 10, 18. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 137.

² *προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν Στοᾶν τὴν Ποικίλην*· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 575, Reiske. Again, the statue of Solon, which Pausanias describes to have been before the Pœcile, is placed by Demosthenes (adv. Aristog. 2) and by Ælian (Var. Hist. 8, 16) in the Agora.

³ Pausan. *Attic.* 14, 15. See above, p. 120.

⁴ This town-clock, as it may be called, being still in the middle of the bazar, or centre of the town, shows that topographically little change has occurred at Athens in eighteen centuries, except

The situation of the chronometrical instruments erected at different periods for the public use seems to accord with the progressive movement of the Athenian Agora. The earliest of which we find any notice, was a πόλος or ἡλιοτρόπιον, which marked the solstice, and indicated therefore the length of the solar year, and which was fixed on a wall at the Pnyx¹. To this it is probable that a sun-dial was annexed, as these instruments were introduced into Greece as early as the sixth century B. C.² In the archonship of Apseudes, (433—432 B. C.) Meton published his discovery of the μέγας ἐνιαυτός, or cycle of nineteen years³, and in the following year set up an improved instrument for the measure of time, on the Colonus Agoræus⁴,

in the gradual diminution of the outskirts; so that while the southern and western parts of the Asty have become quite uninhabited, the position of the central and most frequented quarter has continued to be the same as in the time of the Roman empire.

¹ Πρὸ Πυθοδώρου ἡλιοτρόπιον ἦν ἐν τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί. Callistratus, ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 998. ap. Suid. in Μέτων.

² Diogen. Laërt. 2, 1. Plin. H. N. 2, 76 (78). Euseb. Prep. Evang. 10, 14. Suid. in Ἀναξίμανδρος, ἡλιοτρόπιον.

³ Diodor. 12, 36.

⁴ ΠΕΙ. Σὺ δ' εἰ τίς ἀνδρῶν; ΓΕΩ. "Ὅστις εἶμ' ἐγώ; Μέτων,

"Ὅν εἶδεν Ἑλλὰς, χ' ὁ Κολωνός. Aristoph. Av. 998.

Καλλίστρατος δέ φησιν ἐν Κολωνῷ εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημά τι ἀστρολογικόν. Schol. in Aristoph. ibid. Suid. in Μέτων.

The Colonus Agoræus seems to have been nothing more than a height on the borders of the Ceramic Agora and of Melite, which, at a time when the most frequented part of the Agora was in its vicinity, became, by its conspicuous position, a place of hire for labourers, where they were in the habit of resorting for that purpose. Hence it was distinguished from the sacred Colonus beyond the Academy, from which the demus Κολωνεῖς took their name,

which was near the Hephæstium¹, and probably not far from the dwelling of Meton himself, which was near the Pœcile². Water was employed in this instrument³, and it indicated, both by water and by a dial, the horary divisions of the day. Lastly, in the midst of the Eretrian or Roman Agora was erected the still existing tower, serving as an anemoscope and as a chronometer at all hours and in all states of the atmosphere.

Ceramei-
cus.

Although it would be very difficult to ascertain the exact limits and extent of the Cerameicus, its general situation cannot be doubtful; for as there was one demus οἱ Κεραμεῖς⁴, divided into two τόποι or χωρία

by the epithet Ἀγοραῖος or Μίσθιος. (See below in Section V.) This circumstance having been the chief cause of the fame of the Colonus Agoræus, Pausanias has not mentioned it. The Anaceium, which was also in a lofty situation, was afterwards employed for the same purpose. Ἀνακεῖον Διοσκούρων Ἱερὸν οὗ νῦν οἱ μισθοφοροῦντες δοῦλοι ἐστᾶσιν. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 212.

¹ Harpocrat. in Κολωνίτας.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. 13, 12.

³ ὅτι ἐν Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινα κατεσκευάσατο, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος Μονοτρόπος.

Τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ταύτης φροντίων;

Μέτων ὁ Λευκοσεύς. Οἶδ', ὁ κρήνας ἔγων. Suid. in Μέτων.

Suidas, in borrowing this article from the Scholiast (in Av. 998), has thrown some light upon the confused text of the latter. It appears on comparing them, that Callistratus had asserted, that Meton constructed an instrument on the Colonus Agoræus. This Philochorus had denied; but the Scholiast proves it from Phrynichus, who placed the scene of his Monotropus or Solitary Man on the Colonus Agoræus, and alluded to the instrument of Meton. It appears also that Euphorion, confounding this Colonus with the demus near the Academy, had stated that Meton was of the demus Colonus, which is also disproved from Phrynichus: as a contemporary of Meton, Phrynichus was the best authority on this question.

named the outer and inner Cerameicus¹, it follows from that which has already been stated as to the outer Cerameicus, that the inner Cerameicus was the north-western *χωρίον* or region of the Asty. The central and most remarkable part of this quarter was a *δρόμος* or wide street (*il Corso*) bordered by porticos which led to the Acropolis from the Ceramic gates², situated in the north-western wall of the Asty, where that wall separated the outer from the inner Cerameicus. The street seems to have preserved its name of Cerameicus quite to the ascent leading to the Propylæa; for Arrian describes, as being in the Cerameicus, the same statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which Apollodorus places in the ancient Agora³;

¹ The testimony of inscriptions as to the demus Κεραμεῖς agrees with that of Harpocration and other authors; and with Aristophanes in the words οἱ Κεραμῆς ἐν ταῖσι πυλαῖς, Ran. 1125. See below, p. 224, n. 3.

² Δύο δὲ οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ Ἀθήνησιν, ὁ μὲν ἐνδὸν πόλεως ὁ δὲ ἔξω, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον δημοσίᾳ. Schol. in Aristoph. Eq. 769. δύο τόποι Ἀθήνησιν Suid. in Κεραμεικός. εἴσι δὲ δυνὸ Κεραμεικοί· ὁ μὲν ἔξω τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐντός. Hesych. in Κερ. Compare the authorities in note 1, page 195.

³ "Ἀρχεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ πυλῶν (Κεραμεικῶν &c.) . . . κινηθεῖσα δὲ ἐκείθεν . . . διὰ μέσου τοῦ δρόμου κομίζεται, ὃς εὐθυνῆς τε καὶ λεῖος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν (ex Acropoli) σχίζει τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῇ παρατεταμένας στοάς, ἐφ' ὧν ἀγοράζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ οἱ λοιποί. Himer. Sophist. Orat. 3. p. 446. Wernsdorf. Compare with this passage, as showing generally that the shops and mercantile stores of the Athenians both in Athens and in Piræus were in the Stoa; Aristoph. Acharn. 547. Eccles. 14. 684, and the Scholia.

⁴ See above, p. 216, n. 2. Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες . . . νῦν κείνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ . . . ἢ ἀνίμεν ἐς πόλιν καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρώου. Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. 3, 16.

It is almost superfluous to remark, that πόλις here meant the

and the statue of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, which appears from Pausanias to have been at no great distance from the same place¹, is shown by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators, to have been both in the Agora and in the Cerameicus².

After the establishment of the new Agora, when it became convenient in common discourse to apply some different term to the Agora of preceding times, Cerameicus, the name of the region in which the Agora had been previously for the most part situated, was naturally adopted for that purpose; and in this sense it seems to have been often applied to places which had never been in the demus of the Ceramenses.

Dipylum.

The earliest notice of a gate of Athens, named Dipylum, is found in Livy, where he describes the action between Philip, son of Demetrius, and the Athenians, before that gate, in the year B. C. 200. Dipylum, according to the historian, who copied from Polybius, was greater and wider than the other gates of Athens,

Acropolis. Thucyd. 2, 15. See above, p. 173, n. 1. Hence the Jupiter of the Acropolis was surnamed Πολιεὺς, and the Minerva Πολιάς. In the inscription of the Erechtheium, for which see Appendix XVII., that building is intitled ὁ νεὼς ὁ ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα. See also Æschyl. Eumenid. 684. Eupolis ap. Schol. Sophoc. Œd. Col. 1600. Aristoph. Lysist. 759, 911. Steph. Byz. in 'Αθῆναι. Not that πόλις was not often employed, even by Thucydides, with a more extended application, like the word *city* in London.

¹ Pausan. Attic. 8, 3. See above, p. 116.

² 'Ανάκειται δὲ αὐτοῦ χαλκῇ εἰκὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ 'Αναξικράτους ἀρχοντος. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. δέδοχθαι τῷ Δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Λύκουργον Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδην ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ στήσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν Δῆμον χαλκῇν εἰκόνα ἐν 'Αγορᾷ. Psephism. 3 ad fin. Vit. X. Rhet.

and the approaches to it on either side were spacious in proportion. The street within the gate led directly to the Agora¹, and the road without was the most frequented in Attica, as conducting not only to the Peloponnesus, but to the western parts of Attica and Bœotia. The name Dipylum seems to indicate that it was constructed in the same manner as the gate of Megalopolis at Messene, with a double entrance and an intermediate court. As it was the gate by which the Mystæ proceeded from the Agora to Eleusis by the Sacred Way², the exact direction of which is sufficiently indicated, not only by the defile of Dhafni, through which it passed, but by the remains also of several of the monuments which bordered it, the position of Dipylum cannot but have coincided very nearly with that point in the ancient wall of the asty, or lower Athens, where the main street of the inner Cerameicus, or where a line drawn from the centre of the city upon the pass of Dhafni intersects the line of the ancient walls, which are sufficiently traceable in places to leave no doubt of their general direction on this side of the city.

The original appellation of Dipylum, before it was constructed in the manner which gave it this new name, was the Thriasian gate (Θριασῖαι πύλαι), having

¹ Liv. 31, 24. See above, p. 195. n. 1.

² Ἱερὰ Ὀδὸς ἐστίν, ἣν οἱ μύσται πορεύονται ἀπ' ἀστέος ἐπ' Ἑλευσῖνα. Harpocrat. in Ἱερὰ Ὀδός.

Δι' ἀγορᾶς διὰ τὸ τοὺς μύστας βασιλεύειν, τουτέστιν ᾗδεῖν, τὸν Ἰακχὸν δι' ἀγορᾶν βαδίζοντας. Diodorus Tars. ap. Hesych. in Διαγόρας.

..... εἰς Ἑλευσῖνα ὁδεύουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ προέμποντες τὸν Διόνυσον. Schol. in Aristoph. Ran. 402.

been so called as leading to Thria, a demus near Eleusis¹. It was also named the Ceramic Gate (Κεραμικαὶ πύλαι), as having been the communication from the inner to the outer Cerameicus; and there would be some difficulty in believing that any other could have been the Sacred Gate (ιεραὶ πύλαι)², than that which was the termination of the Sacred Way. As to the name Δημιάδες πύλαι, which was attached likewise to this gate, it was no more than a satirical appellation, which arose from its having been the common resort of females of a particular class³.

¹ ταφῆναι δὲ Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας πύλας, αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται. Plutarch. Pericl. 30.

. ἰοῦσι δ' ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ὀδὸν Ἱερὰν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποιήται μνημα. Pausan. Attic. 36, 3.

Ἰσαῖος ἐν γῇ πρὸς Καλυνδῶνα "τότε βαλανεῖον τὸ παρ' Ἀνθεμοκρίτου ἀνδρίαντα" τοιούτοις πρὸς ταῖς Θριασίαις πύλαις. Harpocrat. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

² Plutarch. Syll. See below, p. 229, n. 1.

³ καθ' οἱ Κεραμῆς
Ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις καίουσ' αὐτοῦ
Γάστρεα, πλευράς, λαγόνας, πυγὴν.

Aristoph. Ran. 1125.

"Ἀπιθι, φησί, πρὸς τὸν ναύκληρον Ἑρμότιμον, ἥ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων γεγραμμένα ἐν γῇ Κεραμεικῇ ἀνάγνωθι, ὅπου κατεστηλίσενται ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμεμνήμην ὅτι κατὰ τοίχον τινὸς ἔλεγε καταγεγράφθαι τοῦνομα ἐν Κεραμεικῇ· ἔπεμψα οὖν Ἀκίδα κατασκευομένην· ἥ δ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εὔρε, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐπιγεγραμμένον εἰσιόντων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πρὸς γῇ Διπύλῳ· Μέλιττα φιλεῖ Ἑρμότιμον, καὶ μικρὸν αὖθις ὑποκάτω· Ὁ ναύκληρος Ἑρμότιμος φιλεῖ Μέλιτταν. Lucian. in dial. Meritr. Melittæ et Bacchidis.

Καὶ τῇ κρεάγρῃ τῶν ὀρχιπέδων ἐλκοίμην ἐς Κεραμεικόν. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 769. Ad quem locum Schol. Δύο δὲ οἱ Κερα-

There is greater difficulty in ascertaining the exact position of the Peiraic gate. We have some reason to believe that this name, like that of Dipylum, was not commonly employed in the earlier ages of Athenian history. It is mentioned only by Plutarch, who describes it as "the gate at the heroum of Chalcodon, *now* called the Peiraic gate;" in like manner, he mentions "the Thriasian gate, *now* called Dipylum." As we cannot but presume that the Peiraic gate derived this name from having been the gate by which the asty, or lower Athens, was usually entered from Peiræus, we may infer that it stood nearly in a line from the head of the Peiraic harbour to the central part of the town; and, as the Agora of the time of Plutarch was in the same situation as the modern bazár, that the intersection of the modern road with the line of the ancient walls cannot but give a near approximation to the position of the Peiraic gate. This intersection falls near an opening between the hill of Pnyx and another height to the north of it, which, at its south-eastern end, is separated only by a hollow from the north-western extremity of the Areiopagus. The remains of the city walls are still traceable along the crest of the hill of Pnyx, from whence they crossed the opening or hollow above mentioned, in a northern direction, towards the site of Dipylum. In the hollow between

μεικοὶ Ἀθῆνῃσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐνδὸν πύλειως, ὁ δὲ ἔξω, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ, &c. . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ προεστήκασιν αἱ πόρται.

Κεραμεικοί, δύο τύποι Ἀθῆνῃσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ εἰστήκασιν αἱ πόρται. Suidas in Κεραμεικοί. Hesych. in Κεραμεικός.

Δημιάσι πύλαις οἱ δὲ τὰς Κεραμεικὰς πύλας· πρὸς γὰρ αὐτὰς φασὶν ἰστάναι τὰς πόρτας. Hesych. in Δημιάσι.

the hill of Pnyx and the height to the north of it, there is every appearance of a gate having existed; here, therefore, we have at least a presumption for placing the Peiraic gate: though it may also have been to the northward of the height above mentioned, since it is evident, that, at the end of a road between four and five miles in length, the divergence of a few hundred yards was of no importance if the nature of the ground required it, for the sake of giving an easier approach to the gate, or a more eligible situation to the gate itself.

Nor is the presumption less strong, that the gate at which Pausanias, without naming it, commences his description of the city, was the Peiraic gate; for he previously describes some remarkable objects on the road from Peiræus: and the same presumption is confirmed by his subsequent narrative, which shows that there was an interval, though not great, between the gate at which he enters the city and the Cerameicus. In these particulars, a gate on either side of the height northward of Pnyx would accord with his narrative, supposing the Stoa described by him on arriving in the Cerameicus to have been in its *δρόμος*, or main street.

As different opinions, however, have, and probably will be formed as to the point at which the description of Pausanias commences, I shall endeavour to show the difficulties attending the supposition of any other points than those just mentioned. It may be alleged:—first, that Pausanias may have conducted his reader into Athens by some other gate; for instance, by Dipylum, as being the greatest and most illustrious of all the gates of Athens, and which, as

it separated the outer from the inner Cerameicus, and hence was sometimes called the Ceramic gate, could not but have led directly into the Ceramic Agora: or, secondly, that the Peiraic gate may not have been in the situation which I have supposed, but at the upper extremity of the interval between the Long Walls; where, exactly in the direction of them, or rather, of a street midway between them, there is a remarkable opening between the hills Pnyx and Museum, still retaining vestiges of a gate, which terminated an ancient road, still traceable by wheel-tracks in the rock.

But Dipylum could not have been the gate by which Pausanias conducts his reader into Athens, not because its position at the western extremity of the city, in the line of the Sacred Way, was too remote from the direct line between the Peiræus and the middle of Athens; for, as doubtless there were roads leading from the harbour to all the gates on that side of the city, the traveller would generally be determined in the choice of the gate by which he should enter the city by his subsequent intentions: and hence we need not be surprised, that Lucian represents some of the persons in his Dialogues as entering Athens at Dipylum, when coming from Peiræus¹,—that being the greatest and most frequented of the Athenian gates, and which led, by the main street of Cerameicus, to the Agora²; still less, that Attalus should have entered at that gate, on the solemn occasion of his reception by the Athenians³.

Dipylum could not have been the gate at which

¹ Lucian, Navig. 17.

² Liv. 31, 24.

³ Polyb. 16, 25.

Pausanias enters Athens:—1. Because it led from the outer to the inner Cerameicus, the main street of which commenced at Dipylum; whereas there was an interval between the Cerameicus and the gate at which Pausanias begins his description¹. 2. Because on the outside of this gate Pausanias notices a monument, bearing the figure of a soldier standing by a horse, the work of Praxiteles, with the remark, that he did not know for whom this figure was intended: whereas, on the outside of Dipylum stood the tomb of Anthemocritus, as we know from other authorities, as well as from Pausanias himself², who describes that tomb as standing near the gate, by which, at the end of his description of Athens, he conducts his reader *out of the city*, by the Sacred Way, to Eleusis; thereby proving *that* gate to have been Dipylum.

Nor is it easy to conceive, on referring to the following authorities, that the gate which stood in the opening between the heights of Museum and Pnyx could have been the Peiraic gate. Plutarch relates, on the authority of Sylla himself, that, "Sylla having been informed that the strength of the Heptachalcum had tempted the Athenians to be less careful in guarding the walls in that quarter than in any other, resolved, after having examined the place, to attempt an assault in that part of the inclosure. Making a breach, therefore, between the Sacred and Peiraic gates, he entered the city in the middle of the night, when so great was the slaughter in and around the

¹ Attic. 2, 4. See above, p. 108—111.

² Pausan. Attic. 2, 3. 36, 2. Plutarch. Pericl. 30. Harpocr. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

Agora, that all the Cerameicus within Dipylum was filled with blood, which, according to many reports, even flowed through that gate into the suburb¹. Supposing the Sacred Gate, which is not named by any other author, to have been the same as Dipylum, one cannot imagine Plutarch to have described the breach as having been made between the Sacred and Peiraic gates, had the Peiraic been in the position between Pnyx and Museum; for this point is more than one thousand yards in direct distance from the site of Dipylum; and there were two intermediate gates; whereas the words of Plutarch require, if not that the Sacred and Peiraic should have been neighbouring gates, at least that they should have been much nearer to each other than the distance just mentioned. If, on the other hand, the Sacred gate was not the same as Dipylum, as the occurrence of the two names in the same passage of Plutarch may afford some argument for believing, we are under the necessity (on the same hypothesis as to the position of the Peiraic gate, in the opening between Museum and Pnyx) of supposing that the Sacred gate was at no great distance to the north or to the south of that opening; and, consequently, that the breach was made either on the hill of Pnyx, or on that of the Museum: neither of which is recon-

¹ 'Ο [Σύλλας] δ' οὐ κατεφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπελθὼν νυκτὸς καὶ θασάμενος τὸν τόπον ἀλώσιμον, εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου' . . . αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συναμαλύνας περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐσήλαυνε φρικώδης . . . ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων, ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπίσχει πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν' πολλοῖς δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν κατακλύσαι τὸ προάστειον.—Plutarch. Syll. 14.

cilable with the fact of the breach having been made near the Heptachalcum. Nor would a breach on the heights of Museum or Pnyx have conducted so directly into the Agora as that effected by Sylla appears to have done ; as the south-western quarter of the city, and the ridge composed of the two heights of Areiopagus and Acropolis, would have been interposed between the breach and the Agora of the time of Sylla ; which latter is shown to have been on the northern side of the Areiopagus, not only by arguments already stated, but also by the tradition related by Plutarch as to the blood having flowed through Dipylum into the exterior Cerameicus : such a circumstance could not have happened, or have been imagined, had the Agora been to the southward or westward of the Acropolis, the formation of the ground rendering it impossible. The same intervention of the heights is still more adverse to the supposition of the gate between Museum and Pnyx having been that by which Pausanias commences his description of Athens ; since he expressly states, that a single portico led from this gate into the Cerameicus ; whence it is evident, that the distance could not have been great, nor interrupted by any such steep ascent as that which forms the connexion between the Acropolis and Areiopagus.

An opinion is not uncommonly entertained that the distinguished situation of the gate between Museum and Pnyx, and its position in an exact line drawn from the centre of the Peiraic peninsula to the Acropolis, are proofs of its having been the Peiraic gate : but we must remember, that this importance

of situation prevailed only while the Long Walls subsisted : it was then indeed the entrance into the city from the Longo-mural inclosure, and the termination of a great street, leading in a direct line from the maritime city to the Acropolis, which line may conveniently have been joined by routes from each of the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Peiræus ; but after the ruin and neglect of the Long Walls, which may be dated from the destruction of the maritime fortifications by Sylla, the Longo-mural street was probably abandoned, and the ground cultivated, as it is at present ; and although, doubtless, there was always an entrance into the southern parts of the city at the opening between Museum and Pnyx, it was probably not on the ordinary route to the busy parts of the city from Peiræus, Zea, and Cantharus, the ports where the maritime commerce was then chiefly carried on, and from whence the most convenient road to the Agora led through a part of the plain harder and less liable to be marshy than where the Long Walls had stood. In short, when the Longo-mural inclosure was abandoned, the principal approaches to Athens from its harbours became probably such as they were found by Pausanias, and such as they have ever since continued to be. Pausanias describes two roads, one from Phalerum and the other from Peiræus, each ending in a gate on the corresponding side of the city ; and he notices the Long Walls in connexion with the Peiraic road, after having described the road from Phalerum without any mention of them ; thereby showing that they were nearer to the Peiraic than to the Phaleric road, which exactly accords with the actual state of things,

except that the modern road from Peiræus has diverged a little to the right, for the sake of the solid causeway furnished by the foundations of the northern Long Wall itself. We are justified, therefore, in the conjecture that the ordinary approaches from the harbours to the city assumed, in consequence of the destruction of the Longo-mural town, that direction which Pausanias has indicated, and which has continued from his time to the present. As to the wheel-tracks in the rocks on the road which terminated the Longo-mural inclosure, there was sufficient traffic on that road, especially during the ages when the Long Walls subsisted, to account for these marks, which are not deeper or more numerous than those remaining upon ancient routes of much smaller traffic in many parts of Greece.

Another argument against the supposition of the Peiraic gate having been that between Pnyx and Museum, may be derived from the passage in the *Life of Theseus*, where Plutarch introduces this name. An Athenian antiquary, named Cleidemus, describing the position of the Amazones, when they advanced against the city of Theseus, afterwards the Acropolis of Athens, stated, that their line extended from the Pnyx on the right to the Amazonium on the left; the latter monument having evidently been to the north of the Areiopagus; as Æschylus, by placing the Amazones on the Areiopagus¹, shows that height to have been the centre of their position. The Athenians attacked the enemy's right from the Museum; and the tombs of those who fell, still existed in the

¹ Eumen. 682.

time of Plutarch, "in the street leading to the gate at the heroum of Chalcodon, then called the Peiraic gate¹." The Athenians were then turned by the enemy, and retreated as far as the Eumenides (at the north-eastern extremity of the Areiopagus²); but here receiving a reinforcement from the Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceium³; that is to say, from the north-eastward, the right of the Amazones was again defeated, and they were forced to retreat to their camp. It seems clear, therefore, that the Peiraic gate was beyond the Pnyx, in proceeding from the Museum,—the Athenians having on that occasion been the assailants, and victorious. In their subsequent retreat, they were driven almost to the walls of their fortress; but when joined by the reinforcement, which marched by the northern side of that height, they again resumed the offensive, once more overcame the right wing of the Amazones⁴, and obliged the whole body to retire to their camp, which we may suppose to have been situated beyond the site of the Asty, in some part of the plain.

¹ *περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκῶντος ἡρώον, ἃς νῦν Πειραικὰς ὀνομάζουσι.*—Plut. Thes. 27.

² Pausan. Att. 28, 6. See above, p. 160.

³ The Lyceium we have seen was on the outside of Diocharis, or the eastern gate. Ardettus was near the Panathenaic Stadium. *Ἁρπoc. in Ἀρδηττός.*

⁴ It has been supposed by Reiske (Plutarch. Op. I. p. 789), and by others, that the second *δέξιον* in Plutarch is an error of the text for *ἐξώνυμον*; that is to say, that the Athenians, when reinforced, attacked the left of the Amazones, towards which their retreat had brought them: but the alteration is not necessary, nor is it of any great importance to the topographical question.

The heroum of Chalcodon, at the Peiraic gate¹, seems to accord with the sepulchral monument at the gate by which Pausanias enters Athens, and which he describes as bearing the figures of a horse and man, the work of Praxiteles². If we may judge by numerous monuments of later times, inscribed with the title ἥρωες, and bearing similar figures in relief, these were common accompaniments of heroic monuments. This apparent coincidence, therefore, favours the opinion, that Pausanias commences his description of the city at the Peiraic gate.

Plato and Xenophon afford reasons for believing, that even during the existence of the Longo-mural inclosure, the ordinary route from the Peiræus to Athens passed to the northward of it. The former alludes to a person ascending from the Peiræus to Athens, under the northern wall³; and Xenophon states, that the Peiræus was approached by a carriage

¹ Chalcodon was the father of one of the wives of Ægeus. Athen. 13, 1 (4). Schol. Eurip. Med. 671.

² Pausanias asserts (Att. 2, 3), that he was ignorant for whom the statue of the warrior was intended: but, as the Athenians had doubtless a name for it, this ignorance of Pausanias was affected, either because he did not agree with the ἐξηγηταὶ on this point, or because the statue had been inscribed with some modern name.

³ Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλαίωνος ἀνὴρ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τὸ βορεῖον τεῖχος ἐκτός. De Republ. 4, 14. There was probably a succession of sepulchral monuments on the outside of the northern wall, as in all other parts of the suburbs of Athens. Pausanias notices those of Menander and Euripides in the way from Peiræus to Athens (Attic. 2, 2. See above, p. 108); that of the Augur of Thrasybulus appears to have been in the same route at the ford of the Cephissus (Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4, § 19), and the epitaph on the tomb of Euphorion, which describes that monument as having been

road, along which the troops of the Thirty marched¹, when they proceeded from the city, against Thrasybulus, in the Peiræus.

Many considerations lead, therefore, to the belief not only that Pausanias commenced his description of Athens at the Peiraic gate, but that this gate was in some part of the inclosure of the Asty between Pnyx and Dipylum. Some reasons may be alleged in favour of placing it, not in the pass at the northern end of the hill of Pnyx, but beyond the height, which is on the northern side of that pass:—1. The passage of the ridge is here less steep than at the opening near Pnyx. 2. On this supposition, if the Sacred gate was the same as Dipylum, the wall broken down by Sylla in a single night was of an easier length. 3. Here the route of Pausanias leads into a more central part of the inner Cerameicus, whereas the other position would have led to its south-eastern extremity. 4. The Pompeium would thus have been situated very conveniently for its purposes², near the great street of Cerameicus, through which the Panathenaic processions passed, soon after having entered the city at Dipylum.

at the *Πειραικὰ σκέλη*, leaves little question that it was similarly situated. Anthol. II. p. 43, Brunck.

¹ *ἐχώρου κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ Ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν*. Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4. § 10.

² Paus. Att. 2, 4. See above, p. 108.

SECTION IV.

First Part of the Route of Pausanias through the City.—From the Stoa Basileius to Enneacrunus.

THE position of the gate at which Pausanias begins his description of Athens is an essential preliminary to the understanding of that description; the author having left us to deduce the order of his narrative from the places mentioned by him, on the presumption that his readers could not be ignorant of the relative situation of those places. In endeavouring to follow him, it is essential not to lose sight of this circumstance, or to forget that the topographical connexion of the historical and mythological remarks, which were his principal objects, is generally indicated with extreme conciseness, and sometimes entirely neglected; and that it was a part of his plan to omit the notice of those things which he considered the least interesting.

His description of Athens seems capable of the following arrangement. Entering the city at the gate which I have assumed to have been the Peiraic Gate, he passes by the Pompeium, and through a succession of Stoaë, adjacent to which was a gymnasium and several temples of the gods, and joins, not far from the Stoa Basileius, the great Ceramic street, which led from Dipylum to the Agora and

the Acropolis. His subsequent progress through the city may be divided into five parts. 1. Departing from the Stoa Basileius, he proceeds by the Metroum and the Council-house of the Five Hundred to the Tholus, and from thence by the statues of the Eponymi to the temple of Mars, near which were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, on the ascent to the Acropolis. He then describes the Odeium, near the fountain Enneacrunus, together with that fountain and some temples beyond it. 2. Resuming his position at the Stoa Basileius, he proceeds by the temples of Vulcan and of Venus Urania to the Pœcile, and terminates his description of various public buildings, in the part of the city northward of the Acropolis, at the Prytaneium. 3. He descends from the Prytaneium to the temple of Jupiter Olympius; after which he notices the Gymnasia, and the suburbs, on the eastern side of the city, including the Stadium. 4. Beginning anew from the Prytaneium, he proceeds by the quarter of Tripodes to the temple and theatre of Bacchus, and ascends from thence to the Propylæa of the Acropolis. 5. Lastly, he describes the Acropolis, and having descended from thence to the Areiopagus, concludes with an account of the cemetery of the exterior Cerameicus, and the third of the great Athenian Gymnasia without the walls, namely, the Academy.

The great difficulty in this arrangement, and which has been the principal cause of the doubts thrown upon the truth of the positions assigned in the preceding pages to Enneacrunus and the Peiraic gate, is the want of continuity in the succession of objects in the first division of the narrative of Pausanias:

since, if those positions are correct, he has, without the smallest notice, made a leap of half the breadth of the city; namely, from the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, near the western end of the Acropolis, to the Odeium near the Ilissus. This is the principal, and almost the only material, difficulty in the description of Athens by Pausanias.

Of any city whatever it would be difficult to complete a circuitous description, so as to comprise all the principal objects, without reverting for a new departure to some points before mentioned. This Pausanias has only done twice: the first time by returning to the Stoa Basileius; the second time, to the Prytaneium. The latter was rendered necessary by the Prytaneium having been the point at which the route into the lower parts of the city (ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως), where the author describes in succession the sanctuaries of Sarapis, of Lucina, of Jupiter Olympius, of Apollo Pythius, of Apollo Delphinus, and the eastern suburbs—separated from the route conducting by the street of Tripodes, the Dionysiac theatre, and the southern slope of the Acropolis, to the Propylæa. A return to the Stoa Basileius might apparently have been avoided, if he had deferred his mention of the places near Enneacrunus until he had arrived at the Olympieum; and if he had deferred his notice of the monuments on the descent from the Acropolis, and around the Areiopagus, until he had described the Acropolis. But a double motive may have influenced Pausanias in proceeding at once from his notice of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which were on the ascent to the Acropolis, to that of the Odeium, near

Enneacrúnus. He had found nothing in the quarter to the south-westward of the Acropolis, which appeared worthy of introduction into his work, as he has shown by having mentioned the Museum, which bounded that portion of the Asty incidentally only, when describing the Acropolis, and in reference to its having been fortified by Demetrius Poliorcetes¹. Thus circumstanced, he was desirous apparently of bringing, as much as possible, into juxtaposition the principal historical observations which occupy five-sixths of the pages devoted by him to Athens. It is observable, in particular, that from the fifth chapter, in which he describes the statues of the Eponymi, and notices the three new Athenian tribes, Attalis, Ptolemais, and Adrianis, as far as the fourteenth chapter, his narrative relates almost entirely to the successors of Alexander the Great, whose history he introduces by the remark, that he had undertaken it, because it was defective in consequence of its antiquity, and the want of contemporary authorities. In the eighth chapter indeed he interrupts this historical narrative, in order to notice some monuments situated between the statues of the Eponymi, and those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; but he resumes it after a single page, in reference to the statues before the Odeium near Enneacrúnus, and it seems to have been for the sake of those statues that his notice of the Odeium is so abruptly introduced. Those figures

¹ In describing the Museum as within the old inclosure of the asty (*ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου*, see above, p. 166, n. 2), Pausanias may have alluded to the general ruin of the walls, and the abandonment of all that part of the site, in his time. The word *ἀρχαῖος* may, however, be differently interpreted, as I shall notice hereafter.

represented the three Ptolemies, surnamed Soter, Philadelphus, and Philometor ; an Arsinoë and a Berenice ; Philip of Macedonia, his son Alexander, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus ; concerning all which persons he had more or less to relate : so that it is not until the end of the five subsequent chapters that he proceeds with the description of the Odeium, which is then dispatched in a single line, and Enneacrunus in three or four.

On considering these circumstances, as well as the general character of the work of Pausanias, and the existence in his time of accurate descriptions of Athens, it seems no longer unaccountable, that he should have followed an order of narrative which might be made topographically more consecutive ; or rather, perhaps, it would be difficult to devise a better, consistently with the objects which he had in view.

As Pausanias, after arriving at the Stoa Basileius, follows two directions from thence ; one by the Metroum and temple of Mars to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which were on the ascent to the Acropolis ; the other by the Agora of his own time to the Prytaneium and Olympieium, the continuation of both these routes terminating at the Ilissus, it is a fair presumption that his object was to convey the reader, first, through the part of the city on the southern side of the Areiopagus and Acropolis, and afterwards through the opposite division on the northern side of the same heights. A point opposite to the north-western extremity of the Areiopagus is the natural separation of two such routes ; and such a point will be found to agree with the position of the Stoa Basileius, resulting from its

having been to the right of a person who had entered the city at the Peiraic gate, and had followed a street leading into the great Ceramic street, in or near which the Stoa Basileius was situated on the right hand.

It remains to be seen whether such a presumption is supported by any circumstances illustrative of the position of the several objects which occur in the course of the narrative of Pausanias; and, first, as to those which he notices between the Stoa Basileius and the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These statues, as we have before seen, stood on that part of the ascent to the Acropolis which was immediately below the temples of Victory and of Venus Pandemus. Of these temples, the former lay to the right of the entrance into the Propylæa; the latter was immediately below the temple of Victory; for it was in the road from the Dionysiac theatre to the Propylæa¹. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, therefore, were towards the southern side of the ridge which connects the Acropolis with the Areiopagus; which may explain why Pausanias, although, when noticing those statues, he was not far from the court of Areiopagus and the temple of the Eumenides, defers his mention of these two objects until he issues from the Acropolis, they having been at the north-eastern extremity of the hill of Mars.

Again, the Stoa Eleutherius, which Pausanias describes as “behind (ὄπισθεν)²,” and Harpocraton as

¹ Pausan. Attic. 22. See above, p. 215. 221, n. 4.

² Attic. 3, 2. See above, p. 112.

“parallel to” the Stoa Basileius¹, appears from Diogenes Laërtius to have been not far from the Pompeium², which was near the gate at which Pausanias entered Athens from the south-westward³. The Stoa Eleutherius, therefore, was to the westward of the Stoa Basileius, or nearer to the town-wall; and hence it appears that one end of the line of objects described by Pausanias in the first division of his route, was to the westward of the main Ceramic street, and the other to the southward of the entrance into the Acropolis. We may fairly infer, therefore, that the several objects which Pausanias notices between the Stoa Eleutherius, and the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, namely, the temple of Apollo Patrous, the Metroum, the Buleuterium or Council-house of the Five Hundred, the Tholus, the Eponymi, and the temple of Mars, were all on the western and southern sides of the hill of Areiopagus. And such a situation for these monuments is in perfect conformity with their antiquity, origin, and uses, and particularly as it places them near the Areiopagus and Pnyx; the one the

¹ Δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας· ἡ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ Βασιλείου. Harpocrat. in Βασ. Στ.

The same relative position of the two Stoæ is implied in the speech of Praxagora in the Ecclesiazuzæ already referred to :

Καὶ κηρύξω τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Στοιάν ἀκολουθεῖν

Τὴν Βασιλείον δειπνήσοντας. τὸ δὲ Θῆτ' ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην.

Eccl. 680.

² καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκε (Diogenes Cynicus sc.) δεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς στοάν καὶ Πομπείον, αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδαιτυᾶσθαι. Diogen. Laërt. 6, 22.

³ Attic. 2, 4. See above, p. 108.

earliest court of justice, the other the most ancient place of public assembly: for the temple of Apollo, the Metroum, the Buleuterium, and the Tholus, were all public offices and places of registration, and hence were called the Archives (τὰ ἀρχεῖα)¹.

It seems to have been with reference to the situation of the Council-house in the valley, below the hill of Mars, that the *council* of Areiopagus was the ἄνω βουλῇ, in the same manner as the *court* was named the ἐπάνω δικαστήριον, as contrasted in situation with another court, the Helisea, which was its rival in importance, and was situated on lower ground². And for a similar reason, perhaps, the people when assembled in the Pnyx, was said to be sitting aloft³.

Of the successive objects, described by Pausanias, between the Stoa Eleutherius and the statues of

¹ See several of the authorities cited, p. 113, n. 5. p. 114, n. 1. 5. p. 115, n. 3. 4. In the Rhetorical Lexicon, ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 264, the Tholus is described as τόπος τις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.

We may even include among the ἀρχεῖα, the statues of the Eponymi; for here, before the time of Solon, the archon Eponymus held his court (Suid. in Ἀρχων), probably in the open air; and, according to a regulation of that legislator, those intending to propose laws, suspended their bills at the Eponymi. Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 705, Reiske. Suid., Phot. Lex. in Ἐπωνύμοι.

² Ἐπάνω δικαστήριον καὶ ὑποκάτω· ἐπάνω μὲν δικαστήριον τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῇ λόφῳ· κάτω δὲ τὸ ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ. Lex. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 253. The lower appears from Didymus (ap. Harpocrat., in ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος) to have been the Helisea.

³ Πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Demosth. pro Cor. p. 285, Reiske.

τὸν δῆμον καθήμενον ἄνω. Plutarch. Nic. 7.

Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the Metroum alone is not stated to have been near that which precedes it in his narrative, namely, the temple of Apollo. On the other hand, as both he and Demosthenes show that the Metroum was near the Council-house, between which and the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the successive objects are described by Pausanias as near to one another, it is probable that all these were in the hollow between the Propylæa and the southern side of the Areiopagus, and that there was a considerable distance between the temple of Apollo Patrous and the Metroum¹. The exact situation of the Metroum may be in some degree inferred from Arrian, who states its situation relatively to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which he describes as situated at the ascent of the Acropolis opposite to the Metroum. Thus it appears that as the court of Areiopagus and the temple of Eumenides were opposite to the grotto of Pan and the north-western angle of the Propylæa², the Metroum was opposite to the temples of Victory and Venus, and consequently to the southward of the *court* of Areiopagus, and probably in an elevated situation, so that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, facing the westward, looked over several intermediate monuments, situated in the hollow between the Acropolis and hill of Mars, and directly upon the Metroum.

About the centre of the hollow between the

¹ The connexion of these two buildings in the narrative, instead of being local as in the other instances, consists in the similarity of the words Patrous and Metroum. See above, p. 113.

² Attic. 28, 4. See above, p. 159, 165.

heights of Acropolis and Areiopagus, we may place the altar of the Twelve Gods; for although Pausanias does not mention this altar, we know that it was near the statue of Demosthenes¹, and the latter according to Pausanias was near the temple of Mars. Such a position in the centre of the most ancient Agora, seems well adapted as well to the use and purposes of that renowned altar, as to the fact that it was employed as the point from whence distances were measured². Near it was the Perischoenisma, a flexible inclosure, noted as being the place where votes of Exostracism were taken³; and adjacent to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton was an orchestra or platform for dancing, such as were used before the invention of the theatre⁴.

Of the Odeium, which according to Pausanias stood near Enneacrunus, not a vestige now remains; but a few remarks concerning it may assist in elucidating the topography of Athens. It is evident that

Ancient
Odeium

¹ Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth. See above, p. 116, n. 4.

² Herodotus (2, 7) mentions the distance from this altar to the temple of Jupiter at Olympia; and a tetrastich inscription, unfortunately imperfect, reported by Chandler (Ins. Ant. p. 53. Boeckh C. Ins. Gr. No. 525), had recorded the number of stades from this point to the Peiræus: most probably forty-three.

³ See above, p. 162, n. 6.

⁴ 'Ορχήστρα: πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· εἶτα καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ κάτω ἡμίκυκλον, οὗ καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ἦδον καὶ ὠρχοῦντο. Phot. Lex. in v. 'Ορχήστρα· τὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέσον χωρίον καὶ τόπος ἐπιφανὴς εἰς πανήγυριν, ἔνθα Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνες. Timæi Lex. Platon. in v. The three kinds of dance were called πυρρίχη the military, σικιννίς the sacred, and κορδακισμός the comic. Etym. M. in ὀρχησται.

this Odeium is not to be confounded with the Odeium constructed by Pericles, with a pointed roof, resembling the pavilion of Xerxes, that edifice having been adjacent to the Dionysiac theatre¹. It seems equally clear that the Odeium, near Enneacrunus was the elder of the two, and that when the improved building of Pericles had superseded it as a place for recitation and music², it was made subservient to those various uses of a different kind, with which its name is connected in many of the ancient authors. In particular, it appears to have been employed as one of the places for depositing and measuring grain and meal belonging to the state, and for the hearing of causes before the Sitophylaces and Metronomi³.

The elder Odeium was prior in date to the Dionysiac theatre, which was founded about the year 500 B.C., when the inventive genius of Æschylus and Agatharcus was rapidly bringing the drama to per-

¹ See above, p. 138.

² Plutarch speaking of the new Odeium built by Pericles, and the musical contest which he established there in the Panathenæa, adds, *ἐθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν ᾧδεῖν τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας*. Peric. 13.

³ Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν οὐπὲρ Ἀρχῶν· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑνδεκα (i.e. in Parabyso).

Οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧδεῖν δικάζουσ'.

Aristoph. Vesp. 1103.

Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 918, Reiske. c. Neær. p. 1362. c. Leptin. p. 467. Lys. κατὰ τῶν Σιτοπύλων p. 717. Aristot. ap. Harpoc. in Μετρονόμοι, Σιτοφύλακες. Suid. in ᾧδεῖον. Harpoc., Phot. Lex., in Μετρ. Σιτ. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 278, 300. There appear to have been ten of each of these officers in the city, and five in Peiræus. See Boeckh's Public Œconomy of Athens, I. p. 67, 113.

fection¹, and when a fatal accident, caused perhaps by the excessive numbers who flocked to see the splendid novelties of the scene, destroyed the wooden structure which had before served for a place of spectacle, and suggested to the Athenians the necessity of some construction more solid and more worthy of the improved drama². The upper part of the Dionysiac inclosure was chosen for this purpose, probably on the same site, which had been occupied by the *ἱκρία* or wooden construction³. The Odeium

¹ primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylō docente tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de ea commentarium reliquit. Ex eo moniti Democritus et Anaxagoras de eadem re scripserunt, quemadmodum oporteat ad aciem oculorum radiorumque extensionem, certo loco centro constituto, ad lineas ratione naturali respondere, uti de incerta re certæ imagines ædificiorum in scenarum picturis redderent speciem, et quæ in directis planisque frontibus sint figurata, alia abscedentia, alia prominentia esse videantur. Vitruv. 7. in præf.

² This accident happened, according to Suidas (in *Πρατίνης*), in the 70th Olympiad, during the representation of a piece by Pratinas: *ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τούτου, συνέβη τὰ ἱκρία, ἐφ' ὧν ἰστήκεισαν οἱ θεαταί, πεσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ θέατρον ψκοδομήθη Ἀθηναίους.*

ἱκρία . . . ἀφ' ὧν ἰθεῶντο, πρὸ τοῦ ἐν Διονύσου θεάτρον γενέσθαι. Hesych. in ν. See the same in Photius, who adds erroneously *ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ.*

Pratinas, according to Suidas, was of Phlius, contended in tragedy with Æschylus and Chærilus, and was the first to write satires. Many persons are said to have been killed on this occasion.

³ This construction was perhaps a contrivance for giving, by means of wooden benches, a semicircular continuity to the natural form of that part of the hill which afterwards, by means of excavations in the rocks, formed the middle part of the theatre.

had before this time been employed as the place where the rhapsodi and musicians exercised their art¹. The name alone, derived from ᾠδὴ, a song, implies a priority of date to the Θέατρον, or place of spectacle, as, in the dramatic art, song and monological recitation preceded dialogue and scenery. The combination of all these, in the form of the regular drama, caused the invention of the theatre, the design and construction of which was a natural improvement upon the Odeium, which itself had been an improvement upon the simplest form of a place of public assembly, as exemplified in the Pnyx². The theatre had the advantage of containing the greatest possible number in the smallest space, and at the shortest possible distance of each person from the stage: and being open to the sky, it had not any of those interruptions to the eye or ear which, in every Odeium of large dimensions, were opposed by the columns supporting the roof or galleries³.

¹ τόπος ἐστὶ θεατροειδής, ἐν ᾧ εἰώθασι ποιήματα ἀπαγγέλλειν, πρὶν τῆς εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπαγγελίας. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1104. τόπος, ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι, οἱ ῥαψδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο. Hesych. in Ὀιδεῖον. See above, p. 246, n. 2.

² We find the Odeium described as a sort of theatre, ὥσπερ θέατρον (Suidas in v.), or as resembling the thymele of a theatre (Odeium pars quædam theatri, quæ nunc thymele vocatur, Alexand. Aphrod. in Metaph. 3, ex vers. J. Genesii), which suggests exactly the idea of the pit of a modern theatre, and seems to show that the original Odeium was constructed nearly on the same plan as the Pnyx, but on a smaller scale, and covered with a roof.

³ Odeia appear to have been generally remarked for their numerous columns. πόσοι εἰσι κίονες τοῦ Ὀιδείου. Theophr.

Other cities of Greece soon followed the example of Athens in the construction of Odeia and Theatres, and these words were in process of time universally applied, *θέατρον* to the open semicircular edifice, commonly constructed on the side of a hill, which each city possessed for its larger assemblies of every kind, and *ψιδεῖον* to a smaller roofed building of the same kind, chiefly destined to music, but, like the theatre, often employed also for meetings upon public affairs. At length there was scarcely a town, however small, in any of the countries in which Grecian civilization prevailed, that did not possess a theatre, while all the larger cities had two or three. Hundreds of these, more or less preserved, still attest in all the Greek or Roman countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the obligations of the ancient world to the Athenians for these inventions.

In passing immediately from the mention of Enneacrunus to that of the temple of Demeter and Core, with the simple remark that the temple was beyond the fountain (*ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην*)¹, Pausanias has left us to discover that the Ilissus flowed between them. Of this there can be no question, for we

Caract. 3. The Odeium of Pericles was *πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον*. Plutarch Pericl. 13. Diodorus (1, 48) describes the tomb of Osymandyas as supported by columns and built like an Odeium, *οἶκον ὑπόστυλον, ψιδείου τρόπον κατεσκευασμένον*. The numerous seats and columns, in the tent-shaped building of Pericles, leave little or no doubt that in this improved Odeium there was, as in that of Herodes and others, a rising succession of seats, like those of a theatre, and a gallery, as well as a roof, supported by columns.

¹ See above, p. 119.

know that the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated in Agræ, and were hence called τὰ ἐν Ἀγραις, or τὰ ἐν Ἀγρας, or τὰ πρὸς Ἀγραν¹: that Agræ was a suburb of Athens, to the left of the Ilissus², the water of which was employed in the sacred lustrations of those mysteries³, and that there was a sanctuary of Ceres in Agræ⁴, near the river. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that the temple of that deity near Enneacrunus was the scene of the mysteries, and it becomes highly probable that some foundations, which were observed by Stuart on the left bank of the river nearly opposite to Enneacrunus, were those of the temple of Ceres in Agræ.

Temple of
Triptole-
mus.

The words of Pausanias seem equally to show that the temple of Triptolemus was that beautiful little Ionic building which, in the time of Stuart, formed a church, called that of Panaghía on the Rock (Παναγία στήν πέτραν), but which has now totally disappeared, and has been preserved only from oblivion by the drawings of his Antiquities of Athens⁵.

¹ Plutarch. Demetr. 26. Cleidemus in Ἀγραι ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 326. Dionys. Perieg. 424. Himer. ap. Phot. Myriobibl. p. 1119. Stephan. in Ἀγραι. Eustath. ad Il. B. 852.

² Plato Phædr. 6. Pausan. Att. 19, 6. 7.

χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. Stephan. l. l.

³ Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ συνέθεντο παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν, οὗ τὸν καθαρμὸν τελοῦσι τοῖς ἐλάττοσι μυστηρίοις. Polyæn. Strateg. 5, 17. Himer. Orat. 3, p. 432, Wernsdorf.

⁴ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Ἰλισσῷ. Suid. in Ἀγρα. V. et Hesych. in Ἀγραι. Phavorin., Etym. M. in Ἀγρα.

⁵ I. 2. It was an amphiprostyle forty-two feet long, and twenty broad, on the upper step of the stylobate. There were

As Pausanias, having first spoken of the Eleusinium, ^{Temple of Eucleia.} and then described the temple of Triptolemus, places that of Eucleia "still further (ἐν ἀπωτέρῳ)," in the same direction¹, we may infer that it was near the left bank of the Ilissus, to the south-west of the site of the church of Panaghía on the rock, probably at the church of Aghía Marína, which stands a little to the left of the place where the modern road from Athens to Sunium crosses the Ilissus; for both Wheler and Stuart considered this church to have been the site of an ancient building².

four columns at either end, one foot nine inches in diameter above the spreading basis. Those at the eastern end stood before a pronaos of ten feet in depth, leading by a door seven feet wide into a σῆκος of fifteen and a half feet; the breadth of both twelve feet.

¹ See above, p. 119.

² Wheler's Travels, p. 379. Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, III. v.

SECTION V.

Second Part of the Route of Pausanias—From the Stoa Basileius to the Prytaneium.

AFTER having finished the first branch of his tour through Athens, and resumed his original situation at the Stoa Basileius, Pausanias proceeds to describe the parts of the city to the northward of the ridges of Areiopagus and Acropolis¹.

Hephæsteium.
Temple of
Venus
Urania.
Astic Gate.
Pœcile.

The first building which he encounters beyond the Stoa Basileius, and beyond the limits of the Cerameicus, is the Hephæsteium, or temple of Vulcan and Minerva, near which was that of Venus Urania. He then proceeds to the Stoa Pœcile, and states that, in approaching it, there was a gate surmounted by a trophy. He then describes the Pœcile, notices a few objects in the Agora, and shows that the Gymnasium of Ptolemy was not far from the Agora, and that the Theseium was near that gymnasium. He then describes the Anaceium, or temple of the Dioscuri; the Agraulium, which was above that temple, and the Prytaneium, which was near the Agraulium.

Of these places the Theseium alone remains to give evidence of its position; but as the Agraulium

¹ See above, p. 119—126.

was in some part of the rocks of the Acropolis, there remains only in this part of the narrative of Pausanias a want of local connexion between the Pœcile and the new Agora. But the Pœcile was in one of the most illustrious parts of the Agora of the middle period of Greek history; as the incidental mention of it by ancient writers¹ demonstrates, as well as the position of the Hermes Agoræus at the Astic Gate, which was near the Pœcile². Pausanias therefore, it is evident, referred to the Agora of the Augustan and subsequent ages; which, doubtless, occupied ground contiguous to the eastern part of the prior Agora, and probably even comprehended that extremity of it. Both from this consideration therefore, and from the natural import of the narrative of Pausanias, we may confidently assume that the Pœcile was not far distant from the portico of Augustus, westward.

We learn from an Athenian antiquary that the Hermæ. street called the Hermæ conducted from the Stoa Basileius to the Pœcile³. This celebrated and cen-

¹ Particularly Æschines:—*προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν Στοᾶν τὴν Ποικίλῃν· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται*. c. Ctesiph. p. 575, Reiske. The statue of Solon, which Pausanias describes to have been before the Pœcile, is placed by Demosthenes (c. Aristog. 2) and by Ælian (Var. Hist. 8, 16) in the Agora.

² See above, p. 121, where note 2 will explain the reason of my having ventured to give the name of Astic Gate to this *πυλὶς οὐ πύλων*.

³ *Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ Βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαὶ καλούμενοι*. Mnesicles sive Callistratus ap. Harpocrat., ap. Phot. Lex. in *Ἑρμαῖ*.

From Harpocration, on the authority of Antiphon (c. Nicoclea) it appears that the Stoa of the Thracians was in this street.

tral part of the Agora, therefore, which received its name from a great number of Hermæ, dedicated by persons both in public and private stations ¹, seems to have been a continuation of the great Ceramic street leading through the Agora by the Pœcile to the portal of the new Agora; and thus we trace exactly the route of philosophy, in her way from the Academy to the Pœcile, that is to say, from the platonic philosophers to the stoics, as imagined by Lucian ².

There must have been still, however, a third street, leading directly from near the Stoa Basileius to the northern side of the ascent to the Propylæa; and it

¹ ὑπὸ ιδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων. Harpocr. in Ἑρμαῖ. Among them were the Ἱππάρχαιοι Ἑρμαῖ, so called as having been dedicated by Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus. They were inscribed with moral sentences in verse, ἐλεγεία ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον βελτίους οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες γίνεσθαι. Hesych. in Ἱππάρχειος Ἑρμῆς. Plato (Hipparch. 4) alludes to them as being in the middle of the city (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀστεος), and adds that Hipparchus placed similar monuments in the Demi. He has left us the inscriptions on two of them,

Μνημα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου· στείχε δίκαια φρονῶν.

Μνημα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.

Three-headed Mercuries were common at the meeting of three ways, where they were inscribed as posts of direction. There appears to have been one of these in the street of the Mercuries at a branch called the Ἑστία ὁδός: it was dedicated by Patrocleides, the lover of Hipparchus, and was therefore, it may be supposed, near the Hipparcheian Hermæ. Harpocrat., Suid. in Τρικέφαλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς. Μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ Τρικεφάλου παρὰ τὴν Ἑστίαν ὁδόν. Isæus, *ibid.*

² ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐν Κεραμειῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτήν (Philosophiam) ἣ δὲ ἤδη πον ἀφίξεται, ἐπανιοῦσα ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ὡς περιπατήσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ, τοῦτο γὰρ ὁσημέραι ἔθος ποιεῖν αὐτῇ. Lucian. Piscator. 13.

was probably in this direction, and not in the street of the Hermæ, that stood the Hephæsteium and the Aphrodisium. For the Hephæsteium was near the Colonus Agoræus¹, and a street, branching from the Ceramic street, near the supposed site of the Stoa Basileius, in the direction of the northern ascent to the Acropolis, would pass just below the northern projection of the Areiopagus; a height corresponding, both in nature and position, with that Colonus Agoræus on which Meton placed his new astronomical instrument for the public use², and which, in consequence of its elevation and central position, became also a customary place of hire for labourers³, whence it received the epithet of Μίσθιος as well as that of Ἀγοραῖος. It is stated also that the Colonus Agoræus was behind the Macra Stoa⁴; whence it becomes probable that the Macra Stoa conducted from the Stoa Basileius to the ascent of the Acro-

¹ δύο γὰρ ὄντων τῶν Κολωνῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἰππείως ἐκαλεῖτο, οὗ μέμνηται Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς Οἰδίποδος εἰς αὐτὸν καταφυγόντος· ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν Ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειον, οὗ συνήεσαν οἱ μισθαρνοῦντες. J. Poll. 7, 132.

τοὺς μισθωτοὺς Κολωνίτας ὠνόμαζον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ Κολωνῷ εἰσῆκεισαν, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαίστειον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειόν ἐστι· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς οὗτος Ἀγοραῖος. Harpocrat. in Κολωνίτας.

² See above, p. 219.

³ Ὅψ' ἦλθες, ἅλλ' ἐς τὸν Κολωνὸν ἴεσο. Ἐπὶ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἔλεγον· τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐλθόντας ὁψὲ ἀπέλυνον πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ μισθωτήριον· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐν Κολωνῷ. Hesych. in Ὅψ' ἦλθες, Κολωνός. J. Poll. 1. 1.

The same height seems to be alluded to in the Andria of Terence, 2, 2. v. 19.

⁴ Κολωνός ἐστιν ὁ ἕτερος ὁ Μίσθιος λεγόμενος· οὕτω μέρος τι νῦν σύνθηες γέγονε Κολωνὸν καλεῖν τὸ ὑπισθαι τῆς Μακρᾶς στοᾶς. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 998.

polis on the northern side, forming a street in or near which the temples of Vulcan and of Venus Urania were situated. To the supposition that these two buildings may have stood more directly between the Stoa Basileius and the Pœcile, the objection occurs that this almost inevitably identifies the Macra Stoa with the street of the Hermæ, which can hardly be conceived: nor is there any height near this line which would in that case correspond to the Colonus Agoræus. If the preceding conjectures on the plan of this part of Athens are correct, it would appear that the Ceramic dromus had a triple separation at or near the Stoa Basileius; one conducting to the Pœcile and New Agora, the middle street leading to the northern ascent to the Acropolis, and the third along the southern side of the hill of Mars to the ascent of the Acropolis on the southern side. The point of separation was probably the Triodus of the Cerameicus, at which stood the Hermes of four heads, made by Telesarchides¹; the fourth head was probably directed towards Dipylum, which street was very naturally not taken into consideration in the name Triodus, although there was, in fact, at or near the point of separation a meeting of four streets. It follows, from the supposed positions of the Pœcile and temple of Venus Urania, that the Pylon asticus, or gate at

¹ τετρακέφαλος Ἑρμῆς . . . ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ τῇ Κεραμεικῇ ἱδρυτο. Hesych. in Ἑρμῆς Τρικέφαλος.

Ἑρμῆς Τετρακέφαλος ἐν Κεραμεικῇ Τελεσαρχίδου ἔργον. Phot. Lex. in v.

The following was the inscription upon it:

Ἑρμῇ Τετρακέφαλε, καλὸν Ἐλεσαρχίδου ἔργον,
Πάνθ' ὀράας.

Eustath. in Il. Ω. 334.

which stood the famous Hermes Agoræus, was on the south-western side of the Pœcile¹.

Westward of the gate of the New Agora and of the Corinthian colonnade which lies to the north of it, and between those two ruins and the temple of Theseus, are remains of several large buildings. Some courses of the walls are extant in two places, but their plan among the modern structures which encumber the site has not yet been traced. That, of which a part of the wall still exists at a distance of 230 yards to the south-eastward of the temple of Theseus, seems to have been a part of the Gymnasium Ptolemæum; 1. Because it formed part of a building which stood not far from the Theseium, as

¹ The word *πυλῶν*, which Philochorus applied to this gate, generally refers in inscriptions to the portal or entrance-gate of an inclosure, and the trophy placed upon it favours the opinion that it was the kind of structure from which the Roman triumphal arches were derived. This Pylon was of very early date; having been not only more ancient than the trophy erected upon it about the year 304, in the war of the Athenians against Cassander, but more ancient than the Hermes Agoræus, which was placed at this gate in the archonship of Cebriſ, B.C. 482—1. See above, p. 121, n. 2. It may, therefore, have been as old as the Stoa Peisianacteus, or Pœcile; the proximity of which is strongly marked by Lucian, who describes the Hermes Agoræus as *παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλην* (Jup. Trag. 33). The Pylon, therefore, may have stood before the entrance of that celebrated Stoa, which, from the description of its paintings by Pausanias, appears to have been a *στοὰ τετράγωνος* (V. Strabo, p. 646.) with an *ὑπαίθρον*, or quadrangle open to the sky; and thus to have resembled exactly the painted cloisters which adorned Italy on the revival of the arts, and which are probably lineal descendants of the Stoæ. The two other chief Athenian Stoæ, the Basileus and Eleuthærius (Harpocr. in *Βασιλεῖος Στοά*), may have been of the same description.

Pausanias and Plutarch describe that gymnasium; 2. Because an inscribed pedestal was found, on a part of the site, which had supported the statue of a Ptolemy, who was son of the Juba said by Pausanias to have been honoured with a statue in this gymnasium¹, and who was a descendant by the last Cleopatra of Ptolemy Philadelphus the founder; 3. Because an existing wall of this building is formed of a peculiar kind of masonry, characteristic of the time of the Ptolemies, the alternate courses being about double the height of the others, a construction less simple than that which was customary before the age of Alexander; while the exact equality of the alternate courses and the careful formation and junction of the component blocks, evince greater accuracy of work than was customary in Roman times².

Stoa of
Hadrian.

The Corinthian colonnade, of which the southern extremity is about seventy yards to the north of the Propylæum of the New Agora, shows at once by the small interval of one foot ten inches between its columns and the adjacent wall, as well as by the opening in the middle of the colonnade, that it was the decorated façade, (with a gateway in the centre,) of a quadrangular inclosure, which is traceable to the eastward of it. This front ranges with the Propylæum of the New Agora, showing the position of one of the principal streets of Athens. A tetrastyle propylæum formed of columns three feet in diameter,

¹ Attic. 17, 2. See above, p. 124.

² The round towers at the entrance of the arsenal of the Peiræus, which are probably, a part of the construction of Philo, about the year B.C. 300, are of the same kind of masonry.

and twenty-nine feet high, similar to those before the wall, except that the latter are not fluted, projected twenty-two feet before the gate of the inclosure, which was 376 feet long, and 252 broad; round the inside of it, at a distance of twenty-three feet from the wall, are vestiges of a colonnade. In the northern wall, which still exists, are the remains of one large quadrangular recess or apartment in the centre, thirty-four feet in length, and of two semi-circular recesses nearly equal to it in diameter. The church of Megáli Panaghía, which stands towards the eastern side of the inclosure, is formed of the remains of an ancient building, consisting on one side of a ruined arch, and on the other of an architrave supported by a pilaster, and three columns of the Doric order, one foot nine inches in diameter, and of a somewhat declining period of art. Spon and Wheler supposed these to have been ruins of the temple of Jupiter Olympius¹, which is impossible, because this peribolus could not have been sufficiently large to contain an octastyle temple of such magnitude as the Olympium is described to have been.

Stuart mistook them for the Pœcile, and as he could not avoid perceiving that the columns were a work of Roman times, he supposed them to be some splendid reparation of the Pœcile², of which history has not preserved any record. But the peribolus, the colonnade, and the building in the centre, appear to have been works of the same date, and to have all formed one great establishment. The archi-

¹ Spon, II. p. 170. Wheler, p. 392.

² Antiquities of Athens, I, 5; III, p. iii.

tectural details of the western colonnade have so marked a resemblance to those of the arch of Hadrian near the Olympium¹, that there is the strongest reason to believe this to have been one of the edifices erected by the same great benefactor of Athens; a supposition which accounts at once for the silence of Pausanias as to this building, when treating of others in its immediate vicinity, as it was natural for him to defer his notice of this edifice, until he had treated of the most renowned work of the same emperor, the Olympium. The general plan was evidently that of a quadrangle surrounded with porticos, having one or more buildings in the centre: thus agreeing perfectly with that work of Hadrian which contained stoæ, a colonnade of Phrygian marble, and a library². The apartments in the wall of the peribolus, with the colonnade before them accord perfectly with those οἰκήματα in the Stoa of Hadrian, which according to Pausanias were resplendent with alabaster and gilding, and adorned with pictures and statues. The building near the centre of the quadrangle, which was converted into a church of the Panaghía, may have been the Pantheon or temple of All the Gods, in which there was a catalogue of all the temples, built, repaired, or adorned by Hadrian, and of all his gifts to the cities, both Greek and barbarian³;

¹ Wilkins, Atheniensia, p. 165.

² See above, p. 131. 132, n. 1.

³ Ὅποσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ, τὰ μὲν ᾧκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς, ἣ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ. Pausan. Attic. 5, 5.

for it seems likely that the library, if not in the same temple¹, was within the same great inclosure as the building which contained the catalogue, and consequently that the Pantheon, and possibly also the temple of Juno and Jupiter Panellenius stood in the centre of the inclosure. The remains, therefore, at Megáli Panaghía belonged probably to one of them. In favour of the opinion that both these temples stood in the hypæthral quadrangle, we may remark that had the centre been occupied by a single temple, it would have been near 190 feet in length, which seems inconsistent with the small diameter of the extant columns². As to the Gymnasium of Hadrian³; this having been an establishment for objects of a different kind from those of the stoæ and temples, there can scarcely be a doubt that it was an entirely separate construction⁴.

¹ See above in p. 132, n. 1, the two readings *αἰτὰ* and *αἰτὰρ*, which leave a doubt whether the books were in the *οἰκήματα* of the porticoes, or in the *ἱερόν*.

² In the collection of Sir R. Worsley, who visited Athens in the year 1785, were two busts, found, as he states, among these ruins, which he supposed to have been the Prytaneium. These busts are of a kind which was much employed in the decoration of buildings of the Roman empire, and they are manifestly of that time. One represents Alcibiades, and is nearly similar to another bust of that famous Athenian found in the villa Hadriana near Tivoli: the other is a bust of Sophocles, equally resembling one which was found in the basilica of Constantine at Rome. See Museum Worsley, I. p. 51. 53. Having been ornaments peculiarly adapted to an Athenian stoæ, they furnish a slight confirmation of the identity of the ruins.

³ See above, p. 131.

⁴ Some remains of walls between the Corinthian colonnade

Having finished the description of the Theseium and the history of Theseus, Pausanias proceeds abruptly to describe the Anaceium, or ancient temple of the Dioscuri, without any intimation that it stood near the Theseium. It must, in fact, have been at a considerable distance from that temple, for it was near the sanctuary of Agraulus, which was in the rocks of the Acropolis, or immediately adjacent to them. This abruptness is characteristic of the style of Pausanias; the connection of the narrative is to be sought for in the fifteenth chapter, where he resumes his course from the temple of Venus Urania towards the Prytaneium after the digression, which treated of the Pœcile, the Theseium, and all the other objects which he had thought worthy of notice in that quarter, except the buildings of Hadrian, which he reserved for another place.

Agrau-
lium.

Upon comparing the words of Pausanias¹ with those of Herodotus² and Euripides³, we can hardly

and the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, may have belonged to the Gymnasium of Hadrian. Or possibly the latter may have occupied the site of the church, vulgarly called Gorgópiko (of George Piko), where in the church and neighbouring house of the metropolitan bishop, I observed several inscribed marbles relating to gymnastic victories.

¹ Pausan. Attic. 18, 2. See above, p. 127.

² Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι. . . . ἐμπροσθεν ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλίων καὶ τῆς ἀνάδου, τῇ δὲ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων· ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἰδὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγραύλου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἰόντος τοῦ χώρου. Herodot. 8, 53.

³ Ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις

Τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλημένη,

doubt that the Agraulium was in some part of the precipices formerly called the Long Rocks (*αἱ Μακραὶ Πέτραι*) which are situated a little to the eastward of the grotto of Apollo and Pan. Had not the Agraulium been very near the grotto, one cannot conceive that an Athenian poet would have represented Agraulus and her sisters as dancing to the music of Pan in his cavern. Here, therefore, the Persians, under Xerxes, climbed the steepest part of the hill near the temple of Agraulus, and having

Ὁδ' παῖδ' Ἑρεχθίῳ Φοῖβος ἔλευεν γάμοις
Βία Κρέουσιν, ἔνθα προσβόρβρον πέτρας,
Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονός,
Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἀνακτες Ἀτθίδος.

Euripid. Ion, 8.

Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρός ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλησμένους. Ion, 282.

Ὡ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ
Παραυλίζουσα πέτρα
Μυχώδεσι Μακραῖς,
Ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν
Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι
Στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος
Ναῶν, συρίγγων
Ὑπ' αἰόλας ἰαχᾶς ὕμνων,
Ὅταν αὐλείοις συρίζῃς
Ὡ Πάν, τοῖσι σοῖς ἐν ἄντροις, &c.

Ion, 49 .

KP. "Ακουε τοίνυν" οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας
Πρόσβόρβρον ἄντρον, ἃς Μακρὰς κικλήσκουμεν ;

ΠΡ. Οἶδ', ἐνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.

Ion, 936.

KP. Ὅρῳ γὰρ ἄγγος ψ' ἔβηκ' ἐγὼ ποτε
Ξέ γ', ὃ τέκνον μοι, βρέφος ἔτ' ὄντα νήπιον,
Κέκροπος ἐς ἄντρα καὶ Μακρὰς πετρηρεφεῖς.

Ion, 1398.

thus entered the citadel, opened the gates, slew the Athenians who had taken refuge in the temple, and set fire to every thing in the Acropolis¹.

A very different opinion on this question has however, been maintained, namely, that the Persians ascended at the eastern end of the Acropolis, which would, therefore, be the situation of the Agraulium. The principal arguments for this supposition are, 1. That here the rocks of the Acropolis are highest, and most difficult of access (*τὸ μάλιστα ἀπότομον*). 2. That the words *ἔμπροσθε πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος*, "in front of the Acropolis," used by Herodotus, point to the same spot, which was the front of the Acropolis, because the two temples of Minerva fronted the east; and that consequently we are to interpret the words *ὀπισθε τῶν πυλίων*, not simply "behind the gates," but "at the extremity of the Acropolis, opposite to that where the gates are situated." Such a meaning, however, can scarcely be extracted from them; the historian seems clearly to have intended to say that, after the Persians had been repulsed in their attack upon the western end of the citadel, where the Propylæa were afterwards built, a party of them made a successful attempt in the rear of the Athenians, while the attention of the latter was occupied by the direct attack; and that they effected this design by climbing up the precipices in a part of the long northern side of the Acropolis, not far from the Propylæa. This side of the hill, in fact, is still very commonly called the front of the Acropolis by persons, both natives and strangers, uncon-

¹ Herodot. 8, 53.

scious of any question upon the subject¹, nor are the rocks in this part less precipitous than at the eastern end of the hill, although in one part, where probably the Agraulium was situated, they are not so difficult of access. The eastern fronting of the Acropolis is not confirmed by any ancient authority whatever; nor is it probable, for, although the Parthenon had, in regard to its interior construction, and to the religious ceremonies connected with it, its front to the east, yet the western end was equally a front externally. Of the two temples which formed the Erechtheium, if one opened to the east, the other fronted the north. That the Athenian custom of having in general the front of their temples to the east, had no influence upon the collocation of the other monuments of the Acropolis, is proved from the fact, that the statue of Minerva Promachus, the Propylæa, and all the statues and monuments below the Propylæa faced towards the west².

The Agraulium is no where described as a temple, but only as a sanctuary or sacred inclosure³. At a distance of about seventy yards to the eastward of the cave of Pan in the midst of the Long Rocks, and at the base of a precipice, is a remarkable cavern, and

¹ In the Athenian Mythos noticed above in page 205, Mount Lycabettus is described as an *ἐρύμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, an outwork in front of the Acropolis.

² See below in section VIII.

³ Herodotus describes it as an *ἵρόν*; Pausanias, as an *ἱερὸν τέμενος*; Polyænus (1, 21), as *τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου*. The grotto of Apollo and Pan, according to Pausanias, was an *ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ*.

one hundred and thirty yards farther in the same direction, immediately at the foot of the wall of the citadel, another smaller. The former had evidently a communication with the Acropolis, as there still exist some remains of steps a little within the wall, which rises immediately above it. The smaller cavern, which was only a few yards distant from the northern portico of the Erechtheium, had also probably an opening into the Acropolis¹. Within it are many niches, showing that it was not less an *ισρὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ*, or the fabled residence of some local deity, than the cave of Pan itself. Nor can we doubt that the larger was equally a sanctuary, although niches are not so apparent there as in the smaller cavern, the ancient surface of the rock within it not being so well preserved.

As Pandrosus is said to have been saved, when her sisters Herse and Agraulus, punished with madness for their disobedience to Minerva, threw themselves over the rocks², the situation of the two caverns relatively to the temple of Pandrosus, accords with the fable; thus leading to the belief that they were sacred to Agraulus and Herse, and that the Agraulium comprehended them both, together with a part of the adjacent slope of the hill,—

¹ It was necessary in a military point of view, that these caverns, which, if neglected, would furnish an access to the citadel from without, should be secured, and thus made available at the same time for sorties. The great cavern at the eastern end had probably a communication with the platform of the Acropolis as well as the others.

² Pausan. Attic. 18, 2. See above, p. 127.

a conclusion in perfect conformity with the lines of Euripides, which show not only the proximity of the Agraulium to the cavern of Pan, but its situation also in front of the temple of Minerva Polias (πρὸ Παλλάδος ναῶν)¹. There is, however, some difficulty in determining which of the caverns was sacred to Agraulus, and which of them to Herse. If the eastern derives some importance from its greater proximity to the temple of Polias, the western has at least an equal claim to be considered the Agraulium, from its greater magnitude, and from its position, which being nearer to the rear of the Propylæa, seems better adapted to the action of the Medes related by Herodotus².

The Anaceium was near the sanctuary of Agrau- Anaceium.
lus, and to the westward of it, as would appear from the order of the narrative of Pausanias³. It was in an elevated position⁴, and we may presume from Lucian, nearly on the same level as the Agraulium. In his dialogue called the Fisherman, he represents the Athenian philosophers of every sect,

¹ Ion, 492. See above p. 262, n. 3.

² This situation of the Agraulium accords with the words of the Scholiast of Demosthenes (de f. leg. p. 438, Reiske), who describes the temple as *περὶ τὰ Προπύλαια*. He cites Philochorus, and adds that Agraulus here threw herself over the rocks to obtain victory for Erechtheus against Eumolpus. This, it must be admitted, agrees better with the honours Agraulus received from the Athenians, and the oath of the Ephebi in her sanctuary, than the fable of Amelesagoras or Apollodorus.

³ See above, p. 127.

⁴ *πονηρὸς οὗτος ἀνέθεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακείου καὶ ἄδικος*. Demosth. de cor. fals. test. 1. p. 1125, Reiske.

as climbing up to the Acropolis to gain the cake, and two minæ, which Parrhesiades offers them by proclamation from the Acropolis. He describes them as "collecting some about the Pelasgicum, and others at the temple of Æsculapius: still more around the Areiopagus: some at the tomb of Talos, and others again like swarms of bees near the Anaceium, where they are planting ladders against the rock¹."

One of the stratagems of Polyænus², shows the proximity of the Anaceium and Agraulium. When Peisistratus had seized the Acropolis, his next object was to disarm the Athenians. For this purpose he summoned an assembly in the Anaceium, descending into which, he addressed the people in so low a tone of voice, that in order to hear him they were obliged to crowd about him at the Propylæum of

¹ Βαβαί ὡς πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἀνοδος ὠθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς ὡς ἤκουσαν μόνον· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι· καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους· ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακτεῖον προθέμενοι κλίμακας, ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν, νῆ Δία καὶ βοτρυνδὸν, ἐσμοῦ δίκην, ἵνα καὶ καθ' Ὀμηρον εἶπω, ἀλλὰ κάκειθεν εὖ μάλα πολλοὶ, κἀν-τεῦθεν Μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθηα γίνεται ἦρι. Lucian. Piscator, 42.

² Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὅπλα βουλόμενος παρελίσθαι, παρήγγειλεν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνακτεῖον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων· οἱ μὲν ἦκον· ὁ δὲ προῆλθε δημογορησάμενος καὶ μικρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν ἤρχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐξακούειν μὴ δυνάμενοι, προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίωσαν εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα πάντες ἐξακούσειαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἡσυχῇ διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ ἐντείναντες τὰς ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθόντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀράμενοι κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου. Polyæn. Strateg. 1, 21.

the temple. While thus employed, their arms were seized upon by the adherents of Peisistratus, and conveyed into the Agrauium. From this transaction it further appears that there was a descent from the Acropolis, through the Agrauium, into the Anaceium.

These two sanctuaries formed probably, in a military sense, an outwork to the Acropolis, communicating with the interior of the fortress, through the caverns. The strength of the Anaceium is shown by a circumstance, which occurred in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, when it was occupied by the Hoplitæ of Theramenes, in consequence of which the Four Hundred were obliged to propose a change of government¹. Probably, therefore, it was one of those securely closed places (βεβαίως κλειστά) forming an exception to those which the population of Attica were permitted to occupy in the first year of the war².

Near to the Agrauium was the Prytaneium, Prytaneium. situated upon ground comparatively elevated; for Pausanias, proceeding from thence to the temple of Sarapis, descends to the lower parts of the city (ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως.) From the Prytaneium commenced a street called Tripodes, which led to the sacred inclosure of Bacchus, near the theatre³. These data, as will be more clearly seen hereafter, are not easily reconcilable with any position, except the north-eastern angle of the Acropolis.

¹ Thucyd. 8, 93.

² *ibid.* 2, 17.

³ Pausan. Attic. 20, 1. See above, p. 136.

Not far below this position are the vestiges of a large building at the church of Panaghía Vlastikí, or Vlastarú¹.

¹ In the former edition of this work, I had supposed this church to occupy the site of the Sarapium; but an objection to this hypothesis occurs in the fact that it is not in the way to the lower part of the city and to the Ilissus, as the narrative of Pausanias requires. A different suggestion is now offered, both as to the Sarapium and the Panellenium; see above, p. 261, and in the next Section. Recent excavations (1835) in building a new house adjacent to the church, discovered some massive foundations, possibly those of the Prytaneium, which doubtless was an extensive building.

SECTION VI.

Third Part of the Route of Pausanias, from the Prytaneium to the Stadium.

THE peculiarity most remarkable in the Arch of Hadrian, or Gate of Hadrianopolis, is its oblique position with respect to the Peribolus of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which faced the east, whereas the two faces of the gate are nearly opposite to the N.W and S.E. Arch of Hadrian.

One of two inferences may be drawn from this circumstance: either that it was thus placed because the main street leading from the Agora or centre of the Theseian city to Hadrianopolis, was at right angles to the direction of the gate, or that the gate was so placed, as being part of a wall which separated these two divisions of the Asty, or these two cities as they were called in compliment to Hadrian. Possibly both these inferences may have been the truth: for a street drawn at right angles to the gate, would exactly lead to the supposed situation of the Prytaneium below the north-eastern point of the Cecropian hill: while the gate, as well as its inscriptions, seem to indicate that there was some acknowledged line of separation between Hadria-

nopolis and the Theseian city: it was probably, however, rather a reminiscence than a reality; for as the inclosure of the Asty had been extended nearly to the Ilissus, as early or perhaps earlier, than when the walls were renewed after the Persian war, it is evident that Hadrian neither built a new city nor even enlarged the old, but only embellished one quarter of it; the title of Hadrianopolis, therefore, was merely honorary, and in this respect it agrees with the Gate itself, which having finished ends, was not intended to form part of a wall, and not having any remains or vestiges of a door, proves itself to have been no more than ornamental.

If then there was a street leading directly from the Prytaneium to the Gate of Hadrian, Pausanias probably in proceeding from the Prytaneium to the "lower parts of the city," where he describes the Olympium, followed that street. In this route he notices three objects, the temple of Sarapis, not far from which was the place of meeting of Theseus and Peirithous, and near the latter the temple of Lucina (*Εἰληθυία*). As the former of the two temples was of the time of the Ptolemies, and the latter of very ancient date, as seems evident from the remarks of Pausanias on the statues¹, the three Ionic columns, which in the time of Stuart formed part of an oil-mill, and two of which support an architrave, belonged probably to the temple of Sarapis; their style not being that of an early age, nor so late as Roman times, which accords with the introduction of the worship of Sarapis into Athens in the time of

¹ See above, p. 129.

the Ptolemies¹. These remains are situated about half way between the choragic monument of Lysicrates and the Arch of Hadrian, and stood a little to the right of a line directed from the site of the Prytaneium to the latter monument. If these be the remains of the Sarapium, no vestiges of the temple of Lucina have yet been discovered.

Not far from the Olympium, and advancing, as it *Pythium*. would seem from the succeeding part of the narrative of Pausanias, in a direction parallel to the course of the Ilissus, he describes the sanctuaries of Apollo Pythius, and of Apollo Delphinus².

Thucydides shews us that the Pythium was in the same quarter as the Olympium³, and Strabo indicates that it was near the city walls, by describing a sanctuary of Jupiter Astrapæus, as situated near the wall between the Pythium and Olympium⁴. It appears from the story of Theseus, related by Pausanias, that the Delphinium was a *ναὸς* or roofed building, and probably of considerable extent, as a court of justice was held here, named τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ⁵. Nor can it well be doubted that the Pythium was a sanctuary of the same kind, although Pausanias in

¹ These columns are one foot ten inches in diameter at the base, and sixteen feet high, are not fluted, and have an intercolumniation of three diameters and a half: the architrave is only two feet high.

² See above, p. 132.

³ Thucyd., 2, 15; see above, p. 173.

⁴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διὸς ἔστι δ' αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ γείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. Strabo, p. 404.

⁵ See above, p. 161; and below in Sect. VIII.

alluding to a statue alone, seems to intimate that the temple no longer existed.

Pausanias next describes the quarter called Κῆποι, or the Gardens, and the Gymnasia named Lyceium and Cynosarges. From the vicinity alone of these two celebrated gymnasia to the Gardens, we might presume that they were situated in the vale of the Ilissus, and the presumption is confirmed by the mention made of their shady groves, though they were placed near heights remarked for being dry and barren. The Lyceium was particularly noted for its plane trees¹; this Gymnasium, therefore, we may presume to have been very near the river.

Cepi.

Pausanias designates Cepi, or the Gardens, as a place or district (χωρίον), and in making mention of the Peribolus containing the cavern in which the

¹ Philip, son of Demetrius, in his invasion of Attica in the year B.C. 200, encamped at Cynosarges, which was situated in a grove (templum gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumjectus), and destroyed not only these trees, but those of the Lyceium also. Liv. 31, 24.

Socrates was said to have discoursed under a plane tree in the Lyceium: ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μόνον οὐκ ἐν μέσοις Ἑλλήσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἐν συμποσίαις, ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐν ὁδῷ, ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ ἐν Λυκείῳ. Maxim. Tyr. 24 (4). In the next century, Aristotle and Theophrastus here enjoyed the shade of a plane tree, which although still young, spread over a space of twenty-three cubits: Ἦγε οὖν ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ ἡ πλατάνος ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὄχπετον ἔτι νέα οὖσα περὶ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις ἀφῆκεν. Theophr. H. Plant. 1, 11. In the Academy there was a plane, of which the roots and branches extended over a space of thirty-six cubits. Plin. H. N. 12, 1 (5). These noble trees, together with all the others in the Academy and Lyceium, were, according to Plutarch (Syll. 12), cut down by Sylla.

Arrephoræ deposited their unknown burthens, he describes it as near the temple of Venus in the Gardens, and as in the city (ἐν τῇ πόλει)¹. This seems very decisive in indicating Cepi as the name of one of the quarters within the walls, this testimony being of far more weight than that of Pliny, whose "extra muros" may have been merely an inference of his own mind from the name κῆποι². There is reason, therefore, to believe that although this quarter may have really consisted of gardens before the enlargement of the Astic inclosure, in the same manner as Limnæ may once have been a marsh, a portion at least of those gardens was included within the enlarged inclosure, which was made by Themistocles. We may easily imagine that the gardens originally occupied all that lowest ground along the right bank of the Ilissus, which is about two hundred yards in breadth, but that the new walls following a direction parallel to the river, may have included a part of them within the city, leaving, however, sufficient space on the outside for that περίπατος ἔξω τείχους, or walk along the exterior of the walls, which is mentioned by Plato, and which had breadth enough, at least in the part to the northward of the Stadium, for verdure intermixed with the agnus castus, and doubtless with some others of the torrent-loving shrubs of Greece,

¹ See above, p. 156.

² Alcamenen Atheniensem docuit (Phidias) in primis nobilem, cujus sunt opera Athenis complura in ædibus sacris, præclaraque Venus extra muros, quæ appellatur Aphrodite ἐν κήποις. Huic summam manum ipse Phidias imposuisse dicitur. Plin. Nat. Hist. 36, 5 (4, § 3).

as well as with large plane trees, amidst which were temples and sanctuaries containing statues¹. Some remains of the town walls observed by Stuart and Fauvel, near the north-eastern angle of the city at a distance of about two hundred yards from the Ilissus, enable us to judge with tolerable accuracy of the breadth of this favourite place of recreation of the Athenians.

The "ambulatio extra muros" was continued by Callirhoe or Enneacrunus to the southern side of the city, as appears from the Platonic dialogue named Axiochus², as well as from traces of the ancient wall near Enneacrunus, though it is equally evident from those remains, that the space between the wall and the Ilissus in this part was not so great as that towards the Lyceium described by Plato.

Cynosar-
ges.

Cynosarges was a sanctuary and Gymnasium, deriving its name from an accident which occurred when Diomus, an Athenian, was sacrificing to Hercules³. From Diomus the demus which comprehended Cynosarges, was named οἱ Διομεεῖς or Διομεῖοι⁴, and the Διομεῖαι πύλαι, was a gate of the city near Cynosarges⁵.

¹ See the Phædrus of Plato; Pausan. Attic. 19, 6, and above, p. 135.

² This dialogue, although it may be no more than an imitation of Plato, is almost equally valid as a topographical document.

³ See above, p. 133.

⁴ Hesych. in Κυνόσαργες. Aristoph. Ran. 664. et schol. Stephan. in Διόμεια, Κυνόσαργες. Suid. in Διόμεια. Hesych. in Διομεῖς. Athen. 14, 1 (3). Hypereides ap. Harpocr. in ἐν Διομεῖοις Ἡράκλειον. Hesych. in Δημῖαι. According to the Athenian mythology, Hercules, when he arrived at Athens, was the guest of Colyttus, the father of Diomus.

⁵ ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει τῷ γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῶν πυλῶν.

We find moreover, that Cynosarges was near a rising ground¹, a circumstance which leads at once to the belief that it was situated at the foot of the south-eastern extremity of Mount Lycabettus, near the point where the arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus formerly stood. This position perfectly accords with that which was taken by the Athenian army after the victory of Marathon, when, hearing of the sailing of the Persian fleet from the Marathonian bay to the road of Phalerum, they marched in all haste to the defence of the city, moving from the Heracleium of Marathon to the Heracleium of Cynosarges². The place was peculiarly convenient to them from its proximity to the city, from its safety, as being in the rear of the walls, and from its having commanded a distant view of the road of Phalerum. The same situation illustrates the walk of Socrates, in the Axiochus. He is described as having issued from the city not far from Callirhoe, with the intention of proceeding along the Ilissus to Cynosarges, as turning in the opposite direction at the request of a friend, and as re-entering the city at the Itonian gate, which, there is good reason to believe, was the gate leading to Phalerum³.

The situation of Cynosarges near the heights, gives reason for believing that there was a small interval between it and the walls; and such appears to

Diogen. Laërt. 6, 13. Κυνόσαργες τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλείους. Plutarch. Themist. 1.

¹ (Ἰσοκράτης) ἐτάφη δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίον Κυνοσάργους ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocr.

² Herodot. 6, 116.

³ See below in Section X.

have been the case from the words of Diogenes Laërtius, *μικρὸν ἀπὸθεν τῶν πυλῶν*¹. Accordingly we find in the *Lysis* of Plato, that Socrates is represented as walking along the outside of the northern walls, from the Academy to the Lyceum², without any mention being made of Cynosarges.

Lyceium.

The Lyceium was a sacred inclosure of Apollo Lycius³, in which there was a statue of the god, represented in an attitude of repose, leaning against a column, with a bow in the left hand, and the right resting upon his head⁴. Having been embellished with buildings, plantations, and fountains, by Peisistratus, Pericles, and Lycurgus son of Lycophron, it became an ordinary place of assembly for military exercises, as well as the principal gymnasium for the corporeal education of the Athenians⁵. It was also one of the most favourite places of resort for philosophical study and conversation, and thus became the school of Aristotle, whose followers were called Peripatetics from their custom of walking in the grove of the Lyceium⁶.

The position of this celebrated place may be very accurately determined when we have fixed some others in the same neighbourhood.

In the year 1676, Spon and Wheler observed about

¹ See above, p. 276, n. 5.

² Plato *Lys.* 1. See below, p. 281, n. 2.

³ Pausan. *Attic.* 19, 4. See above, p. 134.

⁴ Lucian. *Gymnas.* 7.

⁵ See above, p. 134, n. 2.

⁶ Qui erant cum Aristotele Peripatetici dicti sunt, quia disputabant inambulantes in Lyceo. Cicero, *Acad. Quæst.* 1, 4.

fifty yards above the bridge of the Stadium, on the right bank of the Ilissus, the foundations of a circular temple which had recently been brought to light by an inundation¹, but which had again disappeared in the time of Stuart. This was probably the temple of the Musæ Ilissiaides²; for that of Boreas, which stood on the same bank of the Ilissus, is described by Plato as having been opposite to the temple of Diana Agrotera³, which Spon and Wheler, as well as Stuart and Chandler, seem to have justly identified with the church of Stavroménos Petros, having recognised that church as founded on the site of an ancient building. But this is between two and three hundred yards above the position of the round temple seen by Spon and Wheler.

The fountain, described in the Phædrus of Plato as situated two or three stades above the sanctuary of

¹ Spon, II. p. 126. Wheler, p. 378.

² Pausanias mentions only a βωμός, or altar of the Muses, but this is not inconsistent with the prior existence of a temple: we have seen that he notices only an ἄγαλμα of Apollo Pythius, though there was certainly at one time a temple of that deity. Herodotus (7, 189) speaks of an Ἰρὸν of Boreas: Plato, in the Phædrus, only of a βωμός, though he frequently in that dialogue alludes to the Muses as local deities on this bank of the Ilissus.

³ ΦΑΙ. Ὁρᾷς σὺν ἐκείνῃ τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον; ΣΩ. Τί μήν; ΦΑΙ. Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον καὶ πῶς καθίζεσθαι ἢ εἰν βουλώμεθα, κατακλιθῆναι. ΣΩ. Προάγοις ἄν. ΦΑΙ. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἐνθένδε μέντοι πόθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ λέγεται ὁ Βορέας τὴν Ὠρεῖθυιαν ἀρπάσαι; . . . ΣΩ. Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ κάτωθεν ὅσον δύο ἢ τρία στάδια, ἢ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀγραίας διαβαίνομεν καὶ πού τις ἐστὶ βωμός αὐτόθι Βορέου . . . ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή, τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον . . . ἢ τε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος. Plato, Phædr. 6.

Boreas, is stated by Strabo to have been near the Lyceium on the outside of the city-gate Diocharis¹. The Lyceium, therefore, was about five hundred yards above the church of St. Peter: and the relative situations of this gymnasium, as well as of the temples of Boreas and of the Muses, of the temple of Diana Agrotera and of the Stadium, seem thus perfectly to accord with the order in which these places are named in the narrative of Pausanias².

Gate Dio-
charis.

A little to the westward of the situation of the Lyceium we may place that of the gate Diocharis, which appears, from the assumed situations of Cynosarges and Lyceium, compared with the course of the Ilissus, to have been at the eastern extremity of the city³: and we have thus, with a great approach to certainty, the extent of the Asty in this direction.

Fountain
and Gate
of Panops.

In the Lysis, Plato introduces Socrates as arriving, in his way from the Academy to the Lyceium along the outside of the city walls, at a small gate (πυλὶς),

¹ ὁ Ἰλισσὸς , ῥέων ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν καὶ τῆς πηγῆς, ἣν ὕμνηκεν ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων. Strabo, p. 400.

Εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ποτίμων ὕδατος, ὡς φασὶν, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοσχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου· πρότερον δὲ καὶ κρήνη κατέσκευαστό τις πλησίον πολλοῦ καὶ καλοῦ ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν, τί ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ πάλαι πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν, ὥστε καὶ πότιμον εἶναι, μετέβαλε δὲ ὕστερον; Strabo, p. 397.

² See above, p. 134. 135. 136.

³ A handsome road led from the gate Diocharis to the Lyceium. When the Thirty had retired to Eleusis in the year B.C. 403, the Ten who succeeded them in the government, expecting that the Thrasylbulians would attack the city-wall, κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, encumbered it with large stones for the purpose of impeding them. Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4, § 27.

and a fountain, which had received its name from Panops, an Attic hero, to whom there was a temple and statue in the same place¹, and near them a palæstra lately built². This gate at the fountain of Panops seems to have been the last towards the Lyceium in coming from the Academy along the northern side of the city. It stood, therefore, between the Diomeian gate and the Diocharis.

The Panathenaic Stadium appears to have divided the suburb of Agræ into two parts, of which the upper, or north-eastern, was sacred to Diana, and the lower to Ceres. The situations of the temples of those two deities have already been noticed. To this division of the suburb probably we may attribute the plural form Agræ. The two Agræ seem to have formed, like upper and lower Lamptra, two districts belonging to the same demus, Agryle³, which may have comprehended a considerable tract, beyond this sacred suburb, towards Mount Hymettus. In fact, an exten-

¹ Πάνωψ ἥρως Ἀττικός· ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὼς καὶ ἄγαλμα καὶ κρήνη. Hesych. in Πάνωψ.

² Ἐπορευόμενῃ μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺς Λυκείου τὴν ἔξω τείχους ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγενόμην κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἣ ἡ Πάνοπος κρήνη, ἐνταῦθα συνέντυχον Ἴπποβάλει . . . δείξας μοι ἐν τῷ κατασκευῇ τοῦ τείχους περίβολόν τε τινὰ καὶ θύραν ἀνεφγμένην (ἐστὶ) παλαιόστρα (ἔφη) νεωστὶ ᾠκοδομημένη. Plato, Lys. 1.

³ Ἀρδηττος τόπος Ἀθήνησι ὑπὲρ τὸ στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκὸν πρὸς τῇ δῆμῳ τῇ ὑπένερθεν Ἀργυλέων (i. Ἀγρυλέων, which is invariably the orthography in Attic monuments). Harpocr. in v. ὁ δὲ Ἀρδηττος τοῦ Εἰλισσοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ πλησίον, J. Poll. 8 (122). τόπος περὶ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ σταδίου. Hesych. in Ἀρδηττους.

Ardettus was noted only for being the place where the Athenians, in full meeting, took the Dicastic or Heliastic oath before Apollo Patrous, Jupiter Basileus, and Ceres. By this oath they

sive circuit of walls is traced on the heights between Agræ and the steeps of Hymettus, which may be ruins of the defences of Agryle. The utility of a fortification in this spot, which commanded the entrance into the plain between Hymettus and the city, is obvious; and we find, accordingly, that there was another fortress between the Ilissus and Mount Hymettus, two or three miles further to the north. These positions commanded not only the pass, but the chief sources of the Ilissus. It appears, from a fragment of the Athenian antiquary Cleidemus, that the high ground of Agra was formerly called Helicon, and that upon it stood an altar of Neptune Heliconius¹, a testimony of the ancient Ionic connexion between the Athenians and Achaïans, who worshipped Neptune Heliconius at Helice.

The Ilissus, according to Pausanias, was composed of two branches, one of which was named Eridanus². It was probably the stream, which, rising from a

bound themselves to judge by the written law when any existed, otherwise with equity (*σὺν γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ*), but this custom was already obsolete in the time of Theophrastus. Harpocr. in *Ἀρδηττος*. Lex. in v. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 443. Suid. in *Ἀρδήτης*.

¹ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τὰ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ πρὸς Ἀγρὰν Εἰληθνῖα· τῷ δ' ὄχθῃ πάλαι ὄνομα τοῦτο, ὃς νῦν Ἀγρὰ καλεῖται, Ἑλικῶν· καὶ ἡ ἐσχάρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου ἐπ' ἄκρον. Cleidemus primo Atthidis, in v. Ἀγραι, ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 326.

εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Μητρώων τὸ ἐν Ἀγραις. Cleidem. quarto Atthidis, *ibid*.

The former words of Cleidemus seem to allude to the situation of the temple of Diana in upper Agra: Metroum may perhaps have been a name applied sometimes to the temple of Ceres, who was often identified with Cybele, or the Earth.

² See above, p. 134.

copious source a little above Syriáni on the face of Hymettus, to the east of Athens, joins the other branch near the site of the Lyceium. Its source, the καθαρόν γάνος Ἡριδανοῖο of an ancient poet, was probably the same as that called Callia at Pera, where stood a temple of Venus¹, and which by no means deserves the contemptuous remark of Callimachus or Strabo², applicable only to the torrent in the drought of summer. The longer branch of the Ilissus rises at the northern extremity of Hymettus, and receives a contribution from Pentelicum, from whence it proceeds through the vale of Ambelókipo, in a direction which is nearly that of the united river.

¹ Suid., Phot. Lex., in Κυλλοῦ Πήρα. Cratinus, *ibid.*

² Οἶον ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ Καλλιμαχος γελᾶν φησιν, εἰ τις θαρρεί γράφειν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρθένους

. . . ἀφύσσασθαι καθαρόν γάνος Ἡριδανοῖο,
οὐ καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπόσχοιτ' αὖν.

Strabo, p. 397.

SECTION VII.

Fourth Part of the Route of Pausanias :—From the Prytaneium to the Propylæa of the Acropolis.

Tripodes. BESIDES the street leading from the Prytaneium to the Olympieum, there was another which branched from the same place towards the Lenæum or sacred inclosure of Bacchus, adjacent to the theatre. This street as well as the quarter through which it passed was called Tripodes, from the tripods there dedicated by the leaders of the Chori, who had been victorious in the scenic contests of the Dionysiac theatre. Some of these tripods were placed upon small temples dedicated to Bacchus and other deities, some of which temples were in the street, and others within the Dionysiac sanctuary, which included the theatre. Two of these temples still exist ; one of them is the cavern, now the church of Panaghía Spiliótissa, which supported the tripod of Thrasyllus, and contained within it the figures of Apollo and Diana destroying the children of Niobe : the other is the building vulgarly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, which an inscription on its architrave shows to have been

erected by a victorious choragus named Lysicrates: Monument
of Lysi-
crates. the apex of this monument proves beyond a doubt that it once supported a tripod, and the whole accords exactly with the words *ναὸς ὑποκείμενος τῷ τρίποδι*, which are applied by Plutarch to a monument erected by Nicias in the Lenæum¹. It seems evident, therefore, that this was one of the temples in the quarter of Tripodes, and that upon the summit of it there stood a large tripod, and probably a statue within it².

It may be thought, perhaps, that the circumstance of this building having been entirely closed is incompatible with the supposition of its having been a *ναὸς*

¹ Εἰσθίκει δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβλητός· καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νέως· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγίας. Plut. Nic. 3.

² The three legs of the tripod formed an equilateral triangle of three feet the side. The whole height of the monument was thirty-four feet, of which the square basis was fourteen feet, the body of the building to the summit of the columns twelve feet, and the entablature, together with the cupola and apex, eight feet. The cylinder was formed of six curved slabs of marble, the vertical junctures of which were covered with fluted Corinthian columns one foot two inches in diameter, projecting from the outside of the cylinder rather more than the semidiameter. The capitals of the columns were completed within the cylinder, but not in the same finished manner as without. The wall was surmounted with a frieze of tripods, of the same height as the capitals of the columns, two between each capital. These tripods give an additional proof of the intention of the monument. The slabs within the cylinder were polished, although there was no access into it, as the basis was solid, with the exception of a small rough hollow in the centre. For the details of this curious and elegant structure, see Stuart Ant. of Ath. I. 4.

or temple. In so small a building, however, (only six feet in diameter within,) it was natural that the artist or the victorious choragus, should in preference have bestowed all the expense on external decoration, there having been no alternative but that of leaving the columns open for the display of a statue, in a manner which seems to have been common among the Romans. To the interior of the monument of Lysicrates, on the contrary, there was no access, and it may therefore be described as a *ψευδοναός*, although it was equally sacred to the deity chiefly worshipped in this quarter, as we find clearly indicated by the frieze, representing in relief the destruction or transformation of the Tyrrhenian pirates by Bacchus and his dæmons¹. The inscription on the architrave states only that Lysicrates son of Lysitheides led the chorus when the boys of the tribe Acamantis were victorious, when Theon played the flute, when Lysiades wrote the piece, and when Evænetus was archon², that is to say, in the same year in

¹ *δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἄκρατος* (Pausan. Attic. 2, 4). The destruction of the Tyrrhenian pirates by Bacchus was a favourite subject among the painters and sculptors of Athens, like the labours of Hercules and Theseus, the battle of Marathon, and the contest of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. Philostratus (Icon. 1, 19) describes a picture, in which the transformation of the pirates was represented, as on the monument of Lysicrates.

² *Λυσικράτης Λυσιθείδου Κικυννεὺς ἐχορήγει, Ἀκαμαντὶς παιδῶν ἐνίκᾳ, Θέων ἡῦλει, Λυσιάδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδασκε, Εὐαίνετος ἥρχε.*

The dedication of the tripod was made at the expense of the choragus or leader of the chorus (sometimes represented by the whole tribe, or even by the people of Athens). The orator Lysias (in defens. largit. p. 698, Reiske) informs us that the expenses of providing a chorus of men, and of consecrating a tripod, were five

which Alexander the great passed over into Asia (B.C. 335—4).

As the temple could not have had any statue within it, we may be the more assured that it was one of those monuments, which had images within the tripod, and it may therefore have been either that which contained the satyr of Praxiteles, or that which was the work of Thymilus, representing Cupid and Bacchus, with a young satyr presenting a cup to the latter deity ¹.

We have already seen that the Lenæum, which Lenæum. contained two temples of Bacchus, was contiguous to the theatre, which was itself within the sacred inclosure ²: and we learn from Vitruvius that it served as a place of shelter to the people, whenever a sudden fall of rain interrupted the scenic representations of the theatre ³. The only situation in

thousand drachmæ; but those of Lysicrates were probably much greater. Many remains of choragic monuments are still found at Athens, chiefly of the fifth, fourth, and third centuries, B.C. See Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 211 et seq. 217, 221 et seq. The same form of inscription is found upon all these monuments; that of the monument of Thrasyllus, erected B.C. 320, differs not from those upon the choragic dedications of Aristides and Themistocles, about 485 B.C., as reported by Plutarch (Arist. 1. Themist. 5.) though of course in all those, prior to the archonship of Eucleides (B.C. 403—2) the four Ionic letters, which were then added in public documents, to the old Attic alphabet, are not found.

¹ See above, p. 137.

² See above, p. 137, 185.

³ Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti cum imbres ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus quo se recipiat ex theatro, choragique laxamentum habeant ad chorum parandum: uti sunt porticus Pompeianæ, itemque Athenis porticus Eumenia, patrisque Liberi fanum. et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte Odeium, quod Athenis Pericles (*al.* Themistocles) columnis lapideis dis-

which the Lenæum can be placed, is immediately below the theatre to the south: 1, Because it occupied a part of the district called *Λίμναι*, or the marshes, which we cannot suppose to have been situated in any but the lowest part of the city. 2, Because it was not to the eastward or to the westward of the theatre: for on the eastern side or to the left of those going out of the theatre, stood the Odeium of Pericles, and in proceeding westward from the theatre towards the Propylæa of the Acropolis, Pausanias makes no mention of any building or monument, until he arrives at the tomb of Talos. We may infer, moreover, from Vitruvius, that on the western side of the lower part of the theatre, on a line with the scene, stood the portico of Eumenes¹.

Stoa of
Eumenes.

Pausanias does not inform us whether the street

posuit, naviumque malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis pertexuit. Idem autem incensum Mithridatico bello rex Ariobarzanes restituit.—Vitruv. 5, 9.

On the doubtful name see Schneider in his edition, III. p. 363. There can be no question that Pericles built this Odeium, though the use of the Persian spoils would be better suited to Themistocles. But whichever may have been the name written by Vitruvius, he seems to have adopted a vulgar error as to the roof, which could hardly have been constructed of Persian timber, as it was not raised until about forty years after the battle.

¹ This building seems to have been one of those benefactions of foreign potentates, of which there were many examples among the public constructions of Athens (see above, p. 24). It was built probably at the expense of Eumenes II. who succeeded to the throne of Pergamus, two years after the visit to Athens of his father Attalus, whose name was attached to one of the Athenian tribes. Eumenes was noted for his liberality and his protection of arts and letters.

of Tripodes conducted to the Lenæum, or to the Dionysiac Theatre, to the temples or to the theatre of Bacchus. More probably to the former: for his words leave little question that such monuments as that of Lysicrates stood in the ὁδὸς, or street of Tripodes, in which case the street passed along the eastern side of that monument, the inscription being on that side of it. Now, although a street from the Prytaneium could not have formed a direct line either to the Lenæum, or to the Dionysiac Theatre, its curve or angular bendings would have been much less indirect to the former position than to the latter; especially if we imagine the Lenæum, which was a very extensive enclosure¹, to have included a portion of the ground to the eastward of that which was immediately below the Theatre, and that the street of Tripodes entered the enclosure towards its eastern extremity. At the same time it is not impossible that there was another street which furnished a shorter access to the Theatre, from the parts about the Prytaneium, leading along the foot of the Acropolis, and entering the Theatre at that diazoma or corridor of separation between the upper and lower division of the seats, which is seen in the ancient coin of Athens already referred to², and of the entrance into which diazoma there are still some traces on the north-eastern side of the Theatre.

We have already seen from Vitruvius, that the Odeium of Pericles, a theatre remarkable for its pointed roof and its numerous seats and columns, was adjacent to the Dionysiac theatre on the eastern side. Pausanias in placing this Odeium near the

Street of
Tripodes.

Odeium of
Pericles.

¹ See above, page 137, n. 2.

² See plate 1, fig. 2.

temple, as well as near the theatre of Bacchus, concurs with Vitruvius¹ in showing its position to have been to the eastward of the theatre, on a level with the lower part of that building; leaving, probably, a passage above it into the upper diazoma of the theatre, while the street of the Tripods, in which stood the monument of Lysicrates, passed to the eastward of it into the Lenæum. The Odeium thus situated was sufficiently near to the rocks of the Acropolis to justify the fears entertained by Aristion (during the siege of Athens by Sylla), lest the enemy should make use of its timber for assaulting the Acropolis².

If this Odeium was, as well as the Theatre, within the Dionysiac peribolus, as seems highly probable from its destination and proximity, it will follow that this great inclosure extended considerably to the eastward of the Theatre. Possibly the street of the Tripods, having passed along the eastern side of the monument of Lysicrates, terminated in that propylæum of Dionysus, which is shown by Andocides to have been in sight, and at no great distance from the Odeium, and from an ὀρχήστρα which was below it³. No vestiges have yet been discovered either of the

¹ Pausan. Attic. 20, 3. See above, p. 138. Vitruv. 5, 9. p. 287, n. 3.

² See above, p. 138, n. 4.

³ εἶναι δὲ πανσέληνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τὸ Διονύσιον ἦν, ὅρῳ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ μδείου καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν· δείσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, εἰσελθὼν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν καθέζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ κίονος καὶ τῆς στήλης, ἐφ' ἧ ὁ στρατηγός ἐστιν ὁ χαλκοῦς. Andocid. de Myst. p. 19, Reiske.

This orchestra seems not to have been a part of the Odeium, but near it and perhaps within the Dionysiac inclosure, which

Odeium of Pericles, or of any of the monuments of the Lenæum. But as the choragic temple of Lysicrates proves an accumulation of eleven feet of soil at that building, and as there is every appearance of an elevation not smaller, where stood the scene of the Dionysiac theatre, it is possible, that an excavation in this place might conduct to the discovery of some remains of the Odeium, or of some of the monuments of the Lenæum, as well as of the lower parts of the theatre itself.

On the slope of the Acropolis between the Dionysiac theatre and the Odeium of Herodes, are some ruins of a succession of arches, which appear to have connected the lower part of that Odeium with the upper diazoma of the theatre. At some period of the Byzantine or of the Turkish empire, they have been made to serve, by means of modern additions, as part of the town-wall, or exterior defence of the Acropolis. As their workmanship resembles that of the Odeium, they may possibly have belonged to a portico built by Herodes, or soon after his time, for the purpose of a covered communication between the two theatres. Stoa of
Herodes.

The route of Pausanias in proceeding from the Theatre to the Acropolis, appears to have been along the upper part of the slope, which is immediately at the foot of the rocks of the Acropolis, and to have passed, if not over, at least very near a part of the hill afterwards occupied by the upper extremity of

favours the supposition, that it was a place for dancing more ancient than the theatre, and similar to the orchestra at the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. See above, p. 245, n. 4.

the Odeium of Herodes, which was not then built: from thence he passed by the temples of Æsculapius, Themis, Venus, and Tellus, to the ascent into the Acropolis¹: the principal edifice which he encountered in this route, was the Asclepieium or Asclepium, or temple of Æsculapius.

Temple of
Æscula-
pius.

This temple was remarkable for containing within its inclosure, one of the few sources of water which Athens possessed², and it is only by this indication that we can now determine in what part of the road between the Dionysiac theatre and the Propylæa, the Asclepieium stood.

From the testimony of Pausanias, who says that Enneacrunus was the only source of potable water in Athens, we may infer that the fountain of Æsculapius was one of those springs of water unfit for drinking, but suited to domestic purposes, to which Vitruvius alludes³. Although neglect and depopulation may have destroyed the numerous aqueducts of this kind of water anciently existing in Athens, and may even have obliterated some of its springs, we ought still to find its principal sources. These, it is natural to suppose, were on the side, or at the foot, of the Acropolis; for this hill seems to be the principal seat of that saline matter, which impregnated the Θάλασσα Ἐρεχθίδης, or salt well, sacred to Neptune, in the Erechtheium, and which communicates a saline taste to the wells of Athens, more or less strong in proportion to their distance from the citadel. Pausanias mentions no

¹ See above, p. 141, 142.

² Pausan. Attic. 21, 7. See above, p. 140.

³ See above, p. 177, n. 2.

more than two sources of water in Athens, besides Enneacrunus; one near the cave of Pan, the other in the temple of Æsculapius. The former named Empedo, or Clepsydra, was reputed to have had a subterraneous course from Athens to Phalerum, a fable for which it is difficult to find any foundation, the natural course of these streams being in the opposite direction: and Pliny relates the same story of the fountain of Æsculapius¹. There is every appearance therefore, that the water flowing from the fountain of Æsculapius, was a branch of the Empedo, or Clepsydra; and that the slender stream of brackish water which rises at the south-western angle of the Acropolis, and which, after pursuing a short course to the north-eastward, joins the rivulet rising near the grotto of Pan, from whence it flows towards the Agora of Augustus, is that which had its origin in the Asclepieium. As waters with mineral impregnations were often held sacred to Æsculapius, the spring may have been the original cause of the position of the Asclepieium in this spot.

This temple stood therefore between the summit of the Odeium of Herodes, and the temple of Victory a little towards the northern side of the ground which here separates the course of the waters. The situation was formerly occupied by a mosque formed out of the ruins of a church², and as

¹ *Subeunt terras rursusque redduntur Lycus in Asia, Erasius in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia; et quæ in Æsculapii fonte Athenis immersæ sunt, in Phalerico redduntur. Plin. H. N. 2, 103 (106).*

² *Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, II. p. v.*

the temples of Athens were generally converted into churches upon the establishment of Christianity, it is not improbable that this church was built upon the Asclepieium.

We have already remarked, that in the year 1676, Wheler observed on a part of the rising ground to the south of the Areiopagus, and to the west of the Propylæa, a fountain of brackish water issuing from a Turkish tchesmêh, in the road which leads into the modern town from the southward, across the ridge which unites the Areiopagus with the Acropolis, and that he mistook it for the fountain Enneacrunus; it was probably the spring of Æsculapius, diverted from its natural course by pipes, to supply a fountain constructed in the usual Turkish manner by the road side. About eighty years afterwards, when Stuart was the first who examined the topography of Athens with the care which the subject deserved, he did not find this fountain in the place where Wheler observed it; but in his plan he has marked the origin of the southern fountain and the course of the streamlet issuing from it, to its junction with that which rises near the grotto of Pan: whence it appears that the Turkish tchesmêh had then fallen into neglect, and that the spring of Æsculapius had reverted to its natural course.

Tomb of
Talos.

The site of the Asclepieium being fixed, it will follow that the tomb of Talos, or temple of Perdix, which Pausanias encountered in his way from the Theatre to the temple of Æsculapius, stood on the side of the Cecropian hill, between the site of that temple and the theatre of Bacchus, and (as we

may presume from the story of Calos and Perdix¹) immediately at the foot of the rocks of the Acropolis.

And here we may remark, in reference to the tomb of Talos and the Asclepieium, that these two sites are links in a chain of positions around the rocks of the Acropolis, which were occupied by some of the most revered of the monuments of Athens, in the most ancient, central, and conspicuous part of the city, and that the completion of this chain would furnish a strong presumptive evidence of the accuracy of all the sites which the preceding pages have pretended to identify. On the northern side, beginning from the west, were the sanctuary of Apollo and Pan, the Anaceium, and the Agraulium : thence proceeding to the south and west, were the Dionysiac theatre, the tomb of Talos, and the temple of Æsculapius ; the whole in agreement with Lucian, in "the Fisherman," where Parrhesiades, preparing to make his proclamation to the philosophers, alters his intention of ascending the Areiopagus, and thinks it better to mount up to the Acropolis,—obviously to its western end, this being nearest to the Areiopagus, as well as to the most frequented parts of the city. From hence he observes the philosophers advancing from the side of the Areiopagus, and climbing up at the Anaceium, Pelasgicum², Asclepieium, and tomb of Talos. It seems evidently, therefore, to have been the author's intention to enumerate the remarkable

¹ See above, p. 140, n. 5.

² The Pelasgicum was below the cave of Pan, as will be seen more fully in Section VIII.

places which surrounded the western end of the Acropolis.

Eleusi-
nium.

At the eastern end, in the middle of the precipitous rocks, which terminate the hill on that side, there is a great cavern surmounting a slope, which lies between it and the situation of the path or street, which I have imagined to have led from the Prytaneium to the upper division of the Theatre. One cannot easily conceive, that when all the other caverns around the Acropolis were sanctuaries, this, the most remarkable, should not have been among them. I am inclined therefore to believe that here was the Eleusinium¹, a hierum inferior only in sanctity to the temple of the same deities at Eleusis², and which Clemens of Alexandria and Arnobius describe as situated below the Acropolis, but concerning which we have unfortunately no other direct testimony, in consequence of the religious silence of Pausanias, as to every thing connected with the mysteries. Future discoveries may perhaps decide this, among other doubtful questions in the Topography of Athens. At present we may be satisfied

¹ In the former edition of this work, I had supposed the words of Pausanias (Attic. 14, 2, see above, p. 119,) decisive in showing that the Eleusinium was near Enneacrunus; but I must now admit that, considering the peculiarity of the style of Pausanias, and the abruptness of his transitions, no such inference can be safely drawn from those words: on the contrary, if, as there is good reason to believe, the temple of Ceres and Proserpine in Agræ was not the principal Athenian temple of those deities, or that commonly called the Eleusinium, it is more probable that the latter was in a different part of Athens.

² Andocid. de Myst. p. 55. 57. 65. Reiske. Lys. c. Andocid. p. 196. 255. Plutarch de Exil. 17.

with finding that there is nothing in this situation adverse to the testimony of other authors concerning the Eleusinium. If we suppose this sanctuary of Demeter and Core, to have occupied all the ground situated immediately at the foot of the eastern extremity of the Acropolis, the great cavern being perhaps the adytum of the temple, as we find exemplified in other Athenian sanctuaries of remote origin, the hypothesis will perfectly accord with the importance and magnitude of the Eleusinium; for we find that this temple was inclosed within a peribolus, which contained besides the cella reserved for the mysteries, some dedications requiring considerable space, such as the sepulchre of Immaradus¹, and a large equestrian statue of Simon by Demetrius².

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Eleusinium was strongly inclosed, and it was on this account excepted, together with the Acropolis and some other place or places similarly protected, from those uninhabited parts of the city, which the people of Attica were allowed to occupy on that occasion³.

¹ Τί δαι Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται; Ἴμμαραδος δὲ ὁ Εὐμόλπου καὶ Δασείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου, τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει;—Clem. in Protrept. p. 13, Sylburg. Daciras et Immaradus fratres (conditi sunt) in Eleusinio conseperto, quod civitati subjectum est. Arnob. adv. Gent. 6. p. 193, Maire.

² Simon had preceded Xenophon as a writer on horsemanship, and his precepts were explained by figures on the basis of the statue; Xenoph. de Re Eq. in procem. Hierocl. Hippiat. in procem. Plin. H. N. 34, 8. (19. § 15.)

³ Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλειστόν ἦν. Thucyd. 2, 15.

The conjecture has already been offered, that the Agraulium was one of the inclosed sanctuaries alluded to by Thucydides, and that the caverns of Agraulus and Herse furnished an access from the Agraulium to the platform of the citadel¹, which might be convenient both to the hierarchy and to the military government. Probably the great cavern at the eastern end of the Acropolis, and the enclosure of the Eleusinium in front of it, constituted an out-work of the same kind. The greater distance of this position, from Enneacrunus than that of any of the other sanctuaries in this quarter, may be the reason why Thucydides has not named the Eleusinium, though he has probably alluded to it in the words *ἀλλὰ ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα ταύτη*²: it was not so distant, however, from the fountain, that there would have been any inconvenience in its having been supplied with water from thence for sacred purposes.

And this situation of the Eleusinium would sufficiently explain the course of the quadrennial procession of the great Panathenæa, when it was the custom to display the peplos of Minerva as a sail upon a chariot, formed like a ship, which filled with sacerdotal persons of both sexes splendidly decorated, and of noble families (Eupatridæ), was conveyed through the city, accompanied by a chorus of citizens chanting hymns. The ship entered the city at Dipylum, proceeded through the Cerameicus and Agora to the Eleusinium, made the circuit of

¹ See above, p. 266. 269. The cave of Pan also, if we may judge from the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, (see below, p. 305, n. 1.) had an opening in or adjacent to it, which led into the Acropolis.

² See above, p. 173.

that sanctuary, and returned by the Pelasgicum to the Pythium¹. This Pythium, it seems evident, was the temple of Apollo Patrous in or near the ancient Agora², and not the Pythium near the temple of Jupiter Olympius; since Pausanias observes that the place where the ship was deposited, was near the Areiopagus, which was not far from the temple of Apollo Patrous. The Pelasgicum was a space of consecrated ground below the north eastern angle of the Acropolis, as will be shown more particularly hereafter. Placing the Eleusinium therefore at the eastern end of the Acropolis, we shall have a very natural course for the procession, of which the object appears to have been that of exhibiting the pageant through all the most frequented and illustrious parts of Athens, in making the tour of the Acropolis³. The same position of the Eleusinium explains also a part of the course recommended by Xenophon, to be followed by the Athenian horsemen on days of parade. In the third chapter of his *Hipparchicus*, he insists upon three things, as necessary to be observed by the hipparchus, or commander of the Athenian cavalry: namely, to propitiate the gods in their favour; to make the processions of the sacred festivals worthy of being seen; and to render as beautiful as possible the exercises which it was the duty of the hipparchus to exhibit to the city in the Academy, in the Lyceium, at Phalerum, and in

¹ Philost. Sophist. 2, 1. § 5. Himer. Orat. 3, 12. p. 445, Wernsdorff.

² See above, p. 113, n. 5.

³ For some further remarks on the Panathenaic ship, see Appendix XVI.



the Hippodrome. Xenophon then states how each of these things may be best performed. "The sacred processions (he observes) will be most grateful to the gods, as well as to spectators, if the hipparchus make a circuit of the Agora, beginning at the Hermæ, and visiting in their course all the temples and statues of the gods. On returning to the Hermæ, at the end of this circuit, it would then (he adds) be proper for the hipparchus to urge his horses, in divisions, at a rapid pace, as far as the Eleusinium¹."

These words have been supposed to demonstrate that the Eleusinium was in the Agora, and that it was probably the same temple of Ceres and Proserpine which Pausanias describes, soon after having entered Athens: but an opposite conclusion may also be deduced from them; that is to say, that the Eleusinium was in a part of the city distant from the Agora. When the horsemen had made the κύκλος τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, or tour of the Agora, from the Hermæ, back again to the Hermæ, Xenophon recommended the hipparchus to proceed to the Eleusinium in a new order of march, or by divisions, and at an accelerated pace. The circuit of the Agora was a slow and solemn movement, in honour of the gods, whose temples the horsemen passed, and it probably comprehended the entire circuit of the hill of Areiopagus: the quick

¹ Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶμαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι, εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστι, ταῦτα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιελαύνοιεν, τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς Ἐπειδὴν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου. Hipparch. 3. For the situation of the Hermæ, see above, p. 253.

times indicate a different purpose, and show the subsequent point of destination to have been comparatively distant. This part of the advice of Xenophon seems also to have been in the sense of another of his previous recommendations; namely, in order to exhibit the cavalry to the city, as they passed through the whole length of its most frequented quarters.

There remains to be ascertained, if possible, the position of the sanctuaries of Themis, of Venus, and of Tellus, which, according to Pausanias, occurred successively to the traveller, in ascending from the Asclepieium to the Propylæa¹. The proximity of the tomb of Hippolytus to the temple of Themis is explained by the story of Phædra and Hippolytus, according to which the death of Hippolytus was caused by the imprecations of his father Theseus, which it was the office of Themis to execute. Pausanias alludes to this circumstance, when, after noticing the position of the tomb of Hippolytus in front of the temple of Themis, he adds, that "the death of Hippolytus was said to have been caused by imprecations (*ἐκ καταρῶν*)."² The temple of Venus was equally connected with the story of Hippolytus, and hence was often called the Hippolyteium², having, according to the Athenian mythus, as developed in the tragedy of Euripides, been founded by

Temples of
Venus and
Themis.

¹ Attic. 22, 1. 2. 3. See above, p. 141.

² See above, p. 141, n. 4, 5. In the opening speech of the Hippolytus of Euripides, Venus threatens vengeance against Hippolytus for his neglect of her, and his preference of Diana, and proposes to effect it by the imprecations of his own father.

Phædra herself¹. Probably, therefore, both these temples, as well as the monument of Hippolytus, stood within one and the same sacred inclosure. The word *κίχωσαι*, which Pausanias applies to the monument, seems to imply that it was a tumulus, or at least of a pyramidal form. The situation of these structures may be very nearly determined by the fact of their having been not far from the entrance of the Acropolis at the utmost bounds of the ancient Agora eastward²; but still more exactly, if we can ascertain the situation of the temple of Tellus Curotropa and Ceres Chloë, that of Æsculapius being determined by the fountain; since it would appear, from the order of names in Pausanias, that the temple of Venus stood between the Asclepieium and the temple of Tellus and Ceres.

Temple of
Tellus and
Ceres.

Of the latter sanctuary, a part perhaps is still in existence. Between fifty and sixty feet in front of the southern wing of the Propylæa, we find a very solid Hellenic wall of regular masonry, constructed

Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν τήνδε γῆν Τροιζηνίαν
Πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόψιον
Γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθίστατο
Ἐρῶς ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἔπι
Τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρῦσθαι θεάν.

Euripid. Hippolyt. 29.

Φαίδρα διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ, τότε μὲν ἀπελθόντος, ἰδρύσατο ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης παρὰ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, ὅθεν ἦν καθορᾶν τὴν Τροιζῆνα. Diodor. 4, 62.

There may be some doubt whether Træzen is visible from the site of the temple of Venus, but it may be seen from the platform of the Acropolis, which is perhaps as much as the words of Euripides require.

¹ See above, p. 215.

of the same kind of limestone as the Cimonian wall of the Acropolis, with the western extremity of which it forms a right angle. It supported the platform of the temple of Victory without Wings, and, together with another similar wall, forming an obtuse angle with its northern end, it served as a termination to the southern defences of the Acropolis, and their connexion with those of the western entrance¹. There can be little doubt that the approach to the Propylæa from the southward, by which Pausanias conducts his reader to the Acropolis from the Lenæum, passed along this wall, or parallel to it, at no great distance, and that a little farther it joined the direct access to the Acropolis. At the foot of the wall are two doors, coeval with the wall, and conducting into a small grotto, or excavated chamber. This chamber is probably the Adytum of Ceres and Tellus: 1. Because the worship of the Earth in this place was very ancient, having, it is said, been established by Erichthonius²; and we find in the case of other sanctuaries—for example, those of the Eumenides, of Apollo, of Agraulus, and possibly of Ceres Eleusinia, that the caverns of Athens were among the most ancient places of worship. 2. Because the two doors are well appropriated to the two deities, and equally so the single subterraneous Adytum into which they led,

¹ For some further remarks on these ancient works, see Appendix XV.

² Κουροτρόφος Γῆ· ταύτῃ δὲ θῦσαι φασὶ τὸ πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδίδοντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων· καταστήσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντάς τινα θεῶν ταύτῃ προσθύνειν. Suidas in Κουροτρόφος.

for these two deities were no more than personations of the same terrene essence, Ceres having been here in her capacity of a *χθόνιος θεός*¹. The Adytum is divided into two portions of unequal depth, in each of which there was probably an altar, for we find mention made of an altar of Tellus Curotropa², and a fragment of a comedy of Eupolis alludes to the sacrifice of a ram to Ceres Chloë³. 3. The position near the right hand of the traveller, on his way from the Asclepieium, not long before he began the direct ascent to the Propylæa, accords exactly with that given to the temple of Ceres and Tellus by Pausanias, who treats of it as the last object before he arrives at the Propylæa. It was thus very conveniently placed for receiving the preparatory offerings of those who were about to sacrifice to the greater deities of the Acropolis⁴. One of the writers just cited, speaks of the temple as having been at the Acropolis

¹ V. Aristoph. Thesm. 101. et Schol. *Δημήτηρ* is indeed nothing more than *Γῆ μήτηρ*, Mother-Earth. *Οἱ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι*. Etym. M. in *Ἀλενάδα*. Chrysippus disputat Terram eam esse quæ Ceres diceretur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. 1, 15. For a description of some monumental illustrations of this subject see Appendix VI.

² Suid. l. l.

³ *Εὐχλόου Δημητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ Ἀκροπόλει. καὶ Εὐπολις Μαρικᾶ,*

*Ἄλλ' ἐθὺ Πόλεως εἶμι' θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ
κρυὸν Χλόη Δημητρι.*

Schol. in Sophoc. Colon. Œdip. 1600. The Scholiast has confounded the temple of Ceres Chloë, intended by Eupolis, with that of Ceres Euchlous, mentioned by Sophocles, which was near Colonus.

⁴ Suid. l. l.

(πρὸς τῇ Ἀκροπόλει), and another as having been in the Acropolis (ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει). Placed, indeed, as it was within a wall, which was one of the defences of the western end of the citadel, this cavern might almost be described as a part of it, though the situation accords still better with an allusion made to the temple in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, where the Athenian women being in possession of the citadel, *Lysistrata* is represented as suddenly alarmed at the approach of a man, whom, when he has arrived at the sanctuary of Ceres Chloë, Myrrhina, one of the women, distinguishes to be her husband Cinesias¹.

At the second or principal gate of a succession of modern defences on the approach to the citadel of Athens, are two inscribed marbles, still serving their original purpose of architraves: though the gate at which they are found is a modern structure, and one of the inscriptions is reversed. This latter testifies the presentation of gates to the Polis (Acropolis) by a Roman flamen, named Flavius Septimius Marcel-

Gate of
Marcel-
linus.

¹ ΛΥ. Ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ, γυναῖκες

"Ἄνδρ', ἄνδρ' ὁρῶ προσιόντα

ΓΥ. Ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐστί; ΛΥ. Παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης.

ΓΥ. Ὡ νῆ Δι' ἐστὶ δῆτα. τίς κάστίν ποτε;

ΛΥ. Ὅρατε, γινώσκει τις ὑμῶν; ΜΥΡ. Νῆ Δία

"Ἐγωγε' κάστίν οὐμὸς ἀνὴρ Κινησίας.

Aristoph. *Lysist.* 829.

Χλόη— ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιθετικῶς. Schol. in v. 835.

Immediately after this scene follows the dialogue between Cinesias and Myrrhina at the gate, where he proposes that they should retire to the grotto of Pan, and wash in the Clepsydra. There appears, therefore, to have been an access from the citadel to the cave of Pan, as well as to the Clepsydra.

linus¹; the other, which is of much earlier date, records a dedication to Demeter and Core². As it is evident that a road from the southward, forming a lateral junction with the direct access to the Propylæa, would have required a gate in an exterior inclosure of the western defences of the hill, this inscription may relate to gates which stood very near, if not exactly upon, the spot where it is now found. The dedication to Ceres and Proserpine belonged probably to some monument erected near the temple of Ceres and Tellus, and perhaps within its inclosure.

¹ Φλ. Σεπτίμιος Μαρκελλεῖνος Φλαμ(ήν) καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τοὺς πυλῶνας τῇ πόλει.

The form of the characters, as well as the names Flavius Septimius, seem to indicate the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra, as the date of this monument.

² Μνησικλῆς Ἐπικράτου Οἰναῖος, Ἀμφιγρόπηθεν, Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκαν.

SECTION VIII.

Fifth and last Part of the Description of Pausanias.— The Acropolis, Areiopagus, and Academy.

So many of the most interesting evidences of Athenian history were contained within the walls of the Cecropian fortress; and it still possesses so many of the surviving antiquities of Athens, that this division of the city must ever demand the largest share of attention from the archæologist as well as from the artist and topographer.

By the diligence of Stuart and Revett, who first gave the public a correct idea of the invaluable specimens of Grecian art, contained in the Athenian Acropolis, together with more recent operations of the same kind, which have added many important additions and amendments to the work of Stuart¹, we are at length arrived, after a gradual approximation to the truth from the middle of the seventeenth century, at a correct knowledge of those magnificent buildings which adorned the citadel of Athens; not that many curious discoveries upon the monuments of the Acropolis may not still be made; but that in

¹ Among those which have been published, may be particularly mentioned the notes to the second volume of the new edition of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* by Mr. W. Kinnard.

regard to the three great buildings, the Propylæa, Erechtheium, and Parthenon, it is probable that little remains to be done.

Nothing in ancient Greece or Italy could be compared with the Acropolis of Athens, in its combination of beauty and grandeur, surrounded as it was by temples and theatres among its rocks, and encircled by a city abounding with monuments, some of which rivalled those of the Acropolis¹.

Its platform formed one great sanctuary², partitioned only by the boundaries of the *τεμένη* or sacred portions. We cannot, therefore, admit the suggestion of Chandler, that, in addition to the temples and other monuments on the summit, there were houses divided

¹ Scarcely any Greek city besides Athens had an Acropolis, surrounded on every side by the city. Hence Aristides, the rhetorician, has fancifully compared it to the central orb, or innermost of the five concentric circles of a shield, of which the outer four were the city, Attica, Greece, and the world: *περιφανής δὲ ἄνω διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, ἥ πάλαι μὲν πόλις νῦν δὲ Ἀκρόπολις κορυφῇ παραπλησίως ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος κύκλων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐμβεβηκότων, πέμπτος εἰς ὀμφαλὸν πληροῖ διὰ πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος*· εἶπερ ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πάσης γῆς· ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος· τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πόλις· τῆς δ' αὖ πόλεως ἡ ὀμώνυμος (Panath. I. p. 99, Jebb).

The following fragment of Pindar . . . θεοὶ
πολύβατον οἶτ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θνύοντα
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθήναις
οἰχνεῖτε, (III. p. 67, Heyne,)

seems to show that the idea of the sophist was not entirely new.

² μεγαλόπετρον, ἄβατον ἀκρόπολιν, ἱερὸν τέμενος. Aristoph. Lysist. 482. ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως. Demosth. de f. leg. p. 428. Reiske. ἐν Ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνῃσιν οἱ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 21, 1.

into regular streets¹. This would not have been consonant either with the customs or the good taste of the Athenians. When the people of Attica crowded into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and religious prejudices gave way, in every possible case, to the necessities of the occasion, even then the Acropolis remained uninhabited². In order, therefore, to form a due conception of the effect of this storehouse of the arts, and to do justice to Athenian taste, we must imagine the platform of the hill cleared of every thing, but the temples and a few buildings necessary for their administration, and thus forming one vast composition of architecture and sculpture; or, to use the words of a Greek rhetorician, a single monument or dedication to the gods³.

When the Tyrrheni Pelasgi undertook to fortify the Acropolis for the Athenians, and constructed the celebrated *Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελαργικόν*⁴, they began by levelling the summit, and then built a wall around it⁵. Its precipitous rocks rendered a single inclosure sufficient in every place except at the western

¹ Travels in Greece, 11.

² Thucyd. 2, 17.

³ ἡ πόλις τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν κατεκόσμησε τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήμασι· καὶ τῷ τῆς φύσεως κάλλει τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐφάμιλλον προσέθηκεν, ὥστ' εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀντ' ἀναθήματος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντ' ἀγάλματος. Aristid. Panath. p. 149.

⁴ Callimach. ap. Sch. Aristoph. Av. 832. See Herodotus, 6, 137. Hecataeus, *ibid*.

⁵ καὶ ἡπέδιζον (Pelasgi sc.) τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν. Clidemus ap. Suid. in ἀπέδα, ἡπέδιζον. Phavorin. in ἡπέδιζον.

Myrsilus cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 1, 28) shows that the Pelasgic fortress inclosed the whole Acropolis.

extremity where alone there is an ascent by a slope, and where it appears that the Pelasgic engineers constructed an elaborate system of works, comprehending no less than nine gates. In like manner the Acro-Corinthus, which doubtless was similarly fortified, continues to the present day to be surrounded by a single wall, except at the western end, where the approach is defended by the manifold inclosures, and costly fortifications constructed by the Venetians, partly perhaps upon ancient foundations.

Although the Peisistratidæ were able to defend the Pelasgic fortress against the Spartans¹, a people unskilled in poliorcetics, it was not in a condition, about eighty years later, to oppose any great resistance to the Persian host, when all the Athenians had retired to Salamis, with the exception of those who dissented from the interpretation which Themistocles had given of the oracle², and who made a vain attempt to protect the weak points by palisades, and other works constructed of wood³. Herodotus relates, that the Persians, when they surprised the

(τοὺς Τυρρηνούς . . . τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον, τοὺτους περιβαλεῖν).

And the same may be inferred from Herodotus (5, 64,) who relates that the Peisistratidæ were blockaded by Cleomenes king of Sparta in the Pelasgic fortress (ἐν τῇ Πελασγικῇ τείχῃ). Πελασγικόν· τεῖχίον οὕτω ἐν Ἀθήναις καλούμενον, Τυρρηνῶν κτισμάτων. Hesych. in v.

¹ Herodot. 5, 65.

² Τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσκα Ζεὺς

Μῦνον ἀπόρθην τελείειν.

Ap. Herodot. 7, 141.

³ Herodot. 7, 142; 8, 52. We find in Greek history that wooden works were very commonly used in the field, as well as in fortresses, for occasional protection in moments of danger.

fortress, at the time of their first occupation of Athens, plundered the temple and set fire to the buildings of the Acropolis¹, and that, at their second visitation, they overturned every thing that remained of the walls, or houses, or temples of Athens². Little, therefore, could have subsisted after this time, of the nine-gated entrance; though a small part of the Pelasgic inclosure of the citadel seems to have existed at a much later period, when it is described as the Pelasgic or Pelargic wall³. Such is the height and solidity of the walls of the citadel of Athens, that although in great measure composed of the successive reparations of ages, they may still consist in many parts of ancient masonry, especially towards the foundations.

According to Pausanias, all the circumference of the hill was fortified by the Pelasgi except the southern side, where the wall was built by Cimon⁴. We have seen, however, from other authorities, that the Pelasgi enclosed the entire hill; the wall of Cimon, therefore, was probably no more than

¹ τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες, ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν. Herodot. 8, 53.

² ἐμπήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴκου τι ὄρθον ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχύσας. Herodot. 9, 13.

³ Τίς δ' ἂν καθεῖξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν.

Aristoph. Av. 832.

ὅτι Ἀθήνησι τὸ Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει.

Schol. ibid.

V. Hesych., Etym. M. in Πελαργικόν. This play upon Πελαργικόν alluded to the Tyrrhenian migrations, which resembled those of storks (πελαργυί). Myrsilus ap. Dionys. Ant. Roman. 1, 28. Attidis auth. ap. Strabo, p. 221.

⁴ Attic. 28, 3. See above, p. 159.

an extensive repair or reconstruction on the old foundations, in that part of the citadel where it was most wanted ; and the remark of Pausanias perhaps may be taken merely to indicate, that in his time, the southern wall was called the Cimonium, and the northern the Pelasgicum. In the middle of the northern side, the body of the work, though not modern, is evidently less ancient than the Pelasgic fortress. Entire courses of masonry are here formed of pieces of Doric columns, which were almost as large as those of the Parthenon, and there are other courses consisting of the component blocks of a Doric entablature of corresponding dimensions. These perhaps are portions of the wall, as it was rebuilt after the Persian war, when (as Thucydides informs us), the ruins of former buildings were much employed for this purpose¹, the devastations of the Persians having left an abundance of materials of this kind. Thucydides, it is true, alludes more particularly to the peribolus of the *Asty*, as having been thus hastily constructed, during the intentional delays of the embassy of Themistocles to Sparta ; but we can hardly doubt that about this time, the northern wall of the Acropolis was repaired, since it is not to be supposed that when the Cimonian or southern wall was rebuilt twelve years after the retreat of the Persians², any other

¹ δὴλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνηργασμένων ἐστὶν ἤ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον· πολλάι τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. Thucyd. 1, 93.

² Plutarch, Cim. 13. Corn. Nep. Cim. 2. Pausan. Att. 21, 4.

part of the Acropolis was more in need of reparation. If then the Pelasgic *wall* of later times was neither on the southern nor on the northern side, the north western angle near the grotto of Pan was probably its situation. In fact, the substruction of the northern wing of the Propylæa has some appearance of being a part of the old Pelasgic wall; for its direction being more westerly than that of the wall which stands upon it, we may infer that it belonged to a different and more ancient system of works¹.

The word Pelasgicum was applied not only to a part of the wall of the Acropolis, but also to a space of ground below the rocks of the Acropolis. According to an Athenian tradition, it was the place granted to the Pelasgi for their residence when they undertook to fortify the Cecropian hill, and from which they were expelled because they conspired against the Athenians². That it was an inclosed space, and not merely a wall, is proved from the oracle and the law which forbade its being inhabited or cultivated, and from its having been allotted, notwithstanding this sacred impediment, for the habitation of a part of the Attic population, when they retired into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war³. Thucydides describes it as the Pelasgicum *below* the Acropolis, as if to distinguish it from the Pelasgic wall on the summit; and

¹ Antiquities of Athens, II. p. 105, new edition.

² Pausan. Att. 28, 3. Schol. Thucyd. 2, 17. Philochorus ap. Schol. Lucian. Catapl. 1.

³ Τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ

its situation with respect to the citadel is equally marked by Lucian, who, in his dialogue "the Fisherman," represents Parrhesiades sitting upon the top of the wall of the Acropolis, and letting down his hook baited with gold and figs, to angle for philosophers in the Pelasgicum. Upon dragging one of them up, he exclaims, "so, I have caught you, my honest friend, feeding deliciously among the rocks, where you hoped to lie hid in safety¹." Its exact situation seems therefore to have been at the foot of the north-western angle of the hill, forming a sort of outwork on that side at the foot of the approach to the Propylæa. No place could have been more convenient as a residence for the engineers of the

ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε λέγον ὥς—τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἀμεινον· ὁμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξηκῆθη. Thucyd. 2, 17.

Πάρεδροι παρεφύλαττον μή τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ κείρει καὶ κατὰ πλεον ἐξορύττει καὶ τῷ Ἀρχοντι παρεδίδοσαν.

J. Poll. 8, 102.

¹ ΦΙΛ. Τί πράττειν ἀνὴρ διανοεῖται;

ΙΕΡ. Δελεάσας τὸ ἀγκιστρον ἰσχάδι καὶ χρυσίῳ, καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τειχίου, καθῆκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

ΦΙΛ. Τί ταῦτα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ποιεῖς; ἤπου τοὺς λίθους ἀλειύσειν διέγνωκας ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ;

ΠΑΡΡ. Σιώπησαν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καὶ τὴν ἀγρὴν περίμενε ἄλλ' ὦρ' ἰδοὶ τινα λάβρακα εὐμεγέθη, μᾶλλον δὲ χρύσοφρον.

ΕΛΕΓ. Οὐκ' ἀλλὰ γαλέος ἐστὶ προσέρχεται δὲ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ κεκρηνώς· ὁσφράται τοῦ χρυσοῦ—πλησίον ἤδη ἐστίν—ἐψαυσεν—εἰληπται—ἀνασπάσωμεν.

ΠΑΡΡ. Καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ἐλεγγε, νῦν ξυνεπιλαβοῦ τῆς ὁρμῆς—ἄνω ἐστὶ—φέρ' ἴδω τίς εἶ, ὦ βέλτιστε ἰχθύων; κύων οὐτός γε, Ἡράκλεις, τῶν ὀδόντων—τί τοῦτο, ὦ γενναϊότατε; εἰληψαὶ λιχνέων περὶ τὰς πέτρας, ἐνθα λήσειν ἡλπισας ὑποδεδυκώς, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔσθ' φανερός ἀπασιν, &c. Lucian. Piscator. 47.

Pelasgic fortress, and we may observe that the Pelasgicum, thus situated, completes the chain of positions around the western end of the Acropolis, which Lucian, as before observed, seems to have intended to enumerate in another part of the same dialogue¹. Probably, therefore, the Pelasgic wall and the Pelasgic inclosure were contiguous, the one above the other².

The western end of the Acropolis, which furnished the only access to the summit of the hill, was one hundred and sixty-eight feet in breadth, an opening so narrow, that it appeared practicable to the artists of Pericles to fill up the space with a single building, which should serve the purpose of a gateway to the citadel, as well as of a suitable entrance to that glorious display of architecture and sculpture which was within the inclosure³. This work, the greatest production of civil architecture in Athens, which rivalled the Parthenon in felicity of execution, surpassed it in boldness and originality

¹ See above, p. 267.

² In another dialogue (Bis Accus. 9), Lucian, according to the present reading, represents Pan as residing a little below the Pelasgicum (τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος, οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ), but several considerations induce the belief that the second ὑπὸ in this place is an error for ἐνερ:—1. It is not likely that the author having described the cavern as below the Acropolis, should have repeated the same idea by means of a synonym. 2. It is scarcely conceivable that he should have intended a different Pelasgicum from that alluded to in the "Fisherman." 3. Τὸ Πελασγικὸν is employed by Thucydides, Philostratus, and other authors, not for the Pelasgic wall, but for the Pelasgic inclosure. 4. ὑπὸ requires the third or fourth case of the noun, not the second.

³ Alluded to in the following lines of Aristophanes, written

of design, and was often mentioned as if conferring equal glory upon its founder¹, was begun in the archonship of Euthymenes in the year before Christ 437, under the direction of the architect Mnesicles, who completed it in five years.

It may be defined as a wall pierced with five doors, before which on both sides were Doric hexastyle porticoes. Of these, the western formed a deep vestibule, which had a roof supported by a double row of three Ionic columns, and two unequal projecting wings, each of which was fronted with three Doric columns of smaller dimensions, and communicated with the adjoining angle of the great vestibule.

Of the five doors, the central, equal in breadth to the space between the two central columns of the Doric portico in front, as well as to the space between the two rows of Ionic columns in the vestibule,

when the great works of Pericles were in all the freshness of youth.

Ὀψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἦδη τῶν Προπυλαίων.

Ἄλλ' ὁλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαιαῖσιν Ἀθήναις,

Καὶ θανμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμοις. Ἴν' ὁ κλεῖνος Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.

Eq. 1326.

¹ Περικλεῖ μὲν Προπύλαια πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ἤρκει καὶ Παρθενῶν. Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. 2, 5. See the same words in Himerius ap. Phot. Myriobibl. p. 1139.

οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια, καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερὰ κοσμήσαντες, &c. Demosth. c. Androt. p. 597, ed. Reiske.

We may cite also the favourite Προπύλαια ταῦτα of the same orator, pointing from the Pnyx to the Propylæa, and the assertion of Æschines (de f. legat. p. 279, Reiske), that Epaminondas once declared to the assembled Thebans, that the Propylæa of Athens ought to be removed to the entrance of the Cadmeia of Thebes.

might serve for the admission of carriages and horsemen: the doors on either side of the central door were of a diminished height and breadth, and the two beyond these were still smaller in both dimensions.

The doors and the eastern portico of the Propylæa were raised about thirty-five feet above that part of the Agora where stood the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. This height was attained (at least, in part, for the lower part of the ascent still remains to be excavated) by steps of the entire breadth of the great portico, having an inclined plane up the middle for the use of cars and horses, and terminating in a platform from which there was an ascent of four or five steps to the main portico, as well as laterally, into the wings; at the end of the western Propylæum there was an ascent of five steps to the doors.

The wings of the Propylæa presented in front a wall adorned only with a frieze of triglyphs above, and with antæ at the extremities. This simplicity was characteristic of the work of defence, of which the wings formed an important part, and the purposes of which regulated in great measure their construction; for we must not lose sight of the fact that the Acropolis was a fortress as well as a great sanctuary, that it was required on several occasions in Attic history to exclude an enemy, or to sustain a siege: and consequently that the Propylæa, although constructed with all the splendour which art could devise for the entrance of a sacred inclosure, was designed also to defend the only access to the citadel of Athens.

In the northern wing a porch of twelve feet in depth conducted into a chamber of thirty-five feet

by thirty, the porch and chamber thus occupying the entire space lying behind the western wall of that wing. The southern wing consisted only of a porch or open gallery of twenty-six feet by seventeen, which on the eastern and southern sides was formed by a wall, connected, and of the same thickness, with the lateral wall of the Propylæum; that this wing did not conduct into any chamber at the back has been proved by an accurate examination of the south-eastern angle, which shows that it was not connected with any other wall.

Of the nature of the Pelasgic works, which protected the western end of the Acropolis, we can judge only from the name *Ἐννεάπυλον*, which the Athenians applied to them, and from the examples still extant of fortresses in Greece and Italy, which may be attributed to the Pelasgi or their Hellenic pupils in military architecture, and in which we generally find the access to the innermost keep strengthened by means of numerous inclosures with avenues, constructed on the principle of obliging the assailant to expose his right or unshielded side to the enemy¹. The nine gates of the Pelasgicum, therefore, were probably the openings of a succession of inclosures and winding approaches to a main gate on the summit. But such a mode of access to the Acropolis would have been inconsistent with that decoration, which was the object of Phidias and his

¹ Curandumque maxime videtur, ut non facilis sit aditus ad oppugnandum murum, sed ita circumdandum ad loca præcipitia et excogitandum, uti portarum itinera non sint directa sed scæva: namque cum ita factum fuerit, tunc dextrum latus accedentibus, quod scuto non erit tectum, proximum erit muro. Vitruv. 1, 5.

colleagues in planning the Propylæa, and which required a direct approach to give it effect: its strength, therefore, was obtained by throwing back the gates between fifty and sixty feet behind the natural entrance, which had the effect likewise of diminishing the angle of ascent, and by placing before the gates a vestibule, flanked with places of arms. There appears, at the same time, to have been a carriage-way from the southward, which entered an exterior inclosure at, or near, the gate of Marcellinus (the modern gate), and thus passed before the sanctuary of Tellus and Ceres, where an enemy would be entirely commanded, as well as exposed on his unshielded side, from the platform of the temple of Victory¹.

About twenty centuries after the Pelasgi had fortified the western end of the Cecropian hill, the invention of fire-arms produced that system of defence which has remained to the present time. The intervals between the columns of the Propylæa and of its wings were filled up and converted into walls; thus leaving no entrance into the fortress but between the southern wing and the main inclosure of the hill. Here, as long as the Propylæa protected the entrance, there had probably been a postern gate; for it is obvious that, both as the gate of a citadel and as the chief entrance of a great inclosure, the Propylæa would have been incomplete without a postern. The summit of the great western vestibule was converted into a battery of cannon, two other

¹ There is some reason to believe that there was a footway on the northern side, which entered the direct access between the northern wing and the pedestal of Agrippa.

tiers of guns below it crossed and encumbered with their ramparts the direct access to the Propylæa, and the only entrance to these works was on the southern side, where different routes uniting near the modern gate conducted from thence by a winding path round the middle battery to the summit. Three successive gates in the outworks below the principal gate, and three more within it, gave, together with the winding avenues, some resemblance to that which may be conceived of the old Enneapylum. It is curious also that the Turkish outwork, on the north-west, comprehended within it the ancient Pelasgicum below the Acropolis, which served probably, like the inclosures of the cavern-temples, as a sort of outwork to the Hellenic defences. Two ancient monuments, situated a little below the Propylæa, were made subservient to the Turkish fortifications, namely, the Temple of Victory and the Pedestal of Agrippa.

Temple of
Victory.

We learn from Spon and Wheler that in the year 1676 there stood, in front of the southern wing of the Propylæa, a small Ionic temple. The following are the words of Spon relating to it: "Ce temple est d'ordre Ionique, avec de petites colonnes canelées, et la frise chargée d'un bas relief de petites figures d'assez bonne main, dont il y a une assise et neuf ou dix debout devant et dernière. Il n'a qu'environ quinze pieds de *large*, et il sert maintenant aux Turcs de magasin à poudre¹." Wheler adds, that it was "built of white marble, with one end near the wall;" and he asserts that it was "not above fifteen feet *long*, and about eight or nine feet broad²." Of the time and

¹ II. p. 80.

² P. 358. Stuart has justly remarked that Wheler improperly

manner of the destruction of the temple we have no positive evidence. In the year 1751 nothing remained of it except a few fragments, sufficient to show the order and its proportions, and in a neighbouring wall four pieces of a sculptured frieze; the dimensions of which having been found to correspond to those of the columns, left no doubt that it was a part of the same frieze which Spon and Wheler described as existing on the temple¹. These four marbles were removed, about the year 1804, by the agents of the Earl of Elgin, from their exposed situation, in which they had already suffered great mutilation, and are now in the British Museum².

The front of the Propylæa having been already closed by a modern wall when Spon and Wheler arrived at Athens, it was very natural for them, in such a cursory visit to the Acropolis as they made³,

described the columns as of the Doric order, and the figures in relief as adorning the architrave instead of the frieze.

We now know [1837] that he was equally mistaken in describing the temple as fifteen feet long by eight or nine broad, the dimensions on the stylobate being twenty-seven feet by eighteen feet and a half; Spon, therefore, in saying that it was about "quinze pieds de large," really meant the breadth, and not the length, as might be suspected from Wheler, who now appears to have been entirely in error.

¹ For a description of the recent discoveries relating to this temple, as well as for its architectural details, see "*Acropolis von Athen, erste abth.*" by MM. Ross, Schaubert and Hansen, also some remarks, supplementary to the present, in Appendix XV. —Note of 1839.

² Numbered 158. 159. 160. 161.

³ They went only once to the Acropolis, when they hastened past the Propylæa to see the Parthenon. "*Nous nous hâtâmes d'aller voir la grande mosquée, qui étoit autrefois le temple de Minerve,*

to suppose, after having passed through two gates of the modern citadel within the principal one, that they had passed the Propylæa, and were within the ancient Acropolis, when in reality they were proceeding by a road parallel to the front of the Propylæa. Here, observing a small temple on their right, they thought that its position agreed exactly with the words of Pausanias, and concluded that it was the temple of Victory¹.

There can be little doubt that they were right in their conclusion, though certainly not for the reasons they have given ; but as this question has been, and still continues to be disputed², we may be justified perhaps in examining it more fully. Pausanias observes that on the right of the Propylæa stood the temple of Victory without Wings (*Νίκης ἀπτερόν ναός*), and on the left of the Propylæa a building which contained paintings (*οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς*)³. Chandler,

comme la plus considérable pièce de la citadelle." Spon II. p. 82.

¹ Spon supposed that the Propylæum, or great gateway, had entirely disappeared, and that the buildings to the right and left of it only remained ; that the temple on his right was the temple of Victory, and that the great building on his left was the *οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς*, or temple (as he interpreted the word *οἶκημα*), containing pictures. Wheler (p. 359), with better judgment, thought that a large building with two wings could not be a temple or a picture-chamber, and suspected the truth, that it was the Propylæa itself.

² Stuart and Chandler believed the northern wing of the Propylæa to have been the temple of Victory. Revett sided with Spon and Wheler. See the edition of Chandler's Travels, with Revett's notes. In 1837 Mr. Wilkins still questioned whether the site of the temple of Victory had yet been discovered. *Pro-lusiones Architectonicæ*, p. 96.

³ Pausan. Attic. 22, 4. 6. See above, p. 143.

applying the expressions ἐν δεξιᾷ and ἐν ἀριστερᾷ not to the route of the traveller, but to the fronting of the Propylæa, supposed the northern wing of the Propylæa to have been the temple of Victory, and the southern the picture-house; and undoubtedly he might fairly presume, from the words of Pausanias, that if one of the wings of the Propylæa was the temple, the other was the chamber of paintings; since it was difficult to conceive that Pausanias, in describing buildings on the right and left of the Propylæa, intended in the one instance a portion of the Propylæa itself, and in the other a building entirely separate from it. And yet this seems to have been his intention; and it shows, in a remarkable instance, the difficulty which occurs in understanding the topographical descriptions of this author without the assistance of local illustration. If the temple seen by Spon and Wheler was not that of Victory, it was that of Tellus and Ceres, or, assuming Chandler's interpretation of the words right and left, it was the picture-house. But there are strong objections to both these suppositions. We have the best evidence that the picture-house was a part of the Propylæa itself. The work of Polemon on these paintings was entitled περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Προπυλαίοις πινάκων (on the paintings in the Propylæa)¹: the northern wing of the Propylæa therefore was either the temple of Victory or the picture-house; and there can be little hesitation in deciding upon the latter, its construction showing clearly that it was not the ναὸς of a deity, but an οἶκημα. The temple of Victory, moreover, was evidently not on the northern

¹ Harpocr. in Λαμπάς.

but on the southern side of the entrance; for Pausanias, in reference to the story of Ægeus, who threw himself over the rock, expressly states that the site of the temple commanded a view of the sea; meaning the sea, in the direction of Crete, from whence the ship was coming. The southern wing of the Propylæa was indeed not far from the southern precipices, but it was closed on that side by a wall; and, in fact, no part of the Propylæa, except the front of the great vestibule, commanded a view of the sea, which even from thence was visible only towards Salamis or Corinth, being the reverse of the direction in which Theseus was returning to Athens. The platform of the Ionic temple, on the contrary, commanded an extensive view of the Saronic Gulf, including Cape Scyllæum, in the direction of Crete. With regard to the southern wing of the Propylæa, we may farther remark, that being an open portico without any closed chamber, it was adapted neither to a temple nor a picture-chamber: evidently, therefore, the northern wing of the Propylæa, and the temple described by Spon and Wheler, were the two buildings on the right and left of the Propylæa intended by Pausanias. And this conclusion is in agreement with the ordinary meaning of Pausanias in employing the words ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ: that is to say, that he generally intends to describe the right or left hand of the traveller according to the direction which he is pursuing¹.

¹ Thus, in entering Thebes (Bæot. 10, 2), he says, ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τε λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραβρέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτη τοῦ

But, independently of these considerations, it would be difficult to believe that Victory Apterus, a goddess whose worship was connected with the earliest history of Athens, should have been lodged in any part of a building which was not of very early date, and the several parts of which were combined to form an entire work, designed for civil or military, and not for sacred purposes. For although the temple of Victory, seen by Pausanias, may not have been

Ἰσμηνίου. Here we are sure, from the undoubted positions of Platæa and the river Ismenus, that the latter must have been on the right of the road entering Thebes from Platæa. In like manner, in proceeding from Thebes to Chalcis, he describes (19, 2) the ruins of Glisas as *Τευμησσοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*; and having arrived at the Euripus, the temple of Ceres Mycalessia and Aulis as on the right, and Mount Messapius and Anthedon as on the left. (*τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἱερόν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Μυκαλησσίας καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ἐστὶν Αὐλὶς*; . . . *τῆς Βοιωτίας τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Εὐρίπου Μεσσάπιον ὄρος καλούμενον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδών*. Bæot. 19, 5. 22, 5.) In all these instances, the known situations of the places leave not a doubt that the words *right* and *left* were applied to the right and left hand of the traveller. Upon similar occasions, frequently occurring in Pausanias, he generally employs *ἰὼν* and *ἔλθων*, or their compounds with *ἐπὶ*, *ἀνά*, *ἐκ*, *πρὸς*; to which is added, *ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ*, or *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*, either with or without the words *τῆς ὁδοῦ*, or *τῆς λεωφόρου*; but often the participle is left out, and he proceeds with the name only of the place or monument added to *ἐν δεξιᾷ*, or *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*. Two instances may indeed be mentioned, and others perhaps may be found, where these words have relation, not to the right and left of the traveller's route, but to the *fronting* of the place which Pausanias is describing: the one is at the temple of Despœna, near Megalopolis (Arcad. 38, 2), the other at Phigaleia (41, 5); but in these instances the progress of his narrative had been interrupted by a description of the places.

much older than the Propylæa, it stood doubtless on the site of a more ancient temple or altar of Victory, on the identical spot where tradition reported Ægeus to have looked out for his son's return¹.

Pausanias, therefore, as it appears, confined the name Propylæa to the gates opening into the Acropolis with their vestibules, although, in truth, the wings were cotemporary buildings and component parts of the Propylæa²; and he omitted all notice of the southern wing of the Propylæa: a neglect which, according to the usual method of this author, was justified by the inferior importance of that wing, which seems to have been little more than a place of arms for the use of the persons entrusted with the custody of the great gates, as well as of the passage leading to the postern³. The portico of the

¹ In like manner the Olympieum of Athens, finished by Hadrian, stood on the site of a temple begun originally by Peisistratus; the Erechtheum upon the foundations of the old building which covered the olive-tree and salt-wall; the Panhellenium of Ægina, on the site of the temple or altar dedicated by Æacus.

² Though the perfect similarity of style and execution are alone almost sufficient on this question, it is satisfactory to refer to the proofs, which the masonry supplies of the same fact. See Stuart's *Ant. of Ath.* new edit. II. p. 105.

³ Chandler is singularly unfortunate in his remarks (c. 9) upon the Propylæa, having misapprehended his predecessors, Spon and Wheler, in almost every particular. Intending to follow their information, he observes, that the northern wing (which he supposes to have been the temple of Victory) was blown up about the year 1656; Spon and Wheler, however, in mentioning this explosion, were not speaking of the northern wing, but of the Propylæum, or great vestibule itself. The small Ionic temple, not the southern wing of the Propylæa, as Chandler imagined, then became the magazine, in which state Spon and Wheler found

northern wing might serve for a similar purpose, the chamber of pictures having been an interior apartment behind the portico.

On the steepest part of the ascent towards the Propylæa, at a distance of eighteen feet in front of the southwestern angle of the northern wing of the Propylæa, and forty-three feet from the nearest point of the great colonnade, stands a lofty pedestal, about twelve feet square, and twenty-seven high¹; upon the summit of which some holes for stanchions show that it formerly supported some figure or figures, which we may judge, from the height and dimensions of the pedestal, to have been colossal or equestrian: a statue, twelve feet in height, placed upon this basis, would rise to a level with the capitals of the great columns. The masonry of the pedestal is peculiar², and similar to

Pedestal of
Agrippa.

it in 1676. Again, Chandler conceived that the columns of the small Ionic temple and its frieze, representing a battle of Greeks and Persians (he calls them Amazons, and takes no notice of the battle of Greeks against Greeks), belonged to the southern wing of the Propylæa, which is in direct contradiction to Spon and Wheler, who clearly describe both the frieze and columns as belonging to the small detached temple, which was on their right hand in entering the citadel. Chandler then remarks, that the pediment of the northern wing was standing in 1676; whereas Spon and Wheler only say, that the pediment of the Propylæum itself was then standing. He copies Wheler's mistake, of supposing the front of the Propylæum to have consisted of four Doric columns instead of six, and its roof to have been supported by four Ionic columns instead of six: and in one place he describes the columns of the northern wing as Ionic, and in another as Doric.

¹ This monument was not observed by Spon and Wheler.

² Mr. Kinnard remarks (Stuart's Ant. of Ath. new ed. II. p. 108) that "the die of the pedestal, which is slightly diminished, is divided into eight larger courses and seven smaller ones, which

that of a ruined wall not far from the Theseium, which is supposed to have formed part of the gymnasium of Ptolemy Philadelphus: it resembles also some walls at the Peiræus, which are probably of a date long posterior to the original fortifications of that place.

The presumption which this similarity gives as to the date of the pedestal is in some degree supported by Pausanias, who, after having stated that the Acropolis had but one entrance, which introduces his remark in praise of the ceiling of the Propylæa, alludes in a mysterious manner to the statues of certain horsemen, concerning which he was uncertain whether they represented the sons of Xenophon, or were made only for the sake of ornament or propriety (*ἵς εὐπρέπειαν*¹). In the next clause he describes the temple of Victory, on the right of the Propylæa, connecting it with the clause relating to

are about one third of the height of the larger. The vertical joints do not correspond with each other, as shown in the engraving (Revett's), the blocks being irregular in width. The marble is of a different quality from that of the Propylæum in general; the joints are without cement, and exceedingly well executed."

The middle part of the inscription was already obliterated in the time of Chandler, but the name of Agrippa was clear, and comparing the remaining letters with other similar documents, there could be no doubt that the whole was as follows: *Ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου υἱόν, τρις ὕπατον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην.*

Pouqueville (*Voyage en Grèce*, V. p. 125, 2ème ed.) reports the following inscription as having been found in the embrasure of the rampart near the temple of Erechtheus: *Ὁ δῆμος Νερῶνα Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου υἱόν Δροῦσον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην.* Chandler, therefore, was undoubtedly wrong in reading *Καίον* instead of *ἑαυτοῦ*.

¹ Possibly Pausanias may have meant by this word "loyalty, or a due deference to the Roman government."

the statues, in such a manner as leads to the persuasion that the horsemen stood opposite to the temple of Victory, and were similarly placed with regard to the Propylæa¹.

The doubt expressed by Pausanias, as to the persons for whom the equestrian statues were intended, could not have been sincere; and, judging from his manner on other similar occasions, we can scarcely hesitate in believing that equestrian statues of Gryllus and Diodorus, the two sons of Xenophon, who were sometimes complimented with the surname of the Dioscuri², had been converted, by means of new inscriptions, into those of two Romans, whom, Pausanias has not named³. An inscription, however, upon the pedes-

¹ The clauses are connected by *μὲν* and *δέ*. See above, p. 143.

² Diogen. Laert. 2, 52. Eustath. ad Od. A. 299.

³ In like manner Pausanias has left us ignorant to whom the statue of Neptune, near the Peiraic gate, had been newly inscribed, and those of Miltiades and Themistocles in the Prytaneium.

Dion Chrysostom, in his Rhodiac oration, forcibly exposes the custom common among the Rhodians, of altering the names of the statues with which that city abounded, and he gives some instances of the same practice among the Athenians. At Athens it had existed long before the time of Dion; there colossal statues of Attalus and Eumenes had been inscribed to M. Antonius (Plutarch. M. Ant. 60); and Cicero alludes to it as a common custom, in a letter to his friend Atticus (6, 1), wherein he expresses his wish of having a statue erected to him by the Athenians. *Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo: volo esse aliquod monumentum; odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum.* We can hardly doubt that this contemptible practice originated among the Athenians, whose meanness and base flattery was not less followed by the rest of Greece than their example in learning, art, and every elegant invention, had been in better times.

An illustration of these conversions has recently been observed near the pedestal of Agrippa, where a marble has been found bearing the following: 'Ο δῆμος Γναῖον Ἀκερρώνιον Πρόκλον ἀνθύπα-

tal, preserves one of the Roman names, that of Agrippa, and as it shows that he was then in his third consulship¹; the other son of Xenophon may have been converted into Caius Cæsar Octavianus, who was the colleague of Agrippa in his third consulship, and who had arrived in that year at such a degree of power that he was made consul for the seventh time, and was dignified with the title of Augustus. In the Propylæum of the New Agora, which was erected out of the donations of Augustus, adorned with a statue of Julia, and surmounted by another of Lucius, son of Agrippa, and grandson of Augustus, we have already seen other instances, though somewhat posterior in date, of the favours granted by Augustus to the Athenians, and of their gratitude or flattery towards his family. That Agrippa should have had the high honour of an equal association with the emperor in the dedications at the entrance of the citadel, might be accounted for by the family alliance which already existed between him and Augustus, and by his having been a personal benefactor to Athens. A theatre in the Cerameicus, named the Agrippeium², was so called doubtless as having been built, partly at least, at his expense.

τον τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας ἔνεκεν, and below in more ancient characters the words Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησιν, showing that the name of some Greek who had been honoured with a statue by Praxiteles, possibly by the celebrated sculptor himself, had been erased to make way for that of a Roman proconsul, who had himself perhaps robbed Athens of the original statue.—Note of 1837.

¹ It was in the same year that Agrippa built the Pantheon (or its portico) at Rome.

² See above, p. 163.

The *reconstruction* of the temple of Victory has proved that the

It is remarkable that the pedestal of Agrippa does not stand parallel to the front of the Propylæa, its western face being slightly turned to the north¹.

The gates of the Propylæa and its eastern vestibule were elevated a step or two above the adjacent platform at the western end of the Acropolis. But the carriage way, which ascended by an inclined plane from the ancient Agora to the western entrance of the Propylæa, was continued through that building, and was prolonged beyond it in the direction of the interval between the two temples of Minerva, as far as the highest natural level of the hill. On either side of this main route the surface of the Acropolis appears to have been divided into platforms, communicating with one another by steps. Upon these platforms stood the temples, sanctuaries, or monuments, which occupied all the summit.

The temple of Minerva, called ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος νεὺς Parthenon. (the temple of one hundred feet), or ὁ Παρθενῶν (the virgin's house), was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble, including a stylobate five feet and a half in height, which was composed of four steps, and rested upon a rustic basement of ordinary limestone². Thus

pedestal of Agrippa could not have had any corresponding pedestal on the opposite side of the ascent, which Pausanias, by alluding to two equestrian statues, formerly gave reason to presume. We are reduced, therefore, to the inference that they stood on the same pedestal.—Note of 1837.

¹ Mr. Kinnard (in the new edition of Stuart's Athens, note p. 106) conjectures that it may have been built in this manner for the sake of an ancient substruction, which, like that of the northern wing of the Propylæa, was not exactly parallel to the front of that building.

² This rustic basement varied in height according to the level of the rock, upon which the several parts of it were founded. It

raised, the temple was so much elevated above the entrance of the Acropolis, that the pavement of its peristyle was nearly on a level with the summit of the Propylæa¹.

The Parthenon, on the upper step of the stylobate, was 227 feet seven inches in length, and 101 feet two inches in breadth. It consisted of a *σηκός*, or cella, surrounded by a peristyle, which had eight Doric columns in the fronts, and seventeen on the sides. These forty-six columns were six feet two inches in diameter at the base, and thirty-four feet in height. Within the peristyle, at either end,

was crowned with a cornice of analogous character, and, by its contrast with the splendid and finished work which it supported, was admirably suited to be the basement of such a building. On the eastern and southern sides of the temple there was a narrow platform between the foot of the marble stylobate and the edge of the basement, eight feet wide on the former side, and fourteen feet on the latter. Note of 1840.

¹ Recent observations are said to have ascertained that the base of the stylobate of the temple of Polias, which consisted of four steps, but less lofty than those of the Parthenon, is seven feet and a half lower than the corresponding base of the latter temple; and that the pavement at the base of the columns of the eastern entrance of the Propylæa is forty-three feet nine inches below the corresponding pavement in the Parthenon. The artificial elevation given to the Parthenon is consistent with a general rule, which seems to have prevailed in regard to the Doric order, namely, that it should be above the eye of the spectator, in every part of his approach. Hence the order was well adapted to the lofty situations, generally chosen by the early people of European Greece, and which in later times were their citadels. In the Ionic order the reverse is observable. Its most remarkable examples, such as those of Samus, Sardeis, Branchidæ, Magnesia, and Ephesus, were situated in places, where they could never be seen from a much lower level than the bases of the columns.

there was an interior range of six columns, of five feet and a half in diameter, standing before the end of the cella, and forming, together with the prolonged walls of the cella, a prothyraeum or apartment before the door: there was an ascent of two steps into these divisions of the building, from the peristyle. The cella, the breadth of which within was sixty-two feet and a half, was divided into two unequal chambers, of which the western was forty-three feet ten inches long within, and the eastern ninety-eight feet seven inches. The former was the Opisthodomus, which was employed as the public treasury; the latter was the Parthenon, or Hecatompedum, specifically so called. The ceiling of the former was supported by four columns, of about four feet in diameter at the base¹, and that of the latter by sixteen columns, of three feet and a half.

It is not certainly known of what order were the interior columns of either chamber; but as those of the western apartment were thirty-six feet in height,

¹ This is the measurement of Mr. Cockerell (ap. Brönsted, V. et R. dans la Grèce, II. p. 290); but Mr. Kinnard makes them seven inches greater (Stuart's Ant. of Ath. new ed. II. p. 39, note d). Spon and Wheler relate that there was a gallery and twenty-two small columns in the lower tier, and twenty-three in the upper. Stuart and Revett have marked twenty-six in their plan of the temple; but these, it is now supposed, could not have belonged to the original building. In the conversion of the temple into a Greek church, or in its repairs as such, or as a Turkish mosque, great alterations were made in the interior, so that it is difficult to form any idea of its ancient state from the descriptions of Spon and Wheler. But more recent examinations leave little doubt as to the interior plan. See Brönsted, pl. xxxviii.—Note of 1832.

and their proportions nearly the same as those of the Ionic columns of the vestibule of the Propylæa, it is highly probable that the same order was used in both instances. In the eastern chamber of the Parthenon a Corinthian capital has been found of such dimensions as leads to the belief that the columns were of that order¹. The smallness of their diameter leaves little doubt that there was an upper range as described by Pausanias at Olympia, and as still exemplified in one of the temples at Pæstum.

Such was the simple construction of this magnificent building, which, by its united excellences of materials², design, and decorations, was the most perfect ever executed. Its dimensions of two hundred and twenty-eight feet by a hundred and two, with a height of sixty-six feet to the top of the pediment, were sufficiently great to give an impression of grandeur and sublimity; and this impression was not disturbed by any obtrusive subdivision of parts,

¹ In the interior of the temple at Phigaleia are two new varieties of the Ionic order; one of which, by its helices and leaves of acanthus, must be considered as belonging to the order afterwards called Corinthian. It proves, therefore, that this order was employed in the time of Pericles. In fact, Vitruvius gives the honour of its invention to Callimachus, who lived about that time, and who made the golden lamp and brazen palm-tree in the temple of Minerva Polias.

² The beautiful marble with which nature furnished the Athenians, was one of the great concurring causes leading to their unrivalled pre-eminence in architecture and decorative sculpture. Admitting as fine a surface, and presenting as beautiful a colour, as ivory, with a still sharper edge, it assisted in encouraging the successive efforts of artists studying to excel their predecessors, or rivals, in the effects produced by means of such a material.

such as is found to diminish the effects of many larger modern buildings, where the same singleness of design is not apparent. In the Parthenon there was nothing to divert the spectator's contemplation from the simplicity and majesty of mass and outline, which forms the first and most remarkable object of admiration in a Greek temple; for the statues of the pediments, the only decoration which was very conspicuous by its magnitude and position, having been inclosed within frames which formed an essential part of the design of either front, had no more obtrusive effect than an ornamented capital to an unadorned column. In the hands of Phidias and his colleagues, the gravity of the Doric order imposed no limit to the decoration applicable to the upper parts of the edifice: and hence (as we find proofs in many traces still existing in the marble) the statues and reliefs, as well as the members of architecture, were enriched with various colours, rendering them pictures, as well as groups of statuary, and producing to the spectator, on his near approach, a new and increasing source of admiration. The adornment of the upper part of the building was continued to the roof, where the acroteria of the pediments and the extremities of the spouts and ridge-tiles were decorated with sculpture. New enrichments might be added, though the edifice was complete without them; such were the gilded shields, which, long after the building of the temple, were placed upon the architraves of the two fronts.

This capability of receiving ornament was in part devised, by those under whose directing genius the Parthenon rose, for the purpose of furnishing employment in every branch of art to those excellent artists

with whom Athens then abounded, and probably no Greek temple of any order was ever so lavishly adorned with sculpture as the Parthenon¹. In the eastern, or main apartment of the cella, was the colossal figure of the invincible virgin goddess, from whom this chamber in particular, and the building in general, received the name of Parthenon, and which was an example of chryselephantine sculpture, having but one rival in Greece, and that by the same master: in the aeti, or pediments, were two compositions, near eighty feet in length, each consisting of about twenty-four entire statues of supernatural dimensions; the eastern representing the birth of Minerva, the western the contest of Neptune and Minerva for the Attic land: under the exterior cornice, in harmony with the projecting features of that part of the building, were ninety-two groups, raised in high relief from tablets four feet three inches square, relating to a variety of actions of the goddess herself, or in which her favoured champions had prevailed by means of her influence: and,

¹ In the temple of Theseus, out of sixty-eight metopes, no more than eighteen had reliefs on them, and one pediment only was filled with statues. At Ægina, Sunium, Nemea, Bassæ, there were no sculptured metopes. In the great temple of Selinus, the largest Doric building with which we are acquainted, the metopes in the two fronts were alone sculptured. In the middle eastern temple at the same place, those of the eastern front only. At Olympia the pediments and hyperthyra alone seem, from Pausanias, to have been decorated with sculpture, and even, if the exterior metopes had been adorned with reliefs like those of the Parthenon, they would have been very inferior in number, as this temple, as well as that of Delphi, was a hexastyle. Of the latter building, we may infer from Euripides (Ion 190), that some at least of the metopes were sculptured, but we have no farther information concerning it.

lastly, along the outside of the cella and vestibules reigned a frieze of three feet four inches in height, and 520 feet in length ; to which a relief, slightly raised above the surface of the naked wall which it crowned, was considered most applicable, as it was seen from a nearer distance than any of the other sculptures, and by a reflected light. This great work represented the procession on the quadrennial festival of the Panathenæa, when the new peplos of Minerva was carried through the Cerameicus, and from thence to the Acropolis.

That which chiefly excites our wonder in these beautiful works of sculpture is, that their execution is such as in almost every part to admit of minute inspection, although the nearest of them were not seen at a smaller distance than forty feet. We cannot have a stronger proof that considerations of economy entered very little into the calculations of Pericles, and that the Athenian artists aimed at nothing short of perfection in their productions, and at glory for their highest reward. Having formed the conception of a finished and perfect work, Phidias and his scholars could not be contented with any thing short of its execution. Satisfied with its being for a short time submitted to the near inspection of the public, they thought it could receive no greater honour than that of contributing to adorn the temple of the protecting goddess, of being consigned to her care, and of becoming the object of a small share of the veneration paid to her. They felt assured that, although the generality of spectators might view it at too great a distance to appreciate all its merits, those whose superior taste and know-

ledge rendered their admiration the chief object of the artist's ambition, would find the means of obtaining a nearer view; for it cannot be doubted that facilities were given to artists, and to curious natives and strangers, to mount to the summit of the temple, for the purpose of obtaining a close inspection of the pediments, metopes, and frieze ¹.

Erech-
theium.

The extreme brevity of Pausanias in noticing the Propylæa and the Parthenon, has at least the advantage of not misleading his reader in any essential particular. In describing the Erechtheium at greater length, his want of method and perspicuity is such that it is only by comparing his testimony with that of some other authors, and with the existing ruins, that his account of this building becomes intelligible. After having remarked that the Erechtheium was a double building (διπλοῦν οἶκημα) which had a well of salt-water within it, Pausanias proceeds to give a description of the temple of Minerva Polias and its contents, and then adds some observations upon the sacred olive-tree, in which, although he does not assert that the tree was in the temple of Polias, that impression is inevitably left on the reader's mind. Of the temple of Pandrosus, he observes, only, that it was contiguous (συνεχὴς) to

¹ It is probable that the following observations by Pausanias on the interior construction of the temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, were nearly, if not exactly, applicable to the Parthenon : ἐσθήκασιν δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαὶ τε ἔνδον ὑπερῷοι καὶ πρόσδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶ πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἀνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά. Eliac. pr. 10, 3. It would seem, from these words, that the winding stair was behind the statue, where it would be concealed from view.

that of Polias¹, so that Herodotus and other authors having made mention of a temple of Erechtheus, it was a natural conclusion of Stuart and others, that there were three temples, all comprehended in that compound, irregular, and very beautiful structure which stands to the north of the Parthenon, near the northern wall of the Acropolis.

There are some passages, however, in ancient history, which, when compared with Pausanias and with the existing remains, serve sufficiently to explain the original intention of the building, and to show that it consisted, not of three, but of two temples. By Herodotus we are informed that the temple of Erechtheus contained both the well and the olive-tree², and by two other authors that the olive-tree stood in the temple of Pandrosus³. On comparing these testimonies, therefore, with that of Pausanias, we

¹ Pausan. Att. 27, 3.

² "Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγόμενον εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι· τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδώνᾳ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίῃν, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας, μαρτύρια θέσθαι. Herodot. 8, 55.

³ Ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίῃν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, ἦκεν Ἀθηναῖα καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα, ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδρόσιφ δέικνται. Apollod. 3, 14, § 1.

Κῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βῶμον ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ, κατέκειτο· πάτριον δ' ἔστι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Ἀκρόπολιν. Philochorus ap. Dionys. de Dinarch. 3.

The following lines, part of an Attic song, seem to show

may conclude that the whole building, which according to the Athenian traditions was founded by Erechtheus and became the place of his interment, was named Erechtheium; and that the Pandroseium was one of its two component parts, the temple of Polias having been the other. It does not appear that Erechtheus had any separate chamber or shrine sacred to him, but only an altar common to him and Neptune, with whom he was often identified in Athenian mythology¹. Considerable ambiguity in regard to the edifice, has arisen from the circumstance of the entire structure having often been called the temple of Minerva Polias, as well as the Erechtheium; a custom easily understood, when we consider that the temple of Polias was the most important part of the building; that the statue of the goddess here worshipped, was the most ancient and sacred in Attica, and that it peculiarly represented the goddess in her capacity of protectress of

that the olive garland of Victory was gathered in the temple of Pandrosus:

Ἐνικήσαμεν ὡς ἐβουλόμεσθα
καὶ νίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοὶ φέροντες
παρὰ Πανδρόσου, ὡς φίλην Ἀθηναίαν.

Σκόλιον ap. Athen. 15, 14 (50).

¹ Ἐρεχθεύς Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις. Hesych. in ν. A sophist of the time of the Emperor Julian, says, ὁ Πολιάδος νεῶς καὶ τὸ πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος. Himerius ap. Phot. Myriobibl. p. 1104. But Plutarch more accurately, ἐνταῦθα γούν καὶ νεῶς κοινωνεῖ μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθήνης ἰδρυμένος. The temple of Neptune was identical with that of Polias, and contained altars of Neptune Erechtheus, and of Oblivion (with reference to the Contest). Sympos. 9, 6.

the citadel: in an inscription, however, which relates to this building, and is coeval with its reconstruction, it is not designated by either of the names above mentioned, but only as the temple which contained the ancient statue (ὁ νεὼς ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα¹).

The space of sixty-two feet in length from east to west, and of thirty-three in breadth from north to south, which formed the interior of the main building, was divided into three apartments by two transverse walls, leaving to the eastern and middle apartments about twenty-four feet each from east to west, and to the western nine feet. The inscription

¹ This very curious inscription is the record of a public report made by a commission appointed by the people of Athens, to take and state an account of the unfinished parts of the building. The commission consisted of two inspectors (*ἐπιστάται*), an architect (*ἀρχιτέκτων*) named Philocles, and a scribe (*γραμματεὺς*). The report is dated in the archonship of Diocles, who held that office in the fourth year of the 92d Olympiad (B.C. 409-8). Greek literature is indebted for this important document to Dr. Chandler, and his employers the Society of Dilettanti, who presented the marble to the British Museum. Chandler failed in the reading and interpretation of some parts of the inscription. Stuart supposed it to refer not to the ruins now existing, but to a temple more ancient. Mr. Wilkins confuted this opinion, and explained many of the terms of art employed in it. It has since exercised the learned ingenuity of several other persons, particularly of Pr. K. O. Müller of Göttingen (*Minervæ Pol.* 4to, Gott. 1820), of Pr. Aug. Boeckh of Berlin, (*C. Ins. Gr.* No. 160), of the Rev. H. J. Rose (*Inscr. Gr. Vet.* p. 145), and of Mr. Wilkins, a second time, in his *Prolusiones Architectonicæ*, part I. For a copy of the inscription, and some further remarks on the Erechtheium, see Appendix XVII.

above mentioned, notices three *προστάσεις*, which were obviously the three projections on the east, north, and south of the main walls, and which may be distinguished as the eastern, the northern, and the southern *prostasis* or portico. The two former consist of six Ionic columns each, but differently disposed, those of the eastern *prostasis* standing in a single line before the wall of the cella, the extremities of which are adorned with antæ opposite to the extreme columns, whereas the northern *prostasis* has four columns in front, and one in each flank, before a corresponding anta in the wall on either side of the door before which this portico is constructed. Its columns are of the same order as those of the eastern *prostasis*, but they are near six inches greater in diameter, and proportionally more lofty than the former, which measure two feet three inches and eight-tenths at the base. Of the southern *prostasis* the roof was supported by six Caryatides or columns, of which the shafts represented women in long drape¹: of these, four still remain² standing upon a

¹ Mr. Wilkins supposes them to have been Hydriaphoræ, and that each had a water-jar in one hand. This conjecture is, in some degree, supported by the consideration that daughters of the Metæci carried water-jars (*ὕδρεϊα*), and parasols (*σκιᾶδεϊα*), in the sacred processions (J. Poll. 4, 55. Demetrius ap. Harpocr., ap. Phot. Lex. in *Σκαφηφόρος*. Hesych. in eād. v.), and that it was perfectly consonant with the pride of Attic citizens to represent Metæci, as Caryatides supporting a roof.

² A fifth has since been found in an excavation near the spot where it had stood. That which is in the British Museum, therefore, is the only one now wanting.—Note of 1838.

podium and basement eight feet above the exterior level, and about fifteen feet above the floor of the building. In the inscription already referred to, these statues are designated by the term *αι Κόραι* (the young women).

The eastern and northern porticoes were evidently the prothyrous porches of the two temples which formed the "double edifice," as the dimensions, magnificence, and elaborate ornaments of the two doors, before which they stand, abundantly confirm. These doors very much resemble each other, but the northern is about three feet higher than the eastern, this difference being nearly the same as that in the height of the columns of the two porticoes. The third or southern projection, although styled in the inscription a *πρόστασις* or portico like the others, was totally different from them. The Caryatides, indeed, were disposed like the columns of the northern portico, four in front, and one in either flank before an anta; and there were intercolumniations between the statues, equally open to the air: but the roof was flat, and when viewed from the exterior level on the south, reached to little more than half the height of the pitched roof of the temple. This prostasis was entered by a small door in the southern wall of the building (the *τείχος πρὸς νότον* of the inscription), and thus it was by its general construction, not so much a portico as an adjunct or chapel of the western temple. Both in itself and as a portion of another building, it was an anomaly in Greek architecture obviously intended for some particular purpose, apparently that of inclosing some sacred object which was

immovable, and to which there was access from the western temple¹.

That object could hardly have been any other than the sacred olive, which received a sufficiency of air and light through the intervals between the Coræ, while its trunk was protected by the podium upon which they stood. The same apartment was probably the Cecropium, so called as having been traditionally the place of interment of Cecrops².

Of the two temples we may be assured that the eastern was that of Minerva Polias, from its eastern fronting alone, such having been the usual aspect of temples of the principal deities, as a variety of examples still prove³. On the other hand, the situation of the northern door and portico near the edge

¹ An excavation made by the artists employed by Lord Elgin, brought to light some steps descending into this prostasis from the upper level by a small door in its eastern wall, between the south-eastern Caryatis and the adjacent anta. The steps abutted on the southern wall of the temple, and terminated at the door which opened into the western apartment of the Pandroseium. It is difficult to conceive that these steps could have been coeval with the building.

² See some further remarks on the Cecropium in Appendix XVII.

³ Πρὸς ἔω τῶν ἱερῶν βλεπόντων. Plutarch. Numa, 14. It appears that this practice of the time of Numa was afterwards reversed by the Romans: for Vitruvius says, "Signum, quod erit in cellâ collocatum, spectet ad vespertinam cœli regionem, uti qui adierint ad aram, immolantes aut sacrificia facientes, spectent ad partem cœli orientis et simulacrum, quod erit in æde." —Vitruv. 4, 5.

Dion Cassius relates a prodigy which happened at Athens in the reign of Augustus. The statue of Minerva in the Acro-

of the precipices above the Agrauium, agrees with the mythus, according to which Herse and Agraulus threw themselves over the rocks; while Pandrosus remained faithful to her trust, and hence received divine honours on the summit of the hill, under the same roof with the goddess¹.

We may now endeavour to ascertain, if possible, the situation of the other monuments of the Acropolis, which have been noticed by Pausanias². A little within the vestibule of the Propylæa, near the landing from the great western stairs, stood the Mercury Propylæus, and three Graces by Socrates. The sanctuary of Venus Leæna, which contained a statue of the goddess by Calamis, and a brazen lioness by Iphicrates, is shewn to have been within the Propylæa by Plutarch, who describes the lioness as having stood ἐν ταῖς πύλαις. And we may presume that the brazen Minerva Hygieia dedicated by Pericles, was within the Propylæa, as it was intended to commemorate the cure of a favourite workman who had been injured by a fall, when employed in the construction of this building by Mnesicles. In this case, if we trust in the order of the narrative of

Temple of
Venus
Leæna.

polis, which before faced the east, was found turned towards the west.

τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβᾶν . . . ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένον, πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμὰς μετεστράφη καὶ αἶμα ἀπέκτυσεν. Dion Cass. 54, 7.

¹ It was customary, whenever a heifer was sacrificed to Minerva Polias, to immolate a sheep to Pandrosus. Philochorus ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπιβοιον. See Meursius, Attic. Lect. 3, 22.

² Attic. 23 et seq. See above, p. 144 et seq.

Pausanias, the brazen Diitrephes pierced with arrows, and the Hygieia daughter of Æsculapius, were also within the Propylæa¹. From a comparison of the words of Pausanias with those of the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators in the Life of Isocrates, it appears that between the Diitrephes and the two Hygieiæ, were statues of Isocrates, of his father, and of two of his female relatives². The next monument mentioned, namely, the small stone upon which Silenus was said to have reposed, when Bacchus visited the earth, seems to have been a little beyond the eastern portico of the Propylæa: 1. Because it was a monument relating to a remote tradition, and had probably existed long before the erection of the Propylæa; and 2, Because Pausanias introduces his mention of the next monuments, namely, the Aspergillifer of Lycius, and the Perseus of Myron, by the words καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα: as if these had not been the first objects beyond the gates. From the Propylæa he appears to have turned to the right, directing his course by a natural process upon the Parthenon, as the principal monument of

¹ The inscribed basis of the statue of Diitrephes (see above, p. 145, n. 4) was not found on the site of the Propylæa, but incased in the wall of a great cistern near the western face of the Parthenon. But this is no proof that it did not stand originally in the Propylæa.—Note of 1839.

² That of Isocrates probably no longer remained in the time of Pausanias, who would not have included it among the εἰκόνες ἀφανεστέραι (Attic. 23, 5. See above, p. 145). That of one of the women had been removed in the time of the biographer of the Ten Orators; and the name of the other had been changed (μετεπιγεγραμμένη).

the citadel. In the interval he passed the temple of Diana Brauronia, the colossal brazen figure of the Trojan horse Durius¹, the statues of Epicharinus², Œnobius, Hermolycus, and Phormio, Minerva punishing Marsyas, Theseus contending with the Minotaur, Phrixus sacrificing the ram, Hercules strangling the serpents, Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter, the bull dedicated by the Areiopagus, the temple of the God of (the Jews?), the warrior with silver nails by Cleœtas, Earth praying to Jupiter for rain, statues of Conon and his son Timotheus, the Procne and Itys of Alcamenes, Minerva producing the olive-tree while Neptune raises the waves, and finally two statues of Jupiter, one by Leochares, the other surnamed Polieus. Pausanias then proceeds to describe the Parthenon: whence it appears that one of these Jupiters was the statue alluded to by Aristophanes, in proposing to substitute Plutus for Jupiter Soter as a sentinel over the goddess's treasury³. There was a temple, which contained probably both the

Temple of
Diana
Brauronia.

¹ To the testimony of Aristophanes (Av. 1128) as to the magnitude of this statue (see above, p. 146, n. 3) we may add that of Hesychius in *Κρίος ἀσελγόμεως*. (See below, p. 354, n. 1.)

² The basis of this statue has lately been discovered *in situ* between the Propylæa and the Parthenon (see above, p. 146, n. 4), the situation being precisely that which might have been presumed from the narrative of Pausanias.—Note of 1839.

³ ΧΡΕΜΥΛΟΣ. Θάβρει· καλῶς ἔσται γὰρ, ἣν θεὸς θέλη·
Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτὴρ γὰρ πάρεστιν ἐνθάδε,
Αὐτόματος ἦκων. ΙΕΡΕΥΣ. πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖνον λέγεις.
ΧΡ. Ἰδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε;

statues of Jupiter, and which was called the Disoterium¹.

The subsequent course of Pausanias may be deduced from the relative situations of the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and three other monuments, which no longer exist, but the positions of which are known from a comparison of other authorities with that of Pausanias. These monuments are: 1. The Gigantomachia, or battle of the gods and giants, dedicated by Attalus. 2. The brazen colossal statue of Minerva, by Phidias, dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of Marathon. 3. The brazen chariot with four horses, dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of the battle of Chalcis.

Giganto-
machia.

1. Pausanias informs us that the Gigantomachia stood upon the wall of the Acropolis, called Notium, which was near the Dionysiac theatre²; and Plutarch relates, that a violent wind which, at the time of the battle of Actium, threw down two colossal

Τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὐκ ἐπὶ πρότερον ἢν ἰδρυμένος·

Τὸν Ὀπισθόδομον αἰεὶ φυλάττων τῆς Θεοῦ.

Aristoph. Plut. 1188. Schol. ibid.

¹ Δισωτήριον καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος Διός. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 91.

οὔτε τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σωτείρας, ἀφορῶν καὶ προδιδοῦς, ἐφοβήθη. Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. p. 148, Reiske. It appears from the same oration of Lycurgus (p. 231) that the temple once contained a statue of the father of Leocrates. And here also were statues of Conon, and of Evagoras king of Cyprus (Isocrat. Evagor. p. 200, Steph.).

² Attic. 21, 4. 25, 2. See above, p. 140. 151.

statues of M. Antonius at Athens, precipitated also into the theatre a Bacchus, which was one of the figures of the Gigantomachia¹. Hence it clearly appears that this composition stood upon the wall overhanging the theatre; that is to say, upon the southern wall, towards the eastern end. The three other dedications of Attalus, namely, the contest of the Athenians with the Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia, were probably ranged in a similar manner on the summit of the Cimonian wall, and may thus have reached perhaps, as far as opposite the Parthenon.

2. The brazen colossus of Minerva, by Phidias, Minerva
Promachus. was distinguished from the two other celebrated statues of Minerva in the Acropolis, those of the Parthenon and Erechtheium, by the epithet of Promachus², as being armed and in the attitude of one

¹ Τῆς Ἀθήνησι Γιγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκσεισθεὶς εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη. Plutarch. Anton. 60.

² See above, p. 158. n. 3, and the description of the three statues of Minerva in the Acropolis, by the Scholiast of Demosthenes (c. Androt. p. 597, Reiske).

The three Minervas are alluded to in the following remarkable passage of the Knights of Aristophanes, pointed out by Mr. Wordsworth (Athens and Attica, p. 128), where the statue of the Parthenon is recognized by its ivory hands, the Minerva Promachus by its colossal dimensions, its brazen shield, and its spear, and the wooden Polias by the peplos which covered it.

ΚΛΕΩΝ. Ἴδου φέρω σοι τήνδε μαζίσκην ἐγὼ
 ἐκ τῶν ὁλῶν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου μεμαγμένην.
 ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ. Ἐγὼ δὲ μυστίλας μεμυστημένας
 ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τῇ χειρὶ τήλεφαντίνῃ.

ready for immediate combat. From an ancient coin of Athens, already referred to¹, we obtain not only the attitude and proportions of this gigantic figure, but its position also, which, to a spectator on the northern side of the Acropolis, was between the Parthenon and the Propylæa, but much nearer to the former. We perceive, from the same testimony, that it faced the west, as if guarding the entrance of the Acropolis through the Propylæa, and hence it is alluded to by Aristophanes as ἡ Παλλὰς ἡ Πυλαιμάχος. We may presume, therefore, that it was nearly opposite the centre of the Propylæa; and this is confirmed by Pausanias, who remarks that the crest of its helmet, and the point of its spear, were visible to those who were off the promontory Sunium, sailing towards Athens; for not these extremities only, but the whole statue would have been seen, when the Acropolis first became visible to vessels sailing up the Saronic Gulf, had it not, standing opposite to the Propylæa, been concealed by the Parthenon. And further,

ΔΗΜΟΣ. Ὡς μέγαν ἄρ' εἶχες, ὦ πότνια, τὸν δάκτυλον.

ΚΛ. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔτνος γε πείσινον εὐχρων καὶ καλόν·
ἐτόρυνε δ' αὖθ' ἡ Παλλὰς ἡ Πυλαιμάχος.

ΑΛ. Ὡ Δῆμ', ἐναργῶς ἡ θεὸς σ' ἐπισκοπεῖ,
καὶ νῦν ὑπερέχει σου χύτραν ζωμοῦ πλέαν.

ΔΗ. οἶε γὰρ οἰκείσθ' ἂν ἔτι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν,
εἰ μὴ φανερῶς ἡμῶν ὑπερεῖχε τὴν χύτραν;

ΚΛ. Τουτὶ τέμαχος σ' οὐδῶκεν ἡ Φοβεμιστράτη.

ΑΛ. Ἡ δ' Ὀβριμοπάτρα γ' ἐφθὸν ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας
Καὶ χύλικος ἡνύστρου τε καὶ γαστρὸς τόμον.

ΔΗ. Καλῶς γ' ἐποίησε τοῦ πέπλου μεμνημένη.

Aristoph. Eq. 1163.

¹ See plate I, fig. 1.

although standing opposite to the centre of the Propylæa, it would not have been intercepted from view by the Parthenon, when the latter first ceases to be hidden from ships in the Gulf, by the southern part of Mount Hymettus, had it stood many feet to the westward of a line produced from the western face of the Parthenon. The same words of Pausanias supply the means of forming an estimate of its height, which could not have been less than seventy-five feet, the roof of the temple having been about seventy feet higher than the platform of the statue. If we suppose the pedestal to have been about twenty feet, the statue itself was fifty-five feet high, or fifteen feet taller than the Minerva of the Parthenon.

3. A third monument of which the situation is Brazen
Quadriga. well defined, was the brazen quadriga dedicated from the spoils of Chalcis, having horses probably of the natural size¹. This, Herodotus informs us, was on the left hand of those who entered the Acropolis through the Propylæa².

Having fixed these three points, we shall find that the position of them all is exactly conformable with the order in which the monuments of the Acropolis occur in the narrative of Pausanias, if we conceive him to have turned to the right, after having entered

¹ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον εἰσὶόντι εἰς τὰ Προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει. Herodot. 5, 77.

² Pausanias notices a chariot only: possibly the horses may have been already carried away.

through the Propylæa; and thus to have advanced upon the Parthenon: after passing that building, to have described the objects at the eastern end of the citadel; and to have completed the circuit by returning to the Propylæa along the northern side of the citadel, including in that part of his course and narrative, the Erechtheium and the statue of Minerva Promachus. Some of the details of his description corroborate this supposition as to his route¹. For instance, he treats of the temple of Minerva Polias, or the eastern division of the Erechtheium, before the Pandroseium or western: after describing the monuments in the temenus of Minerva Polias, he mentions the statue of Minerva Promachus, which appears to have stood on the higher level, not far from the peribolus of that temenus: he then adverts to the brazen chariot, and after the latter monument describes only two statues; concluding his description of the Acropolis, by noticing the Pelasgic wall, which appellation seems in his days to have been particularly applied to the part of the northern wall adjoining to the Propylæa: thus the situation of the brazen tethrippus, as deduced from Pausanias, agrees perfectly with the description of Herodotus.

Following, therefore, the narrative of Pausanias, after he has described the Parthenon, we may infer

¹ The discovery of the base of the statue of Epicharinus has already been mentioned as corroborating the order of the first part of his route.—Note of 1839. See above, p. 347, n. 2.

that not far from the eastern front of that temple, stood the Apollo Parnopius by Phidias, and then, in the direction of that part of the southern wall which overhangs the Dionysiac theatre, the statue of Xanthippus father of Pericles, (that of Pericles himself was near the brazen chariot¹), then the Anacreon, and the statues by Deinomenes, of Io and Callisto. The Olympiodorus, which was very near the part of the wall just mentioned, was probably towards the Erechtheium, as well as the Diana Leucophryene, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles, and the ancient statue of Minerva by Endœus.

Among the monuments of the Acropolis not noticed by Pausanias, may be mentioned as the most remarkable:—1. A brazen ram of colossal dimensions². 2. The temple of Rome and Augustus³, situated about ninety feet in front of the eastern face of the Parthenon. From a portion

Temple of
Rome and
Augustus.

¹ See above, p. 151. 159.

This was perhaps the Pericles alluded to by Pliny. Ctesilaus (fecit) Olympium Periclem, dignum cognomine. Plin. H. N. 34, 8. (19. § 14.)

² ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει κριὸς ἀνακείμενος μέγας χαλκοῦς· ἀσελγέ-
κερων δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπε Πλάτων ὁ Κωμικὸς, διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι, καὶ
συναριθμεῖ αὐτῷ τὸν Δούριον ἵππον. Hesych. in Κριὸς ἀσελγέ-
κερως.

³ The following inscription is in five lines upon this marble:

Ὁ δῆμος θεῶ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι, στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ
τούς ὀπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος Μαραθωνίου, ἱερέως θεᾶς
Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει· ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀθηνᾶς
Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀλαιέως θυγατρὸς· ἐπὶ
ἀρχόντος Ἀρήου τοῦ Μωρίωνος Παιανιέως.

Augustus forbade the provinces to raise any temple to him, except in conjunction with Rome. Sueton. August. 52.

of its architrave still in existence, we may infer that it was circular, twenty three feet in diameter, of the Ionic or Corinthian order, and about fifty feet in height, exclusive of a basement, upon which undoubtedly it was raised.

Diogenes Laertius remarks that, of all the statues (300, according to Plutarch) which were erected at Athens, in honour of Demetrius of Phalerum, one alone, standing in the Acropolis, was allowed to remain¹, and even of this Pausanias makes no mention. We find the following also noticed, as having been in the Acropolis. A Mercury, surnamed *Ἀμύητος*, or the uninitiated²; a gilded Minerva dedicated by Nicias, which in the time of Plutarch had lost its gilding³; an ox presented by Lysias, and much admired⁴; a man standing by a horse, dedicated by Anthemion, son of Diphilus, upon the occasion of his being made a Roman knight⁵. These, or any others, which we may find recorded in ancient history, are either to be numbered among the *εἰκόνες ἀφανεστέραι*, or portraits of persons of little consequence, which Pausanias purposely passes by in silence, or among those which had been carried away by the plunderers who had despoiled Athens before his time.

Pausanias has admitted only of one exception, to

¹ Diogen. Laërt. 5, 75. Plutarch. Præcept. Polit. 27.

² Hesych. in *Ἑρμῆς ἀμύητος*. Clem. Alexand. Protrept. p. 28, Sylb.

³ εἰστέκει . . . καθ' ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός. Plutarch. Nic. 3.

⁴ Prov. Græc. p. 263, Schott.

⁵ For the inscription on this monument see J. Pollux, 8, 131. Hesych. in *Ἀνθεμίων*. Hesychius describes Anthemion as a place, (τόπος Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει).

his exclusion of Roman names in enumerating the monuments of the Acropolis. This was in favour of the emperor Hadrian, whom he takes every opportunity of distinguishing for his munificence towards Greece, and whom alone he seems to have acknowledged a fit companion for the illustrious men of former ages. But the Athenians had not failed to crowd the citadel, as well as every part of the town, with statues of powerful Romans. A few of their dedicatory inscriptions have been discovered and reported by modern travellers ¹.

An inscription copied by Chandler, alludes to a ^{Temple of Pandion.} sanctuary of Pandion, which, if we may be allowed to draw any inference from the situation in which the marble was found, stood near the eastern extremity of the Acropolis ².

¹ In the *Inscriptiones Antiquæ* of Chandler are several dedications to Romans, found in the Acropolis; among these are, one in honour of Nero Claudius Drusus, son of the emperor Tiberius (Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 317), another to L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (ibid. No. 377); which monument had afterwards been converted into that of a Roman proconsul Rufius Festus, whose title of Comes shows that he lived in or after the time of Constantine (ibid. No. 372). The Lollianus thus displaced for a proconsul, had in the reign of Hadrian enjoyed a high reputation as a sophist and rhetorician. He was the first who filled a *θρόνος* in this capacity: to this dignity he added that of *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων*; and having as such acquired great distinction by the supply of provisions to Athens, a statue was erected to him in the Agora, and another in a small grove planted by himself. The words, *κηδεμονίας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, τὸν ῥήτορα*, at the end of the inscription No. 377, prove this Lollianus to have been the same Ephesian whose life was written by Philostratus (Sophist. 1, 23).

² Chandler, *Inscr. Ant.* p. 49. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 213.

In descending from the Propylæum, in the direction of the outer Cerameicus and the Academy, Pausanias describes the cavern of Pan and the Areiopagus, both these having been nearly in his route, and not having yet been noticed by him. They are two of the natural features of Athens, which afford the surest guidance in its topography. An observation has already been made that the Areiopagus, or hill so called, is to be distinguished from the court of that name¹, which occupied the summit of the eastern extremity, where a flight of sixteen steps ascends from the southward to an artificial platform, around which may still be distinguished some remains of seats cut in the rock. These appearances correspond with that simplicity which is remarkable in all the most ancient establishments of the Athenians, whether civil or sacred ; as well as with the fact that the judgments of the court were given in the open air². As the Areopagitæ formed a council (βουλῇ), as well as a court (δικαστήριον), the building described by Vitruvius as having a roof of clay³ may have served for their use in the latter capacity.

Below the opposite or northern end of the eastern extremity of the hill of Mars, forty-five or fifty yards distant from the steps, is a deep fissure in the low precipices which border the height ; within these is a source of water. This seems to be the situation of the sanctuary of the Erinnyes, or Furies, commonly called by the Athenians αἱ σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, which some

¹ See above, p. 243.

² ὑπαίθριοι ἐδικάζοντο. J. Poll. 8, 118.

³ Athenis Areopagi antiquitatis exemplar ad hoc tempus luto tectum. Vitruv. 2, 1.

incidents in Æschylus¹, and Euripides², as well as more direct testimony, show to have been near the court of Areiopagus³. The cavern probably was the adytum of the temple, a subterraneous sanctuary being plainly alluded to in the Eumenides of Æschylus, and Euripides indicating still more clearly a chasm in the Areiopagus⁴. On this supposition there was

¹ ΑΘΗΝΗ. Χαίρετε χ' ὑμῖς· προτέραν δέ με χρὴ
Στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν.
Πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν, τῶνδε προκομπῶν,
ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν
Κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτήριον
Χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
Πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη

· · · · ·
Βᾶτ' ἐκ δόμων μεγάλαι φιλοτίμου
Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες,
Ἵπ' εὐθύφρονι κομπᾶ.
Εὐφαιμεῖτε δέ· χωρεῖτε
Γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεισιν ὠκυγίοισι.

· · · · ·
Ἰλαιοὶ δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶ
Δεῦρ' ἴτε σεμναί, πυριδάπτῃ
λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι.

Eumen. 1001.

² Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 962. Orest. 1665.

³ ἐπιρωρικῶς τὰς Σεμνάς Θεὰς ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγῳ. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 35, Reiske.

Φράζω δ' Ἀρείον τε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις
Εὐμενίδων, ὅθι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίους σ' ἱκετεύσαι
Δουρὶ πιεζομένους· τοὺς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ
Μήδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν· ἱκέται δ' ἱεροὶ τε καὶ ἄγνοί.

Orac. Dodon. ap. Pausan. Achaic. 25, 1.

Pausan. Att. 28, 6. See above, p. 160.

⁴ πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονός. Eurip. Elect. 1269.

These Ἰῆς τε καὶ σκότου κόραι, as they are designated by So-

probably an artificial construction in front of the cavern. Here, or in the cavern itself, were six statues of the Furies, and three of the terrene deities (χθόνιοι θεοί). In an exterior inclosure was the monument of Œdipus¹.

Between the temple of the Semnæ and the lowest gate of the Acropolis stood the heroum of Hesychus, whose descendants were priests of those goddesses. Here also was the monument of Cylon², erected in the place where he had been slain³.

phocles (Œd. Col. 40, vide et 107), having usually been considered the daughters of Uranus and Euonyme, or the Earth (Hesiod. Theogon. 185. Istrus ap. Sch. Soph. Œd. Col. 42), had very naturally a subterraneous σηκός, like that of their mother Earth, on the ascent of the Acropolis: and hence also the employment of torches in their ceremonies.

¹ Pausan. Attic. 28, 7. See above, p. 161.

² Prior to the sacrifice made to the Eumenides, a ram was immolated to Hesychus, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι παρὰ τὸ Κυλώνιον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐννέα πυλῶν. Polemon ap. Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 489, on which see the remarks of K. O. Mueller in his Eumenides, p. 179, and in the notes to Rienäcker's translation of the first edition of the present work. Polemo probably designated the entrance of the Acropolis as the "Nine Gates", because, in the time of Cylon, the old Pelasgic works remained, and the Cylonium was a little without the position of the lower gate.

³ It was in the time of Solon, or about 600 B.C. that Cylon, in attempting to maintain his usurpation of the sovereign power, was blockaded in the Acropolis, and was obliged to surrender, together with his adherents, on condition that they should be allowed to justify themselves in the court of Areiopagus (according to Thucydides, Cylon and his brother had previously escaped). In order to secure themselves from their enemies while proceeding from under the protection of Minerva to that of the Eumenides, the Cylonii tied a rope to the statue of Polias, and with the other end of it had arrived very near the sanctuary of the Furies, when the rope

The remarks of Pausanias on the Areiopagus lead him to enumerate the other courts of justice at Athens¹; and with these he closes his description of the city, with the sole exception of the few words which he bestows on the ship employed in the Panathenaic procession to which I have already adverted². As he mentions ten courts, including the Areiopagus, we may be persuaded that these were the ten principal courts which were distinguished by the ten initial letters of the Attic alphabet, beginning with the Areiopagus³. Two of his names, however, *Batrachius* and *Phœnicus*, are not found in any other author: but, as we know that some of the courts were distinguished by colours⁴ as well as letters, there is reason to believe, that, in the instance of those two courts, the names derived from their colours

broke. They were then considered as abandoned by Minerva; those who were outside the sanctuary were stoned to death, and those who fled to the altar of the *Semnæ* were there slaughtered. A plague ensued: Epimenides was sent for from Crete: his expiations were successful, and he would receive no other reward for his services than a treaty of alliance between the Cnossii and the Athenians, or, according to Plutarch, a sprig of the sacred olive-tree. Herodot. 5, 71. Thucyd. 1, 126. Plutarch. Solon. 12. Præcept. Polit. 27. Diogen. Laërt. 1, 109. Suid. in *Ἐπιμενίδης*. Pausan. Attic. 28. See above, p. 157.

¹ See above, p. 161.

² See above, p. 298.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277. In the *Ecclesiazusæ* (677) Praxagora alludes to this custom when she declares her intention of issuing tickets, marked with the letters of the alphabet from A to K, entitling the bearer to a supper in one of the *Stoæ*, and sending the last to a *Stoa* in *Peiræus*.

⁴ Aristot. de republ. Athen. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 278. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 220. Suid. in *Βακτηρία καὶ σύμβολον*. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1105.

—grass green and scarlet—had superseded, in common use, their other appellations. They were probably the same as the Epilycum and the Metichium : 1. Because the two latter names are the ninth and tenth in the enumeration of Julius Pollux ¹, whose eleventh, the Ardetus, had ceased to be a court at a very early period. 2. Because the Metichium was evidently one of the ten, being described as a μέγα δικάστηριον; and, 3, Because the other eight, enumerated by Julius, are the same which, together with the Batrachius and Phœnicus, make up the ten named by Pausanias.

In regard to the situation of these courts of justice, that of four of them has already been indicated, namely, of the Areiopagus, Palladium, Prytaneium, and Delphinium ². The Bucoleium was near the Prytaneium ³: the Phreatys was on the shore of one of the harbours of Peiræus ⁴. The Parabystum, or court of the Eleven, is placed by Pausanias in an obscure part of the city; from which, and from the court taking cognizance of matters of small importance, he derives the name. But others give a different interpretation of the word ⁵. The Heliaea, the greatest of the Athenian judicatures, and commonly

¹ J. Poll. 8, 121.

For the functions of the principal courts of justice, see Demosth. c. Aristoc. p. 645, Reiske. Lex. Rhet. ap. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 262, 310. Meurs. Areop. 11.

² See above, p. 165. 233. 269. 273.

³ Suid. in Ἀρχων.

⁴ Pausan. Attic. 28, 12. See above, p. 162, and below, in Section IX.

⁵ Etym. M. in ν. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 292. Παράβυστον, according to these authorities, meant ὁ λάθρα ἔκρινεν.

called τὸ μέγα δικαστήριον, in which 1500 were sometimes assembled, we may conceive to have been in or near the most ancient part of the Agora, as it was at least coeval with Solon; it was perhaps the ὑποκάτω δικαστήριον, or lower court, as contrasted with the Areiopagus, which was called the ἄνω βουλὴ from its lofty situation, as well as its precedence in the state¹. If this conjecture be well founded, the Heliaea probably occupied a situation in the valley to the south of the Areiopagus and south-westward of the Acropolis; for on every other side the former height appears to have been surrounded by archæia, temples, stoæ, and other monuments. The situation alluded to was very near the most ancient Agora.

Having finished his description of the city, Pausanias proceeds from Dipylum to the Academy, in descending to which he describes a Peribolus of Diana or Hecate, containing wooden statues of “the best and fairest of goddesses²,” and a small temple of Bacchus; to which, on stated days, the statue of Bacchus, which had originally been transferred from Eleutheræ to the Lenæum, was brought from the latter place³. On either side of the road through

¹ See above, p. 243.

The Heliaea is supposed by some (Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 863, Eq. 255, Vesp. 88, 769) to have derived its name from ἥλιος, because the court assembled in the open air: by others from ἀλιζεσθαι, to congregate (Etym. M. in Ἡλιαία).

² Ζάνα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπα τὰ Σαίφους, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται. Pausan. Attic. 29, 2. Καλλίστη· ἥ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἰδρυμένη Ἑκάτη, ἣν ἔνω Ἀρτεμιν λέγουσιν. Hesych. in v.

³ Pausan. Attic. 20, 2. 29, 2. 38, 8.

the outer Cerameicus to the Academy were sepulchral monuments of Athenians who had been slain in battle, with the exception only of those who fell at Marathon, and who were buried on the spot ¹.

¹ For some remarks on the outer Cerameicus and Academy, see Appendix XVIII.

SECTION IX.

Of Maritime Athens, and its divisions, Peiræus, Munychia, and Phalerum.—Their harbours, monuments, and fortifications.

THE singularity and local advantages of the site of Athens consist not more in its natural fortress, the Acropolis, than in the peculiar formation of its sea-coast. While the Cecropian hill gave protection to the early cultivators of the plain against invaders both by sea and land, and was the primary cause of the importance of Athens among the states of Greece, the indented coast and the peninsular form of Attica were the gifts of nature, to which may be traced that extensive commerce, and that dominion over the Grecian seas which Athens so long retained. The security of the Athenian harbours, and their different capacities, well proportioned to the several stages of the naval power of Athens, conspired with the position of Attica relatively to the surrounding coasts of Greece and Asia, with the richness of the Attic silver-mines, and even with the general poverty of the Attic soil, to produce a combination of circumstances peculiarly adapted to encourage the development of

commercial industry, and of nautical skill and enterprise.

Strabo has left us the following description of the maritime quarters of Athens ¹:

“Above the shore (of the strait of Salamis) is the mountain Corydalus and the demus Corydalenses; then the port Phoron; Psyttalia, a small uninhabited rocky island, by some called the eye-sore of Peiræus ²; near it Atalante, an island of the same name as that between Eubœa and the Locri, and another small island of the same nature as Psyttalia. Then occurs Peiræus, which is reckoned among the demi, and Munychia ³.

“Munychia is a peninsula connected by a narrow isthmus with the mainland. It is full of natural hollows and excavations in the rock, and is naturally well adapted to the reception of dwelling-houses. Below it are three harbours ⁴. Anciently Munychia resembled the city of the Rhodii, being well inhabited in every part, and surrounded by a wall, which

¹ Page 395.

² τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς. This expression was more commonly applied to Ægina. Aristot. Rhet. 3, 10. Demades ap. Athen. 3, 21 (55). Plutarch. Pericl. 8. Demosth. 1.

³ εἰθ' ὁ Πειραιεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ταττόμενος, καὶ ἡ Μουνυχία. According to Hellanicus, the name was derived from Munychus, son of Panteucles, king of Athens; and the place was first inhabited by Minyæ of Orchomenus, who obtained a refuge here on being driven out of Bœotia by the Thracians. Hellan. ap. Schol. Demosth. p. 148, Reiske. Diodor. fragm. 7. Harpocrat., Suid. in Μουνυχία.

⁴ Λόφος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Μουνυχία χερβρονησιάζων καὶ κοῖλος καὶ ὑπόνομος πολὺ μέρος, φύσει τε καὶ ἐπίτηδες ὥστ' οἰκήσεις δέχεσθαι, στομίῳ δὲ μικρῷ τὴν εἰσόδον ἔχων· ὑποπίπτουσι δ' αὐτῇ λιμένες τρεῖς. p. 157.

comprehended, within the same inclosure, Peiræus, and the ports full of places for the construction of ships, among which was the armoury of Philo¹. The harbours were sufficiently capacious to afford anchorage to four hundred ships; for the Athenian navy consisted of no fewer. These fortifications were joined to the Long Walls, which were forty stades in length, and united the Peiræus to the city². But the many wars in which Athens has been engaged have caused the destruction of the walls of Peiræus, and of the fortress of Munychia³, and have reduced Peiræus to a small village, situated around the ports and the temple of Jupiter Soter, in the open court (ὑπαίθρον) of which are still seen some statues, and in its portico some admirable pictures, the works of celebrated artists. The Long Walls were ruined by the Lacedæmonians, and again by the Romans, when Sylla besieged and took both Peiræus and Athens. The city consists of habitations surrounding a rock in the plain. On the summit of the rock is the temple of Minerva, &c.⁴: on the shore adjacent to Peiræus is the demus of the Phalerenses: then the Halimusii, Æxonenses, &c.

¹ According to Pliny (H. N. 7, 37 (38)), this armoury was adapted to the supply of a thousand ships. Philo wrote a treatise upon this his celebrated work in Peiræus, and another upon the symmetry of temples (Vitruv. 7, in Præf.). He was an orator (Cic. de Orat. 1, 14), as well as an architect.

² Τῷ δὲ τείχει τούτῳ συνῆπτε τὰ καθειλευσμένα τοῦ Ἀστεος σκέλη· ταῦτα δ' ἦν μάκρᾳ τείχει, τετταράκοντα σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, συνάπτοντα τὸ ἄστυ τῷ Πειραιεῖ.

³ τὸ τεῖχος κατήρειψαν καὶ τὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας ἔρυμα.

⁴ Τὸ δ' Ἀστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιουκυμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, &c. p. 396.

These are the names of the demi which border the coast as far as the promontory Sunium."

Pausanias describes the maritime demi and ports of Athens in the following terms¹:

"The Peiræus was a demus from early times; but it was not a port for ships until Themistocles administered the affairs of the Athenians. Before that time the harbour of Athens was at Phalerum, where the sea-shore is nearest to the city. It was from Phalerum that Menestheus set sail for Troy; and still more anciently Theseus, when he went to satisfy the vengeance of Minos for the death of Androgeus². But Themistocles, when he held the government, perceiving that the harbour of Peiræus was more commodiously situated for navigation, and that it possessed three ports, whereas Phalerum³ had only one, formed it into a receptacle for ships: and to the present time the buildings for containing ships remain, and the sepulchre of Themistocles on the shore of the largest of the three ports⁴; for it is said

¹ Attic. 1, 2. 3.

² Minos accused the Athenians of having treacherously slain his son Androgeus. For the different legends of the expedition of Theseus, and his contest with the Cretan Taurus, or the poetical Minotaur, see Plutarch (Thes. 15 et seq.), who cites Philochorus, Aristotle, Demon, Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Cleidemus, and others. See also Pausanias (Attic. 27, 9), and Apollodorus, 3, 15, § 8.

³ Pausanias seems here to have had in view the words of Thucydides (1, 93). Θεμιστοκλῆς νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφνεῖς. Thucyd. 1, 93. V. Corn. Nep. Themist. 6.

⁴ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους.

that the Athenians repented of their conduct to Themistocles, and that his bones were brought hither by his descendants from Magnesia.

“The most remarkable object in Peiræus is the sacred inclosure of Minerva and Jupiter¹, containing brazen statues of the two deities; the Jupiter having in his hands a sceptre and a victory, and the Minerva a spear². Here also is a picture by Arcesilaus of Leosthenes and his children³. The Macra Stoa

¹ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος.

² There can be no doubt that this temenus of Jupiter and Minerva was the same as the *ιερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος*, or sanctuary of Jupiter Soter, noticed by Livy (31, 30), Strabo (p. 396), Pliny (H. N. 34, 8 (19, § 14)), and Plutarch (Demosth. 27). It was probably a foundation coeval with the birth of Athenian navigation, and which received additions at various times in buildings, altars, and statues. Pliny describes the statue of Minerva and the altar of Jupiter in the following terms: “Cephisodorus, Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Jovis Servatoris in eodem portu, quibus pauca comparantur.” The artist’s name, however, was not Cephisodorus, but Cephisodotus, whose sister was married to Phocion (Plutarch. Phocion. 19), who made the statue of Peace bearing Plutus, in the Cerameicus (Pausan. Bœot. 16, 1), and who was the joint artist of three statues in the temple of Jupiter Soter at Megalopolis (Pausan. Arcad. 30, 5). The Athenians relieved Demosthenes from his fine by granting him the amount of it for the purpose of raising and adorning an altar in this temple, for the festival of the god. Plutarch. Demosth. 27. Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth. An altar of Jupiter Ctesius, alluded to by Antiphon (in Nover. p. 612. 614, Reiske), was probably within the sanctuary of J. Soter.

³ When the Athenians were meditating a war with Macedonia, Leosthenes sailed to Asia with the Athenian fleet, and conveyed to Greece the Greek mercenaries of the Persian satraps whom Alexander wished to detain in Asia. In the Lamiac war, which broke out on the death of Alexander, Leosthenes commanded the Athenians, and gained two victories; one at Platæa over the

(long portico) serves as a market-place for those who dwell near the sea; but there is another agora for such as live at a distance from the shore¹. Behind the Macra Stoa are statues of Jupiter, and of Demus (the people), the works of Leochares. On the sea-side is a temple of Venus, built by Conon after his victory over the Lacedæmonian triremes near Cnidus, in the Carian Chersonese: for the Cnidii particularly worship Venus, and have three temples of the goddess².

"The Athenians have also a port at Munychia, where is a temple of Diana Munychia, and another harbour at Phalerum³, where is a sanctuary of Ceres⁴. Here is likewise a temple of Minerva

combined forces of the Macedonians and Bœotians; the other at Thermopylæ over Antipater. The Macedonians were then shut up and besieged in Lamia, and Leosthenes fell in the siege. Pausan. Attic. 25, 4. Arcad. 52, 2. Diodor. 18, 9 seq.

¹ This was the agora Hippodameia, or Hippodameius, as clearly appears from Xenophon (Hellen. 2, 4. See below, p. 386); and which is mentioned by Demosthenes (in Timoth. p. 1190, Reiske), and Andocides (de Myster. p. 23).

² Themistocles was said to have erected a temple to Venus Aparchus in Peiræus (Ἀπαρχὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο ἐν Πειραιεῖ), because a dove perched upon his trireme during the battle. Ammonius Lamptricus, ἐν τῷ περὶ βωμῶν, ap. Schol. Hermogen. περὶ ἰδεῶν in cap. περὶ γλυκύτητος. Rhet. Græc. II. p. 407, Ald.

It is not unlikely that the dedications of Themistocles and Conon were both within the temenus of a more ancient sanctuary of Venus; for the name Aphrodisium, by which the great Peiraic harbour was distinguished from the two others, was probably older than the time of Themistocles.

³ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίους ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαλήρῃ καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἰρηγαί μοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν.

⁴ In the Phocica (35, 2), Pausanias describes this sanctuary as a ναὸς, and adds, that, like a temple of Juno in the Phaleric road,

Sciras¹, and somewhat farther a temple of Jupiter : there are altars also sacred to the gods, called the Unknown², to the heroes to the sons of Theseus, to Phalerus³, who is reported by the Athenians to have sailed to Chalcis with Jason, and to Androgeus, son of Minos, who is worshipped under the name of "the Hero."

"Twenty stades from Phalerum is the promontory Colias, where the fleet of the Medes was driven by the waves after its destruction (at Salamis)."

it had remained ruinous and half burnt from the time of the Persian invasion.

¹ Called by Plutarch (Thes. 17) the temple of Scirus. Scirus was a Dodonæan prophet, who came to Athens in the reign of Erechtheus the second. Pausan. Att. 36, 3.

² Altars to the unknown gods were said to have been first raised both at Athens and in the demi, as early as the forty-sixth Olympiad, by the advice of Epimenides, on the occasion already mentioned. See above, p. 358, n. 3.

³ *βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων (κυβερνητῶν) καὶ παιδῶν τῶν Θησέως καὶ Φαλήρου.* We learn from Philochorus (ap. Plutarch. Thes. 17) that near the temple of Scirus stood heroic monuments of Nausithous and Phæax, two men of Salamis ; whom, at the request of Theseus, Scirus had sent from thence to assist him in his navigation to Crete, the Athenians being then very unskilled in naval affairs, and Menesthes, one of the young Athenians destined for Crete, having been a grandson of Scirus. Nausithous was the *κυβερνήτης* or steersman, Phæax the *πρωρεὺς* who looked out ahead, and in honour of these heroes there was a festival at Phalerum, called the *κυβερνήσια*. It appears from Clemens of Alexandria that they were represented standing, the one by the prow, the other by the stern of a vessel ; for Clemens evidently refers to Phæax in the words *τιμᾶται δὲ τις Φαληροῦ κατὰ πρύμναν ἡρώς*. Protrept. p. 12, Sylb. Hence it is not improbable that Pausanias wrote *ἡρώων κυβερνητῶν*.

To the reader who has compared the preceding descriptions, with the plan of maritime Athens, it would be superfluous to state any thing further in proof of the fact that the demus of Peiræus was adjacent to the largest of the three existing Athenian ports; that Phalerum, being the easternmost of the three demi, and the nearest to the city, bordered the small oval basin, of which the modern name is Porto Fanári; and consequently that the port of Munychia was the circular harbour now called Stratiotikí.

The great harbour of Peiræus, although subject to some inconveniences from the difficulty which ships occasionally experience in entering and sailing out, is still an excellent port for vessels as large as frigates. The two smaller ports, although not well adapted to modern navigation by their dimensions, are safe receptacles for that class of vessels which will always be numerous among the islands and winding coasts of Greece. The modern names of Phalerum and Munychia indicate perhaps that under the Byzantine emperors a light was exhibited at the former, and that the latter was the military station. Of the Peiraic harbour the vulgar Greek name is Dhráko (*Δράκων*)¹; whence the Turkish Aslán Li-

¹ *Δράκων* is one of those words, which, in the course of the corruption of the Greek language, have been converted from specifics into generics, or from particular objects to all objects possessing similar qualities. Thus *δράκων*, instead of meaning, as among the ancients, a serpent only, is now applicable to a monster of any kind, and was thus applied to the marble lion of the Peiræus.

máni, and the Italian Porto Leone: all derived from a colossal lion of white marble which Spon and Wheler observed upon the beach at the head of the harbour, when they visited Athens¹. This fine monument of early Athenian art, which represents the animal as seated on its hind quarters, with its forelegs vertical and its head erect, was removed to Venice, when Athens was taken by the Venetians in 1687².

It was not until the third year of the Peloponnesian war, when maritime Athens was in danger of being surprised by the enemy's fleet, that the Athenians saw the necessity of fortifying the Peiræus in the manner customary among the Greeks³. The

¹ Spon, II. p. 110. Wheler, p. 418.

² On the same occasion a couchant lion, of nearly the same magnitude, was removed from the Sacred Way near the Academy, and was placed, together with the former, at the gate of the arsenal of Venice. Adjacent to the couchant figure, which is to the right in entering, are two other lions of the same material, but of smaller dimensions; on the basis of one of which the inscription "Ex Atticis" shows that it was brought from Attica, together with the two larger. The fourth, which is larger than that just mentioned, represents the animal as erect on its forelegs, and raising its hinder, as if in the act of rising. On the base is inscribed "Anno Corcyrae liberatae," showing that it was obtained in the year 1716. It is said to have been brought from Corinth, and differs in style from the Attic figures. I was mistaken in supposing (in the former edition of this work, p. 310) that any of these statues had been carried to Paris by the conquerors of Italy.—Note at Venice, May 1839.

³ λιμένων τε κλείσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείῃ. Thucyd. 2, 94.

Mention is often made of κλειστοὶ λιμένες in ancient history,

maritime city having in other respects been well fortified, little more was required than a prolongation of the inclosure at the entrance of the ports, with towers at the termination of the moles, from which chains might be extended across the harbour's mouth. Remains of the *χηλαι*, or moles, still exemplify the manner in which the object was effected. At the entrance of Phalerum are vestiges of a very massive construction of this kind; a part of which was built

and many examples of them still exist on the sites of the maritime cities of Greece, where small land-locked basins were inclosed, as Strabo has described the Athenian ports, within the circuit of the town walls; that is to say, that the city walls having been carried down to either side of the harbour's mouth, were prolonged from thence across the mouth by means of moles founded generally upon rocky shoals, which left only a passage in the middle for two or three triremes abreast between two towers, the opening of which might be farther protected by a chain. Sometimes sufficient shelter was obtained by a single mole. It was at Athens and Ægina, the two chief maritime states on the eastern coast of Greece, that nature and art had particularly combined in the formation of *closed ports*: for we still trace the remains of four or five at Athens and of three at Ægina. The walls thus embracing the harbours were called *χηλαι*, or claws, the port having been likened to a crab, which it often resembled in form. This kind of harbour was not out of use in the Levant seas, as long as the *Armata Sottile*, as the Venetians called that part of their navy which consisted of galleys and galliots, continued to be an object of importance among them, and to have opponents of the same kind among the Turks, and other naval powers of the Mediterranean, where the narrow seas, the intricate and rocky coasts, the numerous small ports, the sudden changes of weather, and the frequent calms, are all in favour of vessels which draw little water, and depend chiefly upon oars for their swiftness.

upon a small island at the entrance. Of Munychia: the eastern *chele* in part remains; and at the entrance of Port Dhráko the moles still form two reefs, which leave only an opening of sixty yards, indicated by two masses of masonry, but where doubtless in ancient times stood two handsome towers. At the head of the same bay, other remains of moles clearly prove that the shallow basin beyond them was one of the three ports into which, as we learn from some of the grammarians, the harbour of Peiræus was anciently divided; although neglect, the low situation of this creek, and the alluvial depositions of a torrent running into it, have now rendered it a mere lagoon, unfit even to receive the small vessels in use among the modern Greeks. It seems of necessity to follow that the third Peiraic port was the exterior haven, the entrance of which is indicated by some vestiges of a mole which there connected a small island with a point on the northern shore of the peninsula of Munychia.

The three subdivisions of the harbour of Peiræus ^{Harbours of Peiræus,} were named Cantharus, Aphrodisium, and Zea¹; but

¹ 'Εν Πειραιεὶ δὴ ποῦσιν Κανθάρον λιμὴν.—Aristoph. Pa. 144.

Πειραιεὺς λιμένας τρεῖς ἔχει, πάντας κλειστούς· εἷς μὲν, ὁ Κανθάρον λιμὴν· οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τινος ἥρωος Κανθάρον· ἐν ᾧ τὰ νεώρια· εἶτα τὸ 'Αφροδίσιον· εἶτα κύκλῳ τοῦ λιμένος στοαὶ πέντε. Schol. ibid. Κανθάρων· λιμὴν οὕτω καλεῖται ἐν Πειραιεὶ. Hesych. in v.

Κάνθαρος· τὸ ζῶον· καὶ ὄνομα λιμένος 'Αθήνησι. Suid. in v.

Ζέα, ἡ 'Εκάτη παρὰ 'Αθηναίοις καὶ εἷς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ λιμένων, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ζειᾶς· ἔχει δὲ ὁ Πειραιεὺς, λιμένας τρεῖς κλειστούς. Hesych. in v.

although we are furnished with their names, and the remains of the ancient works give us nearly their limits, there is some difficulty in applying the respective appellations. If Aphrodisium was so called from the temple of Venus on the shore of Peiræus, mentioned by Pausanias, we may presume the middle or great port to have been Aphrodisium; for the general aspect of the place as well as the situation of the Peiraic theatre, leave no doubt as to the central part of the demus of Peiræus, where stood the temples of Jupiter Soter and of Venus, and where the shore was bordered by the Macra Stoa.

If the middle or great harbour was Aphrodisium, it is probable that Cantharus was the inner basin, and Zea the outer port. Cantharus was noted for containing the naval arsenal¹, and it is consistent with reason and experience to suppose that such works were in the most sheltered, defensible, and retired part of the Peiraic harbours. The name of Zea, on the other hand, having been derived from

¹ The words of the Scholiast *ἐν ᾧ τὰ νεώρια* (p. 373. n. 1.) seem to imply that all the naval establishments were in Cantharus, but some inscriptions recently discovered, (see below, p. 400.) prove that the harbours Munychia and Zea were also subservient to the uses of the Athenian navy. The shores of Cantharus, therefore, may have been totally, and the two other harbours not more than partially devoted to those purposes.—Note of 1840.

τὰ νεώρια comprehended the naval arsenal generally, οἱ νεώσοικοι were dry docks for the reception of the triremes, and were covered probably with roofs. *Νεώσοικοι καταγώγια* (οἰκήματα Phot. Lex in N.) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης φέκοδομημένα εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν νεῶν, ὥτι μὴ θαλαττεύοιεν· τὰ νεώρια δὲ ἢ τῶν ὄλων περιβολή. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 282.

the ships which supplied Athens with corn, and which navigated to the Black Sea and other distant places, corresponds better with the exterior division; where the depth of water was greater, and where those vessels being the largest and strongest which the Athenians possessed, might find sufficient protection from the weather.

We find a strong confirmation of this opinion in the situation of Phreattys, a court of justice for the trial of homicides, who were already in a state of exile on account of a prior offence of the same kind, and which was situated so near the margin of the sea, that the accused pleaded from a ship while his judges sat on shore. This court was called indifferently ἐν Ζέῳ or ἐν Φρεαττοῖ¹, and it is described as being on the outside of Peiræus². An accident, which happened in Port Cantharus, and which Plutarch has recorded, because it was considered a prodigy, which had reference to the recent occupation of the maritime city by a Macedonian garrison³,

¹ 'Ἐν Ζέῳ τόπος ἐστὶ παράλιος· ἐνταῦθα κρίνεται ὁ ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ μὲν φόνοφ φεύγων, αἴτιον δὲ ἔχων ἐφ' ἐκουσίῳ φόνοφ.

'Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ· οἱ ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνοφ φεύγοντες, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δέ τινι κρινόμενοι· οἱ ἐπὶ πλοίῳ ἐστῶτες ἀπολογοῦνται. Bekker, Anec. Gr. I. p. 311. J. Poll. 8, 120.

² τέταρτον τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ· ὃ δικάζει τὸν χρόνον μὲν τινα φεύγοντα ῥητὸν, αἰτίαν δὲ πρότερον ἔχοντα φόνον· ὃς καὶ κρινόμενος ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔξωθεν τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπολογούμενος ἄγκυραν καθίει, διότι ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι. Helladius ap. Phot. Myriobibl. p. 1594.

³ A mysta preparing for initiation in the mysteries of Bacchus, was washing a pig intended for sacrifice in the port named Cantharus, when a κῆτος (a shark ?) bit off all the lower part of the man's body. As the theatre still extant marks the situation

becomes highly improbable on the supposition that Cantharus was the outermost harbour.

Maritime
Demi.

There is reason to believe that the whole of maritime Athens was divided into the two demi of Peiræus (οἱ Πειραιεῖς) and Phalerum, (οἱ Φαληρεῖς), and that the peninsula, as well as the harbour of Munychia, was included in the former¹, for thus alone is it easy to understand Thucydides, who, making no mention of port Munychia by name², remarks that Peiræus contained three harbours and Phalerum one³, whence it appears that he referred to the limits of the demus of Peiræus, and that he included Munychia as one of its three natural harbours, the two others having been Cantharus and Aphrodisium. The only testimony which can be adduced in favour of the opinion that Munychia was a demus, are the words of Strabo already cited⁴, but as he is there enumerating the places in their order

of the Sanctuary of Bacchus, it is hardly to be supposed that the mysta carried the victim for the purpose of washing it, so far from thence as beyond the middle port: whereas the inner bay was conveniently situated for his purpose.

¹ Had Munychia been a demus, it is scarcely credible that no inscription should yet have been found, containing the name of a demotes of such an important place. Stephanus of Byzantium, who was very exact in distinguishing the demi, describes it only as a λιμὴν, and the people as οἰκήτορες. Μουνυχία· τόπος τοῦ Πειραιῶς. Etym. M. in v.

² This harbour is not often mentioned in Athenian history: but we have proof of its employment by the Athenians in an oration of Isæus (De Philoctemon. hæred. p. 157, Reiske.)

³ See above, p. 366, n. 3.

⁴ See above, p. 364, n. 3.

along the coast, the passage may be differently interpreted; and it seems clear that the three ports which he describes as lying at the foot of the Munychian height, were Munychia, Aphrodisium, and Zea.

On one side of the entrance into the harbour of Peiræus, was a place named Alcimus, on the other was Eetioneia. Eetioneia is described by Thucydides Eetioneia. as a chele of Peiræus, commanding the entrance into the harbour¹. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian fleet and army, under Thrasybulus and Alcibiades, were at Samus, and when the Four Hundred were in possession of the government of Athens, the latter made an addition to the fortifications of this promontory,

¹ φκοδόμουν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἑτιωνείᾳ τείχος
 χηλὴ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἑτιώνεια, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἡ ἱσπλὺς ἐστίν· ἐτειχίζετο οὖν οὕτω ζὺν τῷ πρότερον πρὸς ἡπειρον ὑπάρχοντι τείχει, ὥστε, καθεζομένων ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων, ἄρχειν τοῦ γε ἱσπλου· ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος, στενοῦ ὄντος, τὸν ἔτερον πύργον ἐτελεύτα· τό τε παλαιὸν τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον καὶ τὸ καινὸν τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, τειχιζόμενον πρὸς θάλασσαν· διφκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοὰν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα τούτου, εὐθὺς ἐχομένη ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ ἥρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἐς ἣν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἠνάγχαζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐκπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν προαιροῦντας πωλεῖν. Thucyd. 8. 90.

Ἑτιώνεια. Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως—οὐότως ἱκαλεῖτο, ἥ γε παρὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄκρα ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστησαμένου τὴν γῆν Ἑτιώνος, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δήμωνα ἀντιγραφῇ· μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Ἑτιωνείας καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν ὀγδόῃ, Harpocrat. in Ἑτιώνεια.

See also Demosthenes (c. Theocrin. p. 1343, Reiske), Suidas and Stephanus in Ἑτιώνεια.

with a view to preventing the entrance of the Athenian fleet, which was adverse to them, and even to secure the admission of the Peloponnesian fleet, rather than to resign their power¹. Their works appear, from the description of Thucydides, to have been chiefly near the sea, but connected, towards the main land, with the old Peiraic fortifications.

As this description cannot apply to the southern shore of the entrance of Peiræus, which formed a part of Munychia, and which, from its peninsular form, and its situation with respect to Phalerum and Peiræus, could not have had any walls towards the main land (*πρὸς ἡπειρον*), it is obvious that Eetioneia was the point on the opposite shore.

Thucydides adds, that adjoining to their fortress the Four Hundred built a large stoa within the Peiraic harbour, in which all persons were obliged to deposit their corn, as well that which was already in port as that which was daily arriving by sea.

Eetioneia having been on the northern side of the entrance of Peiræus, Alcimus must have been on the opposite side. It appears to have been a quarter or inhabited portion of the Munychian peninsula, adjacent to the entrance of port Aphrodisium. The name occurs only in reference to the situation of the tomb of Themistocles, which, according to an author cited by Plutarch, was on a part of the shore sheltered from the force of the sea by a

Alcimus.

Tomb of
Themis-
tocles.

¹ Thucyd. 8. 91, 92. Demosth. l. 1.

projection at Alcimus¹. The tomb, which is described as consisting of a broad basis and an altar-shaped monument, is stated by Pausanias to have stood on the shore of the principal harbour (πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι). If these words are decisive in placing the tomb within the great port, those of Plutarch are equally so in showing that it was near the opening; as may be inferred also from the lines of the comic poet, which describe the

¹ Διόδωρος ('Ηλιόδωρος?) δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν μνημάτων εἴρηκεν, ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου προκίεται τις οἶος ἀγκῶν, καὶ κάμψαντι τούτον ἐντὺς, ἥ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδές, τῶς τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. Οἶεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος,
 Τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
 Τούς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
 Χώπῳ ταν ἔμλλα τῶν νεῶν, θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαὶ τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ἃς ἱκαρποῦτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος. Plutarch. Themist. c. ult.

As we know that Heliodorus wrote a work περὶ τῶν μνημάτων (see above, p. 36, note 2), there is probably an error in the text of Plutarch of Δ for ΗΛ. It is not surprising that Plutarch should have thrown doubts on the information of his author, by the words ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, since he was himself of opinion that the real tomb was at Magnesia. His silence as to the monument in Peiræus, which his contemporary Pausanias has mentioned, may be attributed to his usual negligence as to topography and antiquities.

tomb as seen by all who entered or sailed out of Peiræus.

As this author wrote about sixty years after the death of Themistocles, the topographer cited by Plutarch about two centuries later, and Pausanias and Plutarch three or four centuries after his time, we have tolerable evidence of the existence of a monument of Themistocles in Peiræus throughout those ages, though in all probability it was nothing more than an honorary cenotaph, as its altar-shaped form seems to show.

This situation within the town of Peiræus, and near the entrance of the harbour, was well adapted to the monument of one, who was not only renowned for his naval victories, but also as the founder and fortifier of the maritime city¹.

¹ It has long been customary at Athens to give the name of "the tomb of Themistocles," to a monument on the extreme Western Cape of the Munychian peninsula, where a quadrangular *θήκη*, or coffin hewn out of the rock was protected, by means of an outer case similarly formed, from the surf to which this part of the shore of the Munychian peninsula is exposed. Near it lies a sepulchral stele or short column of a common form. There is no kind of evidence, however, to support this tradition, which seems to be more modern than the time of Spon and Wheler, or even of Stuart. The exposed situation is directly contrary to the testimony of Diodorus (or Heliodorus).

Numerous sepulchres somewhat similar to that in question, and more or less preserved, may be remarked on the shore, on either side of the entrance of the harbour. There is one in particular on the promontory to the westward of Eetioneia, which together with a creek beyond it is called Trapezóna, probably an ancient name. This monument consists of a broad *κρητίς* or base, with the fragments of a large fallen stele which stood upon it, and

When the Athenians by the advice of Themistocles, built a new town at Peiræus, Hippodamus of Miletus, whom they employed for this purpose¹, found Peiræus consisting probably of little more than a range of buildings around the bay. These by means of improvements may have become the five stœæ, which afterwards encircled all the eastern and southern sides of the harbour, except where the sanctuary of Venus and one or two other public buildings occupied the shore, or where it was necessary that there should be streets or roads leading into the town of Peiræus, or to the two eastern harbours, or to the interior of the Munychian peninsula. These buildings and commencements of streets formed probably the separations between the Stœæ. The words of the scholiast of Aristophanes², compared with the locality, induce one to believe that the temple of Venus stood between port Cantharus and the first street, or that which conducted from the head of port Aphrodisium through the town of Peiræus to Athens. Beginning near this street, there occurred probably a Stoa, reaching to a temple or public building, of which some remains are still observable at the monastery of Saint Spyridion.

Aphrodisium.

would have been more worthy of being named the tomb of Themistocles, than that near Alcimus, if the situation could have been reconciled with the ancient authorities. But in truth it is impossible to say, in the absence of inscriptions, to whom any of these monuments were erected.

Aristotle (H. Anim. 6. 15.) alludes to a Themistocleium in Attica, but it could hardly have been that of Peiræus, as it stood near a marsh.

¹ See above, p. 13.

² See above, p. 373, n. 1.

Macra
Stoa.

The interval between this point and the beginning of a street, which led to port Munychia by the shortest line between the two shores, we may conceive to have been occupied by the Macra Stoa, which on this supposition would have been about 300 yards in length, an extent quite sufficient to justify the name: while the position would have been central, as well with respect to the towns as to the harbours of Peiræus and Munychia, and well adapted therefore to those purposes of a maritime Agora, to which the Macra Stoa was subservient.

Deigma.

The Exchange, or Deigma, so called as having been the place of exhibition of merchandise¹, formed probably a part of the Macra Stoa. The only other Stoa of which we possess the name was the Alphitopolis, or meal-bazár, said to have been erected by Pericles². It was probably adjacent to Zea, as this was the port frequented by vessels engaged in the corn trade.

Temple of
Jupiter
Soter.

As to the temple of Jupiter, the words both of Strabo and Pausanias, favour the supposition that it

¹ τὸ Δεῖγμα τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐνθα πολλοὶ συνήγοντο ξένοι καὶ πολῖται καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 975.

Δεῖγμα· κυρίως μὲν τὸ δεικνύμενον ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πωλυνμένων· ἥδη δὲ καὶ τόπος τις ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐμπορίῃ, εἰς ὃν τὰ εἴγματα ἐκομίζετο, οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. Harpocrat. in Δεῖγμα.

Every commercial town in Greece had a similar establishment (Cenæ Poliorcet. 30). The deigma of Rhodes was adorned with statues (Polyb. 5. 88). On some of the occasions on which the word occurs in Attic writers, it is probable that a deigma in Athens was intended. But Peiræus being the place of commerce, its deigma was more celebrated. Xenoph. Hellen. 5. 1. § 11. Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 932, Reiske. in Polycl. p. 1214, Lys. c. Tisid. ap. Dionys. περὶ Δημοσθ. δεινότη. 11. Polyæn. 6. 2.

² Schol. in Aristoph. Acharn. 548.

was not on the sea-shore¹ but in the interior of the town, about midway perhaps, between the eastern extremity of the harbour and the gate at which the ancient route from thence issued from the town of Peiræus, in the way to Athens. The temple occupied possibly one side of the interior Agora, which formed the central and most important feature of that regular plan on which the new town of Peiræus was built under the directions of Hippodamus², and another

Agora Hip-
podameius.

¹ Strabo, by saying that in his time there were no buildings in maritime Athens except around the ports, *and* around the temple of Jupiter Soter; and Pausanias, by remarking, that the temple of Venus and the Macra Stoa were near the sea, and by stating only in regard to the temple of Jupiter Soter that it was in Peiræus.

² Colonial towns are generally built upon a more regular plan than metropolitan, being laid down upon a single design at the time of the migration. The colonists of Ionia had the further advantage of settling in a country where literature and the arts were more advanced than in European Greece. Hence they were able to supply the Athenians with an architect when the new Peiræus was built, and hence the plan of this town was uniform and rectangular, while Athens continued to be remarkable for its narrow and crooked streets (*κακῶς ἐβρύμοτομημένη διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα*. Dicæarch. vit. Græc. p. 8, Huds.) Strabo (p. 647) describes the *βρυμοτομία ἐκ' εὐθείων* of new Smyrna, which was built in the reigns of Antigonus and Lysimachus.

Pausanias, in describing the city of Elis, contrasts the Ionian mode of constructing Agoræ with the *τρόπος ἀρχαιοτερος*. Aristotle recommends for his imaginary city, a mixture of the two modes of building; observing that the old method was better against an enemy, the Hippodameian for beauty: *ἡ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οικήσεων διάθεσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται, καὶ χρησιμωτέρα πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἂν εὐτομος ᾗ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἰπποδάμειον τρόπον* πρὸς δὲ τὰς παλεμικὰς ἀσφαλείας *τινῶν ἀντίον, ὥς εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον, δυσέξοδος γὰρ*

part of which plan was a broad street or road leading from that Agora to Port Munychia, as appears from Xenophon in his relation of those memorable events, which led to the overthrow of the Thirty, in the year B. C. 403; and in the course of which narrative, the historian has thrown some light on the topography of maritime Athens¹.

Thrasybulus having surprised and defeated the adverse party near Phyle, entered Peiræus in the night², where his light armed were reinforced by a strong body of native petroboli, or slingers of stones³. The Thirty, on hearing of his movement, marched to Peiræus by the hamaxitus or carriage way (on the outside of the Northern Long Wall,) with a force composed of the Lacedæmonian garrison, together with the Athenian horsemen and hoplitæ of their own party, amounting to about three thousand⁴. Thrasybulus thought at first of preventing them from entering Peiræus, but considering the disparity of numbers, and the extent of line to be defended, he commenced

ἐκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς, καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν. . . . καὶ τὴν μὲν ὅλην μὴ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν εὐτομον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον ἔξει καλῶς. Aristot. Polit. 7, 11.

¹ Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4.

² Thrasybulus is said to have been guided from Phyle to Munychia, the night having been very dark, by a miraculous light, which vanished near the spot in Munychia, where in the time of Clemens stood an altar of Phosphorus (ὁ τοῦ Φωσφόρου βωμός). Clem. Alexand. Strom. 1. 24.

³ πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 3. § 20.

⁴ τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρέλκοντο. Ibid.

a retreat to Munychia. The Thirty then entered the Hippodameian Agora, and began to move forward by a street leading from thence to the temple of the Munychian Artemis and the Bendideium ¹. In this street they were so confined, that their hoplitæ were compressed into a phalanx of fifty in depth: and in this manner they were beginning to ascend a height, when Thrasybulus, observing the moment favourable for an attack, drew up his hoplitæ, ten in depth, opposite to the enemy, and harangued his forces, explaining to them the disadvantages of the enemy's position, arising from their being on a level ground, where neither their slings nor javelins could take effect ², nor the rear ranks of their hoplitæ could act, as they would be unable to launch their missiles with any effect over the heads of those in front of them. Whereas the troops of Thrasybulus, who were on a rising ground, would make every spear, and javelin, and stone effectual; and by forcing the enemy's hoplitæ to hold their shields before their faces ³, would give the Thrasybulian hoplitæ, the greatest advantage in coming to close quarters with them. The augur forbad the attack until some

¹ Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὧν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὐκ ὧ πολλοῖς οὖσι, ξυνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν· οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἀστεος εἰς τὸν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνεταίξαντο ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ φέρεי πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον. § 11.

² οὔτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι, δύναιντ' ἄν. § 15.

³ φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύσουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν. § 16.

one on the side of Thrasybulus should fall, and then himself rushing forward was slain. Thrasybulus upon this immediately became the assailant, gained an easy victory, and pursued the enemy as far as the plain¹.

Hence it appears that the Hippodameian Agora was eastward of the head of the harbour, and north-westward of that extremity of the hill of Phalerum², upon which are found the remains of the Peiraic theatre; and the last falls of which separate the level at the head of Port Aphrodisium from that at Port Munychia. It is evident that a direct road or street, from the Agora to Port Munychia crossed this rising ground, and that the distance must have been very small between the southern side of the Agora, and the point where the street issuing from it began to ascend the hill. By his promptitude and judgment in selecting the moment for engaging, Thrasybulus

¹ Diodorus, in relating these events (14, 33), has justly ascribed the success of Thrasybulus in overthrowing the power of the Thirty Tyrants to the gaining possession of Munychia, which he describes as a desert and strong hill (λόφον ἔρημον καὶ κατρεπρόν): but the testimony of Xenophon will not allow us to believe that Diodorus is accurate in saying, that the Thirty besieged Munychia (προσέβαλον τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ), since it is evident that the action was fought in Peiræus, to the northward of the Munychian peninsula, which would still have offered a retreat to Thrasybulus had he been defeated.

² By the hill of Phalerum is meant that which extends from Port Phalerum to near the head of Port Aphrodisium, though all the western part of it was in the demus Peiræus. But its highest point, which is higher than any other in maritime Athens, is immediately above Port Phalerum.

obtained a double advantage: the street confined the enemy to a front of hoplitæ equal to his own, and the rising ground enabled him to derive useful assistance from the light-armed; while those of his opponents were not only on lower ground, but embarrassed by the buildings of the Agora and of the street issuing from it. We may infer likewise from the circumstances, that the road was of considerable breadth, not less perhaps than one hundred feet¹.

In the transactions which very soon followed this defeat of the Thirty, mention is made by Xenophon of the theatre of Peiræus, of which the remains are still extant. Lysander and Pausanias had now come to the assistance of the party in possession of Athens; and Libys, brother of Lysander, closely blockaded Peiræus by sea. The Peloponnesians having encamped in the plain 'of Halipedum', Pausanias summoned the Thrasybulii to quit Peiræus and disperse; and upon receiving a refusal, made an assault upon the place, which was not more effec-

Theatre of
Peiræus.

¹ The proportion of file in the two parties shows that the Thrasybulian hoplitæ were not more than one fifth of those of the enemy; his number, therefore, assuming that of the Thirty at three thousand, was about six hundred, and sixty was the number in front on both sides. This would require at least one hundred feet. Possibly it was an ὁδὸς ἐκατόμπεδος (see Travels in Northern Greece, IV. p. 405), for the Greeks seem to have considered the scale of one hundred feet as attended with some symmetrical or eurhythmical influence. See below in Appendix XVI.

² ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ. Hellen. 2, 4, § 30.

tual than his summons; nor in fact was it intended to be, as Pausanias, jealous of Lysander, was desirous of accommodating matters between the two parties of Athenians. The next day, Pausanias, who commanded on the right, proceeded with two Spartan moræ, and three phylæ of Athenian cavalry, for the purpose of ascertaining the best mode of circumvallating the Peiræus, and on his return from Port Cophus, which had been the extent of his march, was disturbed by an attack from Peiræus, which provoked him to send the horsemen against the assailants, with some of the Lacedæmonian infantry, while he followed with the others. Thirty of the enemy's light-armed were slain, and the remainder were driven to the theatre in Peiræus¹, where all the peltastæ happened to be as well as the hoplitæ of Peiræus. These then became the assailants, and annoyed the Lacedæmonians with missiles of every kind to such a degree, that after losing two of their polemarchs, they were under the necessity of giving way, while Thrasybulus advancing with all his hoplitæ, eight in depth, and taking the lead of the light-armed, obliged Pausanias to retire four or five stades to a hill, from whence he sent to his camp for the assistance of all his forces. Then forming his army

¹ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ, προσέθειόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνέντας καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ξυνέπεσθαι. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἑγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ θέατρον. § 31, 32.

in a compact order, he led them against the Thrasybulii, who stood the shock, but were defeated, losing one hundred and fifty killed, while some took to flight, and others were driven into the marsh at Halæ¹.

The name Halipedum² points out the plain at Halipedum. the head of the bay between Phalerum and Cape Colias, as the place of encampment of the Peloponnesians. The Spartan king, having been on the right, was conveniently situated for an examination of that part of Peiræus, where alone a circumvallation could be made, namely the north-western side, Peiræus in every other quarter having been accessible only through Phalerum and Munychia. Cophus was probably the creek on the exterior side of Cape Eetioneia³, for there the circumvallation would of necessity terminate to-

¹ 'Ο δὲ Πανσανίας, μάλα πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὄσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινὰ, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. Ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθεῖαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Οἱ δ' ἐς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξέωσθησαν ἐς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. § 34.

² 'Ἀλίπεδον' τινὲς τὸν Πειραιᾶ φασιν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κοινῶς τόπος, ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἦν θάλασσα, αὖθις δὲ πεδῖον ἐγένετο ἱνιοὶ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι τὸ παραθαλάσσιον πεδῖον οὕτω λέγεται. Harpocrat. in 'Ἀλίπεδον.

³ Κωφὸς λιμὴν meant "the still harbour," according to Zenobius (4, 68) on the Greek proverb κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίου λιμένος, applied to port Cophus of Torone. There was indeed but one wind, the south-west, that could disturb the water in the creek in question.

wards the west, and there Pausanias might communicate with Libys. In marching to this point from Halipedum and in returning from thence, Pausanias could not avoid passing near the entrance of Peiræus, which placed those within in a favourable position for interrupting his march. The hill to which he retired, could scarcely have been any other than the summit of the Phaleric height, which rises immediately above the theatre of Peiræus, and was very conveniently situated for receiving succour from the camp in Halipedum.

Halæ
Phalericæ.

The subsequent action, therefore, probably took place at the foot of that height to the northward, and it was a very natural consequence of the result, that some of the defeated men on the Athenian left, should have been driven into the marsh at the north-western angle of the Phaleric bay, where may have stood a suburb of Phalerum called Halæ, a name of the same origin as Halipedum, and of common occurrence in similar situations. It is scarcely possible to suppose that Halæ Æxonides could have been intended by the historian as the distance of that place from the scene of action was not less than eight miles.

The same transactions afford a tolerably correct measure of the extent to which the Lacedæmonians had carried their destruction of the Long Walls, and defences of Peiræus in the preceding year. That the entrance of the Peiræus from Athens had been laid open, seems evident from the march of the Thirty into the Hippodameian Agora, and from the pursuit of the Thrasybulii by Pausanias, as far as

the theatre: the lower or western part of the Long Walls appears also to have been demolished, as no mention of them occurs in the movement of Pausanias from Halipedum towards the western side of Peiræus, or in the action in which he defeated Thrasybulus. On the other hand, the ramparts of Peiræus seem not to have much suffered, Thrasybulus having entertained for a moment the design of defending the κύκλος against the Thirty, and Pausanias that of forming a circumvallation (ἀποτειχισμα) round the western side. As the Spartans, when Athens capitulated, had at first required the demolition of ten stades of the Long Walls¹, this had been apparently their primary object, and having accomplished this task which destroyed the connexion of the Peiraic Long Walls with the entrance of Peiræus, they may not have been anxious to undertake the immense labour of subverting all the defences of Peiræus, although it formed an article in the final treaty².

The theatre of Peiræus, like that of Athens, ^{Dionysium of Peiræus.} was attached to a sanctuary of Bacchus, where a Dionysiac festival was celebrated³, and where *music* contests were held, in one of which Euripides is said

¹ Xenoph. 2. 2, § 15. Lys. c. Agorat. p. 451. 453, Reiske.

² That some demolition of the Peiraic walls was executed, is evident from Xenophon, but he also shows that it was very speedily and therefore not effectually done. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ Μακρὰ Τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη. Hellen. 2. 3. § 11.

³ ἡ πομπὴ τῇ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ. Demosth. c. Meid. p. 517. Reiske.

to have contended for the prize in the presence of Socrates¹.

Theseium
of Pei-
ræus.

From an extant inscription, there appears to have been a sanctuary of Theseus in Peiræus; attached to it were lands and woods, situated perhaps in the neighbouring plain or some other part of Attica²: this Theseium was doubtless one of the four mentioned by Philochorus³. Another inscription shows that there was a temple of Vesta in Peiræus⁴.

Serangeium.
Choma.

Serangeium⁵ and Choma⁶ (the mound) were places

¹ Καὶ Πειραιῶι δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ κατῆλθε. (Socrates sc.) *Ælian. Var. Hist.* 2, 13.

Two interesting inscriptions regarding this theatre were brought to England by Chandler, and presented by the Society of Dilettanti to the British Museum. Boeckh. *C. Ins. Gr.* No. 101, 102. One of them confers upon Callidamas, among other honours, a front seat in the Peiraic theatre, whenever the Peiræenses should celebrate the Dionysia (προεδρίαν ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ ὅταν ποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τὰ Διονύσια): the other inscription records a lease of the theatre for an annual rent of 330 drachmæ to four Attic citizens.

² This inscription, which records the terms of a lease of lands granted by the Peiræenses in the archonship of Archippus (321, or 318, B.C.) was brought from Greece by Chandler, and presented by the Society of Dilettanti to the British Museum. Boeckh, *C. Ins. Gr.* No. 103.

³ Ap. Plutarch. *Thes.* 35.

⁴ Boeckh. *C. Ins. Gr.* No. 101.

⁵ Σηράγγιον· χωρίον τι τοῦ Πειραιέως οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. It was mentioned in the *Γεωργοί*, a lost drama of Aristophanes, and in a lost oration of Lysias. Harpocr. in v. Among the possessions of Euctemon was a bath in Serangeium. Isæus de Philoctemon. hæred. p. 140, Reiske. Suid., Hesych. in v.

⁶ Χῶμα· τι ἐστὶν ὄνομα τόπου ἐν Πειραιῇ. Bekker. *Anecd. Gr.* I. p. 316.

or quarters in Peiræus, of which little else is known. The name of the former¹ would induce one to look for it on some part of the rocky shore in Zea, or on the adjacent part of Aphrodisium, near the supposed position of the tomb of Themistocles. One authority, however, mentions a sanctuary of a hero Serangus².

Peiræus appears to have had no other provision of water than that derived from wells, even so long after the establishment of the new city as the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians had already an extensive commerce³, for Thucydides, in describing the plague of Athens, expressly remarks that there were no κρήναι, or artificial fountains, at that time in Peiræus⁴.

We have seen that in Munychia there was a temple of Diana⁵. Its remains may still be observed near the shore of the harbour, consisting of foundations of an oblong building, some fragments of Doric columns, about two feet and a half in diameter, and the triglyphs of a Doric entablature of corresponding dimensions.

¹ Σήραγξ: σπήλαιον· χάσμα· κοιλάς· καὶ ὕψαλος πέτρα, ῥήγματα ἔχουσα. Phot. Lex., Hesych. in ν.

² Σηράγγιον· τόπος τοῦ Πειραιῶς κτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σηράγγου καὶ ἡρώον ἐν αὐτῷ. Phot. Lex. in ν.

³ Pericles ap. Thucyd. 2, 38.

⁴ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν αὐτόθι. Thucyd. 2, 48. It generally happens, in times of severe pestilence, that some class of men, odious for some reason to the ignorant multitude, are subject to such accusations.

⁵ See above, p. 385.

Theatre of
Munychia.

About four hundred yards to the south-west of this temple, on the isthmus between the ports of Munychia and Peiræus, stood the theatre of Munychia, facing the entrance of the harbour, and about fifty yards distant from its south-western extremity. This theatre is mentioned by Thucydides and Lysias, and from both these authors we may deduce that it was a building of some importance. The orator mentions it as having been a place of assembly of the Athenian people; and Thucydides, who designates it as the Dionysiac theatre at Munychia¹, relates that in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 412), during the contest between the Four Hundred and the party of Theramenes, it was taken possession of by the hoplitæ, who had first been employed by the Four Hundred to build the fortress at Eetioneia, and had afterwards been induced by the opposite party to destroy it. The hoplitæ, after consulting together in the theatre of Munychia, agreed to march to Athens, where, having taken possession of the Anaceium, the Four Hundred found themselves under the necessity of proposing a change in the government, and an early meeting for that purpose in the great theatre

¹ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνυχιάσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγένετο, &c. Lys. c. Agorat. p. 464. 479, Reiske.

. . . τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον. Thucyd. 8, 93.

The specific mention of the theatres at Munychia and Peiræus, as Dionysiac theatres, seems to indicate that there were other theatres in the maritime city. But the extant remains, we may safely presume to be those of the Dionysiac, as having been the principal theatres.

of Bacchus. Before the day arrived, however, the appearance of the Lacedæmonian ships, the defeat of the Athenians by sea at Eretria, and their consequent loss of Eubœa, brought about the immediate deposition of the Four Hundred and the appointment of a new government; the prudence and activity of which saved Athens for the moment from a situation of the utmost difficulty.

Adjoining to the theatre of Munychia, and standing on higher ground, are considerable remains of a temple, or other public building, which appears to have been about equal in breadth to the theatre: we may conceive that the two formed together a noble object, particularly as seen from the ships which entered port Munychia. This temple may possibly have been the Bendideium, or temple of the Thracian Artemis, for such a situation would accord with the words of Xenophon¹, on the supposition that from the route leading from the Hippodameian agora to the temple of Diana Munychia at

¹ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣ φέρει πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον (see above, p. 385, n. 1), where apparently the last words were added because the Bendideium was situated either beyond the temple of Diana Munychia on the same line, or in a direction to which there was a road branching from that line. The importance of the Bendideium may have been another reason why the name is here introduced by Xenophon. ἡ Βένδις αὐτῇ, Lucian. Jup. Trag. 8. In a lost drama of Aristophanes she was entitled the Great Goddess (ap. Phot. Lex., Hesych. in Μεγάλη Θεός), and the Bendideia was a noted festival, which occurred on the 19th of Thargelion, the day before the lesser Panathenæa. Plat. Polit. i. Schol. ibid. Proclus in Plat. Tim. 1. Strabo, p. 471. Origen. c. Cels. 6. Philocal. 15. Hesych. in Διλογχον. Meurs. Gr. feriat. in Βενδίδεια.

the head of the harbour, there was a branch from that direct route to the Bendideium, and from thence to the centre of the Munychian peninsula.

The theatre and the temples of Diana having been thus situated, it is probable that around them, in the time of the Roman empire, was one of those "villages near the ports" to which maritime Athens was then reduced, after having in better days almost entirely covered both the Phaleric height and the peninsula of Munychia. Of this ample evidence remains in numerous foundations of walls, some constructed and others excavated in the rocks, as well as of chambers and cisterns similarly formed, and amidst which are some ancient quarries¹. We have no intelligence of any building or monument in Munychia besides those already mentioned, except the altar of Phosphorus² and the monument of a hero called Acratopotes, or the drinker of unmixed wine³.

Phalerum. Phalerum having been alone employed as a harbour in the early ages of Athenian history, contained a greater number of objects of veneration than Peiræus or Munychia. Besides those mentioned by Pausanias were the sepulchre of Aristeides⁴, a place called the Oschophorium⁵, and a fountain of brackish

¹ Chandler (c. 5) supposes these to have been the quarries alluded to by Xenophon (Hellen. 1, 2, § 14), from which the Syracusans escaped in the year 408 B.C.: but a large quarry, on a height to the west of Port Cophus, was more probably the place of their imprisonment.

² See above, p. 384, n. 2.

³ Polemon ap. Athen. 2, 2 (9).

⁴ Demetrius Phalereus ap. Plutarch. Aristid. 1.

⁵ Ὀσχοφόριον, τόπος Ἀθήνησι Φαληροῖ. Hesych. in v.

water, supposed to be the same as the Clepsydra of the city¹. Diogenes Laertius asserts that the sepulchral monument of Musæus was at Phalerum, with an epigram upon it, which he has recorded; but this is in contradiction with Pausanias, and with the name of the hill Museum in the Asty, where Musæus was reported to have been buried².

Phalerum having been the harbour nearest to the city, and conveniently placed on a coast abounding in fish, was naturally the chief fishing station of the Athenians³. The plain in the vicinity was equally adapted to market gardens⁴, being moist, low, and easily irrigated from the Cephissus.

Of the temples of Ceres, of Minerva Sciras, and of Jupiter, or of the other buildings and monuments of the demus, scarcely a trace remains; and Phalerum, like so many other places in Greece, has preserved little or nothing, except a part of its works of defence.

The fortifications of all the three portions of the

Fortifications.

¹ See above, p. 169.

² See above, p. 166.

³ The 'Αφύη, though generally despised (the Sprat?) was particularly commended by the γαστρομάργοι, when caught near Phalerum, ἐν εὐκόλοισι Φαλήρου 'Αγκῶσι ληφθένθ' ἱεροῖς, Arches-tratus ap. Athen. 7, 8 (22). Φαληρίς ἡ κόρη, Eubulus ap. Athen. 3, 24 (71). 'Η δὲ Φαληρικὴ ἦλθ' ἀφύη Τρίτωνος ἑταίρη, Matron ap. Athen. 4, 5 (13). τὰ μικρὰ τὰ Φαληρικὰ τὰδ' ἀφύδια, Aristoph. ap. Athen. 7, 8 (23). See also Lynceus of Samus (ibid.), Aristophanes (Acharn. 901. Av. 91), Aristotle (H. Anim. 6, 15), and J. Pollux (6, 63). The gobius (κῶβιος) was also a favourite production of the fisheries of Phalerum (Antiphanes ap. Athen. 7, 17 (83), and the γλαυκίσκος (Lynceus ap. Athen.) 7, 8 (24).

⁴ The Phaleric ράφανος (ἦν καλοῦσί τινες κράμβην. Aristot. H. An. 5, 19) was much commended. Hesych. in Φαληρικάι.

maritime city are still traceable in many places, and they serve to illustrate some of the events of Athenian history, as well as the general practice of military architecture among the ancients. The strength of the Peiraic fortifications was particularly exemplified in the siege of Athens by Sylla; and some of the historians of this event remark that there were six or seven different walls or inclosures¹. Their existing remains justify the assertion.

The sea-line of maritime Athens began at a round tower which overlooks the north-western angle of the bay of Phalerum, and followed the crest of the rugged shores of Phalerum and Munychia, excluding some of the rocky points of land, and crossing the mouths of the harbours of Phalerum and Munychia, so as to leave only narrow entrances which might occasionally be closed. The sea-line terminated at the entrance of Port Aphrodisium; and thus was confined to Phalerum and Munychia; while the land front of maritime Athens, with the exception of the north-eastern wall of Phalerum, which is about 400 yards in length, belonged entirely to Peiræus, properly so called, no part of which was adjacent to the open sea. All the north-western side of the hill of Phalerum was in Peiræus, the

¹ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. 30. Plutarch. Syll. 14. Dion. Cass. fragm. 121. 123.

Ita dimicavit (Sylla) ut et Athenas reciperet et plurimo circa multiplices Piræei munitiones labore expleto, amplius ducenta hostium millia interficeret.—Vell. Paterc. 2, 23. Mox, subruto Piræei portu, sex quoque et amplius muris, &c. Flor. 3, 5. Orosius, a Spaniard of the fourth century, says (6, 2), Piræum septemplici muro communitum.

wall of which was a continuation of the north-eastern wall of Phalerum, and is traced along the crest of the hill as far as a low projection, at which it approaches the road from Athens to Port Dhrako, coinciding with the northern Long Wall. As all the eastern side of Peiræus, as well as of Phalerum, was covered by the Long Walls, it was on the north-western side that Peiræus was most exposed, on which account, as well as because it contained the naval establishments of Port Cantharus, it required a strong system of fortifications: the extant remains near the western extremity of the front explain, in great measure, the mode in which the defence was effected.

At the extremity already mentioned, where the Peiraic inclosure approaches the northern Long Wall or modern road, it assumed a westerly direction, and crossed the road at an opening between two low rocks, where appears to have stood the gate, at which Peiræus was entered from Athens. Beyond this point, the Peiraic walls are scarcely traceable, but in proceeding a little farther to the north-west, we find the foundations of the northern Long Wall, not exactly in its former line produced, but directed apparently upon the eastern mole head of Port Cantharus. A prolongation of the western *chele* of this port ascended the height, which rises from the north-western shore of port Aphrodisium, and there formed the northern side of a triangular inclosure which comprehended all the southern face of that hill, and had an entrance at the obtuse apex of the triangle between two round towers. The western wall of the triangle terminated in another round tower, near which a square tower formed



the mole head of the northern chele of the great harbour. On the outside of the northern wall of the triangular inclosure, there was a ditch cut in the rock¹; the corresponding defence of the western wall was the creek before alluded to, and supposed to be the ancient Cophus. On the hill which rises from the western side of this creek, a wall flanked with square towers formed a counterscarp to this natural ditch: the northern extremity of this exterior work was bent into angles, so as to terminate on the outside edge of the excavated ditch, thus covering the entrance between the two round towers. Here doubtless was an exterior gate, although no traces of it are now to be found. Another of the "multiplices Peiræei munitiones" may be observed crossing from port Cophus to the similar creek, which is situated three quarters of a mile to the north-westward of it, and which is now called Trapezóna; I observed also the remains of walls, which seem to have inclosed the whole of the larger peninsula which lies seaward of the harbours Dhrako and Keratzíni. Not far from the inner shore of port Cantharus, and following apparently a direction nearly parallel to that shore, are the vestiges of another ancient inclosure. This probably was part of the same line which inclosed port Cophus, and which formed the exterior defence of the triangular inclosure.

When the Phaleric basin was the only harbour employed by the Athenians, and they had a rival at

¹ This may perhaps be one of the ditches for the defence of Peiræus, made by Demosthenes. (Vit. X. Rhet. in Demosth.)

sea so near as Ægina, the protection of Phalerum was an object of the greatest importance. We find, accordingly, vestiges of an Acropolis on the summit of the height which rises immediately above the harbour, and which was the highest point in the maritime city. Remains are also extant of a wall, which, descending from the south-western side of the Acropolis to port Munychia, separated Phalerum from Peiræus. The western inclosure of Phalerum then followed the shore of the Munychian bay, but excluded the promontory which is on the right in entering that harbour. From thence as far as the round tower above the western angle of the roadstead of Phalerum, it was a portion of the sea line as before stated.

There are vestiges of three gates in the land front of maritime Athens: one already noticed on the modern road from Athens to Peiræus; a second near the north-eastern angle of Phalerum, in the direct route from Athens to that demus; and a third which stood at two-fifths of the distance from the latter gate to that first mentioned. This intermediate gate entered the town of Peiræus near the theatre, and there may possibly have been another or fourth gate, more directly in the line of the intralongomural street.

Little doubt can be entertained that Munychia had its citadel as well as Phalerum; though perhaps of a date less ancient, as it may not have been a part of the plan of Themistocles to form Munychia into a separate inclosure, his great object having been to fortify Peiræus, and to connect it with Athens: in his time, as well as long after-

wards, such was the superiority of the Athenian navy to all others, that no apprehension of a siege could have been entertained; we know that it was not until the third year of the Peloponnesian war that provision was made for the closure of the harbours. Nor are there at the present day, any remains of walls in the interior of the peninsula, except a line which descends from the summit of the hill in a southern direction to the wall encircling the cliffs: and which may have been a work of a later period, erected as a protection towards the sea, when all the south-western part of the peninsula had become uninhabited¹. Nevertheless we have undoubted proof, that soon after the time of Alexander the Great, Munychia was a separate fortress: and we may conclude that there was an Acropolis in the centre², as such an extensive peninsula would not have been sufficiently

¹ Peiræus had already, in the time of Alexander, so much declined, that Philiscus, the comic poet, who was a contemporary of Lysias (Vit. X. Rhet. in Lys.), likened it to a great empty walnut:

Πειραιεύς κάρπων μέγ' ἔστι καὶ κενόν.

Anthol. Jacobs, XIII. p. 708.

That is to say, it was depopulated, but its great walls remained. These indeed were still extant in the time of Sylla. Appian. de B. Mithrid. 30.

² This supposition is confirmed by inscriptions of the age of Alexander, which have recently been brought to light on the southern shore of port Dhrako. Mention is therein made of naval stores, deposited in the Acropolis. See Boeckh Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen States p. 472, seq. and the Addenda to this page at the end of the volume.—Note of 1840.

fortified by merely adding a wall across the isthmus to the line around the cliffs. But, secured by an Acropolis, Munychia was admirably adapted to be the citadel of a maritime city, which generally had the command of the sea, but was sometimes inferior to its enemies by land; for on this side it was surrounded by other well fortified quarters of the city, and could only be approached through them. Thus Munychia became the citadel not only of the maritime town, but of Athens itself; and the Macedonians, during their occupation of it, were generally content to leave the Asty, and even the ports and their claustra in possession of the Athenians.

In early times Epimenides the Cretan is said to have had the sagacity to foresee the danger to which Athens would be exposed if the Munychian peninsula should fall into the hands of an enemy¹; and a Latin author remarks that the existence of Athens depended upon Munychia².

¹ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ καταμαθὼν πολὺν χρόνον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλὸν ἔστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ὁδοῦσιν εἰ προήδεσαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον. Plutarch. Solon. 12. Diogen. Laërt. 1, 114. J. Tzetz. 5, 18.

² Nicanor Piræeo est potitus sine quo Athenæ esse omnino non possunt. Corn. Nep. Phocion. 2.

The same author, in the Life of Themistocles (6), says of the Peiraic city hujus (Themistoclis sc.) consilio triplex Peiræei portus constitutus est isque mœnibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. In the most populous ages of Athens the great maritime supplies of corn were alone sufficient to make the *existence* of the city dependent upon Peiræus.

The possession of this fortress indeed was more important than that of the Acropolis itself; and whoever was master of Munychia was master of Athens.

In the Peloponnesian war, as soon as the Lacedæmonians had obtained possession of the harbour, the Athenians gave up all further attempts to resist the enemy. By seizing Munychia Thrasybulus placed himself in a situation which led to the overthrow of the Thirty; and the successors of Alexander found the possession of Munychia their only security for the obedience of Athens. The first Macedonian garrison was placed here by Antipater, when the attempt of the Athenians to throw off the Macedonian yoke had been defeated at Crannon¹. The Athenians then called to mind a Dodonæan oracle, which had recommended them to guard with especial care the promontories of Diana².

Supported by the Munychian garrison, Phocion governed Athens until the death of Antipater³; and Demetrius of Phalerum for more than ten years, during the reign of Cassander, the successor of Antipater, not less to the benefit of the Athenians than Phocion had done before him. Demetrius, son of Antigonos, was then sent from

¹ B. C. 322. Polyb. 9, 29. Diodor. 18, 18. Pausan. Attic. 25, 4. Phocic. 3, 3. Plutarch. Demosth. 28. Phocion. 28. Camill. 19. Dionys. de Dinarch. 9.

² τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Ἀργεμίδος φυλάσσειν, ὅπως ἄλλοι μὴ λάβωσι. Plutarch. Phocion. 28.

³ B. C. 318.

Asia by his father, with the ostensible purpose of liberating the cities of Greece from Cassander. By the siege and capture of Munychia, the Poliorcetes expelled the Phalerean¹, and left Athens free from a Macedonian garrison for eight years; during which the Athenians opposed Cassander for some time with success, but at length were obliged to submit again to his influence under the administration of their countryman Lachares. Demetrius, after the defeat and death of his father in Asia, found it necessary to expel Lachares by force, in order to regain his footing in Greece, and hoped to secure Athens from future defection, by placing a garrison in Museum as well as in Munychia²; but upon his being driven from the throne of Macedonia, the Athenians, under Olympiodorus, assaulted and took Museum, and reduced the garrison in Munychia to surrender³. Demetrius, notwithstanding his fallen condition, was easily persuaded to direct his attention to Asia⁴, from whence he never returned.

¹ B. c. 307.

² B. c. 299.

³ B. c. 287. In the system of Athenian fortification the Museum was a most important post; the possession of which the Macedonians might safely prefer to that of the Acropolis itself. The Museum secured to them the quiet possession of the Long Walls, at the same time that it commanded the city. The Acropolis, which had no water, but such as was supplied from saline springs or could be collected from the clouds, might be left slightly occupied, and sacred to the deities and the arts of Athens.

⁴ For these events see Diodorus (18, 48. 74. 20, 45), Philochorus ap. Dionys. de Dinarch. 3. Plutarch. Demetr. 8 seq.

During the reigns of Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Ceraunus, and Sosthenes, when Antigonus Gonatas retained authority over a great part of Thessaly, residing in the city of Magnetis, which had been founded by, and named after, his father Demetrius, the power of Macedonia was too much divided to give the Athenians any great apprehensions for their independence. But when Antigonus, ten years after his expulsion, recovered Macedonia¹, it was not long before the Athenians, having been tempted to join the alliance of Sparta and Egypt against him, still more quickly suffered for their imprudence. Areus, king of Sparta, having suddenly withdrawn his Lacedæmonians, left Athens closely invested by the land forces of Antigonus; the Egyptian fleet under Patroclus was unable, under such circumstances, to render any assistance, and the Athenians were obliged once more to receive Macedonians in their fortresses Museum and Munychia. The garrison of Museum was soon after voluntarily withdrawn by Antigonus²; but the occupation of Munychia by the Macedonians, and the consequent dependence of Athens upon them, seems to have continued without interruption³ during the long reign of Antigonus, whose

46. Phocion, 31 seq. Pausan. Attic. 25, 5. 26, 1 seq. 29, 11. Diogen. Laërt. 5, 75.

¹ B. C. 277.

² Pausan. Attic. 25, 5. 6. Lacon. 6, 3.

³ According to Eusebius, Antigonus, in the 24th year of his reign, *once more* restored liberty to the Athenians; but that he removed the Macedonians from Munychia is not likely, as we find them there in the year 229 B. C.

power was very great in Greece¹, as well as during the reign of his son, Demetrius the second.

Soon after the death of the latter, the Athenians, by the assistance of Aratus of Sicyon, purchased Munychia, Peiræus, Sunium, and Salamis, of the Macedonian governor for a hundred and fifty talents, of which Aratus contributed a portion².

In the course of the ninety-seven years which had elapsed since the first Macedonian occupation, Munychia had more than once been the scene of transactions, which illustrate its military importance, and prove its existence as a fortress distinct from Peiræus. On the death of Antipater, Nicanor, before the event was known at Athens, entered Munychia for the purpose of superseding Menyllus, who during the administration of his friend Phocion, had commanded the Macedonians in Munychia. Here Nicanor was not only able to defend himself from the Athenians, but on one occasion surprised Peiræus, and drew a trench around it³. Soon afterwards, the people of Athens, hoping to regain their liberty by means of Polysperchon the opponent of Cassander, and supported by the presence of a force under Alexander, son of Polysperchon, required Nicanor to evacuate the place; but instead of complying with their injunctions, or the orders which he had received

¹ Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγκρατῶς χειρωσάμενος. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 333, Aucher.

² Plutarch, Arat. 34. Pausan. Corinth. 8, 5.

³ πρυσάγων ὁ Νικάνωρ ἐκ τῆς Μουνυχίας τὰ ὅπλα, τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιετάρφρενσε. Plutarch. Phoc. 32.

from Polysperchon and Olympias, he introduced into Munychia by night a force sufficient to stand a siege; to which, while the Athenians were consulting how best to expel him, he added a reinforcement of mercenaries. He then became the assailant, succeeded in obtaining possession of the defences of Peiræus; and thus the Athenians, as the historian observes, not only failed in obtaining Munychia, but lost Peiræus¹. Nicanor, by these means, was enabled to introduce into the harbour the fleet of Cassander, who had received thirty-five triremes, and a land-force of four thousand men from Antigonos, and to put Cassander in possession of the claustra or works which commanded the entrance². Polysperchon, with 34,000 men and 65 elephants, then moved from Bœotia, and encamped near Peiræus with the intention of besieging it; but the strength of the place and a want of provisions soon obliged him to retire.

Demetrius Poliorcetes was unable to besiege Munychia, until he had taken the quarters of the maritime city which covered it on the land side. On his arrival, he found the place occupied by Demetrius Phalereus, then at the head of the Athenian government³, supported by Dionysius, governor of the Cassandrian garrison of Munychia⁴. The

¹ Diodor. 18, 64.

² Κάσσανδρος προσδεχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ Νικάνορος τοῦ φρουράρχου, παρέλαβε τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα τοῦ λιμένος· τὴν δὲ Μουνυχίαν αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ κατεῖχε μὲν, ἔχων ἰδίους στρατιώτας ἱκανοὺς εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὸ φρούριον. Diodor. 18, 68.

³ ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου. Diodor. 20, 45.

⁴ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Μουνυχίας φρούραρχος.

walls were well defended¹ until some of the soldiers of Antigonus assailed a part of them near the shore, and having made a lodgment within, introduced many of their comrades. The Peiræus having been thus taken, Demetrius Phalereus retired to Athens, and Dionysius into Munychia². Here he was besieged by Demetrius by sea and land with machinery, and being favoured by the natural as well as artificial strength of Munychia³, he held out valiantly for two days; but at length the superior forces of the enemy, and the mischief done by their catapultic engines, drove the defenders from the walls, when Demetrius entered the fortress, Dionysius was taken, and his garrison laid down their arms: Demetrius then destroyed the fortifications (probably on the northern side only) and restored the Athenians to liberty.

After the establishment of the Achæan league, the Athenians remained free from the presence of foreign soldiers, until they adopted the unfortunate policy which brought upon them the hostility of the Romans, commanded by one with whom it was a great object of ambition to be the conqueror of Athens⁴. On this occasion we find another example

¹ ἀπὸ τῶν τευχῶν ἡμύνοντο.

² τῶν δ' Ἀντιγόνου στρατιωτῶν τινες βιασάμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν ὑπερβάντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, παρεδέξαντο πλείους τῶν συναγωνιζομένων· τὸν μὲν οὖν Πειραιᾶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀλῶναι συνέβη· τῶν δ' ἔνδον Διονύσιος μὲν ὁ φρούραρχος εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν συνέφυγε· Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Ἄστυ.

³ οὐσῆς τῆς Μουνυχίας ὀχυρᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τευχῶν κατασκευαῖς.

⁴ Δεινὸς γάρ τις ἄρα καὶ ἀπαραίτητος εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἔρως ἐλεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας. Plutarch. Syll. 13.

of the military importance of Munychia. Appian informs us, that when the maritime city was besieged by Sylla, Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, finding himself unable to defend the whole, retreated into that part which was surrounded by the sea, where Sylla, having no ships, could not attack him¹, that is to say, he retreated into the peninsula of Munychia.

The political influence of Athens was extinguished with the destruction of the maritime fortifications by Sylla; but the importance of Munychia, although without walls, was still practically acknowledged by the Romans, when Athens having espoused the cause of Pompey, Q. Fufius Calenus was sent by Cæsar into Greece, and occupied the Peiræus as preparatory to an attack upon Athens². He had not, however, begun the siege, when the news of the defeat of Pompey in Pharsalia, produced the immediate submission of the Athenians to Cæsar,

¹ 'Ο Ἀρχέλαος . . . ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τείχη· ἐς δὲ τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσση περίκλυστον· ἧς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο. Appian. de Bel. Mithrid. 40.

This was the only instance, until that of the Venetians, in which Athens was taken by a regular siege. Sylla carried on his operations at the same time both against the city and the Peiræus. The latter was by much the stronger. He took the city by assault: but his conquest was of the most doubtful kind, until Archelaus, who had abandoned the rest of the Peiræus, and had retreated into Munychia, embarked from thence, and thus gave up every thing to Sylla. Appian. de Bel. Mithrid. 41. Plutarch. Syll. 15.

² . . . καὶ εἶλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἅτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον ὄντα. Dion Cass. 42, 14.

who pardoned the living for the sake of the dead¹.

Even as late as the seventeenth century, we find the Venetians converting the peninsula of Munychia into a fortress, by an entrenchment across the peninsula, as a measure necessary to the secure possession of Athens.

Of all the complicated and elaborate works which protected maritime Athens, little is now to be seen except the foundations of the walls, and of some of the towers which flanked them. These foundations, however, are traceable at intervals in so many places, that little doubt can exist as to the general plan. On the side of Munychia, towards the open sea, the remains are best preserved. Here three or four courses of masonry, both of walls and of square towers, are in many places to be seen; and there are some situations where we still find the wall built in the manner described by Thucydides²; that is to say, not filled up in the middle with a mixture of broken stones and mortar in the usual manner of the Greeks, but constructed, throughout the whole thickness, of large stones, either quadrangular or irregularly-sided, but fitted together without cement, and the exterior stones cramped together with metal. This we may suppose to have belonged to the original work of Themistocles, which has thus survived the lapse of twenty-three centuries. Nor can it

¹ . . . εἰπὼν ὅτι πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζοιντο.
Dion Cass. *ibid*.

² ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πῆλος ἦν. 1, 93.

well be doubted that the foundations in general are of that period.

In the ports, particularly in Port Munychia, are traced, in several parts of the beach, the foundations of walls running into the water at right angles to the beach; the remains undoubtedly of ancient wharves or jetties.

SECTION X.

Of the other military defences of Athens ; namely, the Long Walls and the Walls of the Asty. Of its Demi, Districts, and Gates.

THE happy position of Greece amidst the surrounding countries, together with the great extent of its sea-coast, caused the exchange of commodities by sea to be one of the most common employments of the people, except in the central parts of Peloponnesus and the continent. Hence the most flourishing towns were in the maritime districts: but as the intricate coasts and numerous islands of this country have ever been favourable to piracy, the sites chosen for the inhabited places were generally, as Thucydides remarks, not upon, but at a small distance from, the shore¹. It was doubly necessary, therefore, in a country of which the geographical conformation caused the people in general to be divided into small independent communities, living in fortresses, that the maritime towns should, as well as their harbours, be well furnished with works of defence. The small sheltered basins and creeks, which abound in Greece, were at once well adapted to ancient navigation, and conveniently capable of being comprehended within the defences of the place. We

¹ Thucyd. 1. 7.

may infer, from existing remains, that scarcely any maritime town was unprovided with one or more of these κλειστοὶ λιμένες, or closed harbours, more or less indebted to art for shelter from the sea and for security from the enemy. The maritime fortress, or the city itself, if near enough to the shore, consisted of a citadel and a lower town inclosing the port. Both in the citadel and in the lower town there was often a second inclosure, and sometimes a third. In some cases the city itself was too distant from the port for any fortified communication: in others, the road from the main city to its maritime fortress was protected by two parallel walls¹. Megara², Corinth³, and Sicyon⁴, were thus provided, Argos for a short time⁵; and perhaps many other places, although neither historical testimony nor ancient vestiges are extant to confirm the fact. The Patrenses are mentioned by Plutarch as having been advised by Alcibiades to construct Long Walls⁶, but Patræ stood so near the sea, that it is rather to be considered as a maritime city, which had neglected the usual custom

¹ The general parallelism of Long Walls, and the narrowness of the space between them, may be inferred from the romance of Heliodorus, who describing (9, 3) an imaginary double wall, which he represents as extending from Syene to the Nile, compares it to Long Walls, having an equal space between them of fifty feet through the whole length—*εἰκασεν ἄν τις μακροῖς τείχεσιν τὸ γινόμενον, τοῦ μὲν ἡμιπλήθρου τὸ ἴσον πλάτος δι' ὅλον φυλάττοντος.*

² Thucyd. 1, 103. 4, 66 69. 109. Aristoph. Lys. 1172. Plutarch. Phoc. 15. Strabo, p. 391.

³ Xenoph. Hell. 4, 4, § 7. 9. 18. Agesil. 2, § 17.

⁴ Diodor. 20, 102. Conf. Strabo, p. 382. Pausan. Corinth. 7, 1. Plutarch. Demet. 25.

⁵ Thucyd. 5, 82. Diodor. 12, 81. Plutarch. Alcib. 15.

⁶ Plutarch. Alcib. 15.

of intercepting the communication along the shore¹, than as standing in need of Long Walls, properly so called

To which of its cities Greece was indebted for the first example of Long Walls, we have no means of knowing. It was not Athens, because the Long Walls of Megara were constructed by the Athenians before they built their own². It is not likely, indeed, that the Athenian Long Walls, which were longer than those of any other city, and were therefore the perfection of this kind of military work, should have been the earliest example of it. Possibly this improvement in Greek fortification was first carried into execution at Corinth or Sicyon; cities placed at a distance of little more than a mile from the sea, and in positions where such supplements to their defences were particularly important, not only as strengthening the cities, but as commanding the communication between Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus.

To Athens, a naval and commercial state not insular, and often exposed to enemies more powerful than herself in land-forces, Long Walls were peculiarly useful. They were analogous to a line of en-

¹ The generality of this practice, which was the most simple application of the Longomural system, and was employed in all the ages of Greek history, is exemplified at Nicæa in Bithynia, one face of which is within a short distance of the Lake Ascanius. Two walls, uniting the inclosure of the city to the shore, intercepted all communication along the latter. The extant walls of Nicæa consist indeed chiefly of repairs of the time of the Byzantine empire, but they were founded probably by some of the Greek kings of Bithynia.

² Thucyd. 1, 103.

trenchments, four miles in length, fronting towards Peloponnesus and Bœotia, which was the side of danger, and secured by a second line in the rear, and thus affording considerable protection to the whole territory behind them. To the latter purpose the nature of the ground to the eastward of the Asty powerfully contributed. Here a narrow interval separated the eastern walls of the city from the steep side of Mount Hymettus, and the pass was obstructed in two different places by fortified demi. It was scarcely possible, therefore, for an enemy to penetrate into the part of Attica situated to the southward and eastward of Athens, but by making the circuit of Hymettus; a movement so hazardous with such a city as Athens in the rear, that only one instance of it occurs in history; namely, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, when the Lacedæmonians, having for the second time endeavoured in vain to draw the Athenians from the protection of their walls, became convinced of the determination of Pericles to persist in the policy of remaining within the city, and were tempted to overrun Attica; marching, therefore, between Pentelicum and Hymettus into Mesogæa, they advanced even as far as Laurium in Paralia¹.

When, after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, the administration of affairs fell into the hands of Themistocles, his first care, after having hastily raised the walls of the Asty during an embassy to Sparta, purposely protracted, was to inclose the ports of Peiræus, and the whole maritime penin-

¹ Thucyd. 2, 55.

sula, within walls of unexampled height, in conformity with his advice that the Athenians should rely upon the sea, rather than upon the land, for their security¹. Until that time the only maritime fortress had probably been that which protected the demus and harbour of Phalerum². But Themistocles remained in power no longer than was sufficient to commence his great works³. The glory of completing them, as well as of building the Long Walls, was reserved for the administration of Pericles. It is doubtful even whether Themistocles ever went so far, in his views of connecting the Peiræus with Athens, as to contemplate such an arduous undertaking as the Long Walls.

Two Long Walls are still traceable in the plain to the north-eastward of the Peiraic heights. Of the northern the foundations, which are about twelve feet in thickness, resting on the natural rock, and formed of large quadrangular blocks of stone, in that solid manner which characterized the works of Themistocles, commence from the foot of the Peiraic heights, at half a mile from the head of Port Peiræus, and are traced in the direction of the modern road for more than a mile and a half towards the city, exactly in the direction of the entrance of the Acropolis.

¹ ἦν δὲ κατὰ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν (τὸν Πειραιᾶ) ταῖς ναυὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Thucyd. 1, 93.

² Thucydides here remarks, that the walls of Peiræus were never raised to more than half the height intended by Themistocles; and Appian states that they were forty peeks, or about sixty feet high. See above, p. 402, n. 1.

³ See Appendix XIX. on the date of the commencement of the Peiraic fortifications.

Where they are no further visible, they have been covered probably by the alluvion of the Cephissus, which river crossed the Long Walls about the middle of their length¹. The southern Long Wall, having passed through a deep vegetable soil, occupied chiefly by vineyards, is less easily traceable, except at its junction with the walls of Phalerum, and for about half a mile from thence towards the city. Commencing at the round tower which is situated above the north-western angle of the Phaleric bay, not far eastward of the gate by which the town of Phalerum was entered from Athens, it followed the foot of the hill, along the edge of the Phaleric marsh, for about 500 yards; then assumed, for about half that distance, a direction to the north-eastward, almost at a right angle with the preceding: from whence, as far as it is traceable, its course is exactly parallel to the northern Long Wall, at a distance of 550 feet from it. There can hardly be any doubt that the Long Walls continued to follow the same direction throughout the plain, from the foot of the Phalero-Peiraic hill to the heights connected with the summits of Museum and Pnyx, forming consequently, through the greater part of their extent, a wide street, which led from the centre of the maritime city exactly in the direc-

¹ That the river pursues its ancient course is proved by an inscription discovered at Athens about the year 1834; see Appendix XX. There was always, therefore, a bridge or ford of the Cephissus, on the road to Athens, from the Peiræus, and this probably was the *διάβασις τοῦ Κηφισσοῦ*, where, according to Xenophon, the heroic augur was buried, who devoted himself to death in aid of the victory of Thrasybulus over the forces of the Thirty in Peiræus. See above, p. 386.

tion of the Acropolis. Excavations in the alluvial part of the plain might possibly discover foundations of the Long Walls along a great part of their extent.

The Long Walls having been enclosed at the two ends by the walls of the Asty and of the Peiræus, formed an inclosure, which was one of the three great garrisons of Athens, and which, in this light, was sometimes denominated the Long Fortress, τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος¹.

¹ . . . ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἐξελθοῦσα ἐν ἀπορρήτῃ συνέλαβεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδρασε ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις· ἀνακαλίσσαντες δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀνεπιεῖν ἐκέλευσαν, Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἄστει οἰκοῦντας ἰέναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα λαβόντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχει εἰς γε Θησεῖον· τοὺς δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδαμίαν ἀγορὰν· τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς σημεῖναι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἥκειν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον· τὴν δὲ βουλήν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἰέναι κακεῖ καθεῦδεν· τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ Θόλῳ. Andocid. de Myster. p. 22, Reiske.

The distribution of the Athenian forces of which Andocides here speaks, occurred in the Peloponnesian war, when parties running very high between the Four Hundred and their opponents, the Bœotians advanced to the frontiers, to take advantage of the confusion. The places of assembly for those who bore arms were, for the cavalry, the temenus of the Dioscuri, and for the infantry the following stations: In the Asty, the Agora; in the Long Walls, the Theseium; and in the Peiraic city, the Hippodameian Agora: the senate were to pass the night in the Acropolis, and the Prytanæ in the Tholus. Here it may be remarked, 1. That the Long Walls are called the Long Fortress, τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος. Livy, in like manner (31, 26), translating perhaps the τεῖχος of Polybius, describes it as the *muris qui brachiis duobus Piræum Athenis jungit*. 2. That the Theseium mentioned by Andocides was not the celebrated temple of Theseus in the city, but another sacred inclosure of Theseus in the Long Walls: for, although we know from Thucydides (6, 61), that the Theseium of the city, like the Anaceium and Odeium, was occasionally a place of assembly for troops; yet, in this instance, the defence of the longomural inclosure being the intention of the

When the greater part of the population of Attica crowded into Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the towers of the Long Walls, and of the two cities, furnished dwellings to the unfortunate fugitives from the open country¹. The long narrow space between the two walls was thickly inhabited, as long as the walls subsisted. Of this there is no clearer proof in history than that contained in the lively picture drawn by Xenophon of the distress of the Athenians, when they received advice of the defeat of their fleet at Ægospotami². The Paralia brought the news in the night. "Then a sound of lamentation was heard spreading from the Peiræus through the Long Walls to the city, as each person communicated the intelligence to his neighbour. No one slept that night; for they not only lamented the loss of those who had perished, but feared still more that the Lacedæmonians would ret-

assembling of the troops in the Theseium, that object could not be attained by removing them out of the Long Walls into the city. The Theseium of the Long Walls was doubtless one of the four mentioned by Plutarch (Thes. 35). There was a third, as we have seen, in Peiræus. Thucydides, indeed, in the passage just cited, indicates a plurality of Theseia, by specifying the Theseium mentioned by him to have been within the city (ἐν Θησαίῳ τῇ ἐν πόλει).

Polyænus (1, 40, § 3) distinguishes the three military divisions of Athens not less clearly than Andocides. He informs us that Alcibiades kept the Athenian troops on the alert, by ordering that whenever he should raise a torch in the Acropolis, it was to be answered by torches from the city, from the Long Walls and from the Peiræus—*βυλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τῶν Σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θάλασσαν ἀγρόπυρους περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι, &c.*

¹ Thucyd. 2, 17.

² Xenoph. 2, 2. § 3.

liate upon them, what they themselves had done to the Melii, a Lacedæmonian colony, and to the Histiaenses, and Scionæi, and Toronæi, and Æginetæ, and many other people of Greece." The next day, in a general assembly, it was resolved to fill up all the ports except one, to repair and garrison the walls, and to make every preparation for a siege. They had little time, however, for these measures: the two Spartan kings were speedily encamped in the Academy; Lysander, with a hundred and fifty triremes, sailed unopposed into the Peiræus; and the Athenians, after suffering the torments of famine for several months, were constrained, upon a second reference to Sparta, to give up all their ships, except twelve, to consent to the destruction of the Long Walls and the walls of Peiræus, and to submit to see their ships burnt and their walls overthrown by the Lacedæmonians to the sound of musical instruments¹.

¹ Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 2, § 23. Lys. c. Agorat. p. 453, Reiske. Andocid. de Pac. cum Laced. p. 94. Diodor. Sic. 13, 107. Plutarch. Lysand. 15. Alcib. 37.

Chandler (p. 22) has supposed that ten stades of the Long Walls were allowed to stand at either end; but the concurring testimonies of the authors cited above, show that, according to the treaty, the whole extent of the Long Walls, and all the circuit of the Peiraic city, were to be subverted. Chandler's mistake seems to have arisen from the expressions of Xenophon, who informs us (ibid. § 15), that the *first proposal* of the Lacedæmonians was to throw down (not all the Long Walls, *except ten stades* at each end, but) ten stades of each of the Long Walls.—*προῦκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίουσιν καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον*. But the people then refused to listen to an offer which they would afterwards have gladly accepted. The language of Lysias (l. l.) is still more explicit than that of Xeno-

There has been considerable difficulty in reconciling the conflicting testimony of ancient authors as to the number of the Long Walls of Athens, whether two or three. In this, as in some other questions of Athenian topography, it is by an examination of dates that the true solution of the problem is obtained. There was, it seems, a third Long Wall, for about thirty years, and no longer. No more than two Long Walls are mentioned or alluded to by Andocides¹, Plato², Xenophon³, Æschines⁴, Lysias⁵, or by Livy⁶ following Polybius. The words *σκέλη* or *brachia*, often employed by later authors, cannot be applied to more than two, and this number agrees with present appearances, which clearly show the connexion of the one with the fortifications of the maritime city on the Phaleric side, and of the other on the Peiraic side. On the other hand, Thucydides, although he notices only the completion, soon after the battle of Tanagra (B. C. 457), of two walls, one to Peiræus, the other to Phalerum⁷, refers, when he afterwards describes the measures taken for the defence of Athens at the beginning of the Pello-

phon. Θηραμένης . . . ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος . . . ἦλθε φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν . . . ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν, ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη διασκάψαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὐρέσθαι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν.

¹ De Pace cum Lac. p. 91. 93.

² Polit. 4, 14.

³ Hellen. 2, 2, § 15.

⁴ De Fals. Legat. p. 335. 336.

⁵ C. Agorat. p. 451. 453.

⁶ 31, 26.

⁷ "Ἡρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τὸ Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. Thucyd. i. 107, 108.

ponnesian war, to three walls; namely, to two Peiraic Long Walls (τὰ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ), besides the Phaleric (τὸ Φαληρικόν); remarking, that it was thought necessary only to man the Phaleric and the outer of the two Peiraic Long Walls¹. It appears, therefore, that during the twenty-five years occurring between the two events, a third wall had been built, which circumstance Thucydides has not thought worthy of being recorded. Plato, however, in his dialogue entitled Gorgias, alludes to the building of this wall, which he calls the intermediate wall (τὸ διαμέσου τείχος)²; and the fact is confirmed by one of the best philologists of later times, who not only refers to a lost play of Aristophanes, in which the poet had noticed three walls, but adds, that they were named the Northern, Southern, and Phaleric; and that the one called the Southern was the middle wall³.

¹ Τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μετὰ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ· τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἦν ἡμισυ τούτου. Thucyd. 2, 13.

² ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. . . . οἶσθα γὰρ δῆπου ὅτι τὰ νεώρια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ τῶν λιμένων κατασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συμβουλῆς γέγονε· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Περικλέους· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δημιουργῶν. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Λέγεται ταῦτα, ὡς Γοργίας, περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους· Περικλέους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤκουον, ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ διαμέσου τείχους. Plat. Gorg. 24.

³ Διαμέσου τείχους, Ἀντιφῶν πρὸς Νικοκλέα· τριῶν ὄντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλτῃ, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ. Harpocr. in v.

These are the principal evidences on this question. The difficulty has arisen from the silence of Thucydides as to the building of the third wall : we might even conclude, from his words, that the Phaleric and northern Peiraic walls, ten or twelve feet in thickness, sixty feet high, with towers at the usual intervals¹, and extending eight miles in length, were completed in the short space of one year. But it was impossible that Athens could have found hands to accomplish such a work in so short a time, even supposing all the upper part of the walls to have been constructed of crude brick². We may take the words of Thucydides (*κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους*), therefore, with some latitude, and make a compromise, perhaps, between his evidence and that of Plutarch, who states, with a great appearance of probability, that although these walls were not finished till much later, their foundations were first laid by Cimon, when the Athenians applied the riches, brought home by that commander after the battle of the Eurymedon (B. C. 466), to the improvement of the city. As Cimon was recalled from banishment,

In the inscription before alluded to, two walls only are mentioned, the *Βορείων* and *Νότιον*. See Appendix XX.

¹ The walls were probably not so thick above as at the foundations ; but ten feet was not an uncommon thickness in Greek works of defence. There is no direct evidence of the height of the Long Walls ; but as Appian (*de B. Mithrid.* 30) informs us, that the walls of the Peiraic city were forty cubits high, we may presume those of the Long Walls were not less. Towers were absolutely necessary to such a work, and the inscription relating to the Long Walls leaves no question as to their having existed. See Appendix XX.

² See Mueller de Munim. *Ath.* p. 12. 13.

after an absence of five years, in 456 B. C., being the same year that the two walls were finished¹; the year 462 is the latest to which, on the supposition just given, the commencement of the walls can be ascribed.

In the course of the thirty years intervening between that time and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the intermediate wall (τὸ Νότιον, or τὸ διαμέσου τεῖχος) was built. If Socrates (as we may presume) was of sufficient age to be entitled to attend the popular assembly, when he heard Pericles recommend the building of this wall, the circumstance could not have happened before the year B. C. 449-8². Nor was it perhaps begun long before Pericles assumed the sole management of affairs in 444 B. C.; for Plutarch attests that Callicrates was the builder of the wall mentioned by Plato in the *Gorgias*³; and Callicrates we know was one of the chief artists employed by Pericles, particularly on the Parthenon, which was commenced about that time. The same year was the beginning of the thirty years' truce with Sparta; and in two Athenian orations we find it stated that the southern wall was built after the ratification of that treaty⁴: on the

¹ Thucyd. 1, 108. Plutarch. Cimon, 17. Corn. Nep. Cimon,

3. Clinton, F. Hellen. I. p. 46. 48.

² Clinton, F. Hellen. I. p. xx. 39.

³ τὸ δὲ μακρὸν τεῖχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκοῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέους, ἡργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

⁴ Andocid. de Pace cum Lac. p. 91, 93. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 335. 336. On these passages, see Clinton, F. Hellen. I. p. 257. The earlier of these orations was pronounced fifty-four years after the event alluded to: the text of both is corrupt, and

other hand, that the wall could not have been commenced long after that year, may be partly inferred from the sarcasm of a comic poet, as to the tardiness of its progress¹; the cause of which we may easily conceive to have been, that Pericles was then occupied with works more beautiful, and, until danger threatened from without, far more interesting to the Athenians: its completion, therefore, may have been protracted almost to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

If the evidence, as to the existence of three Long Walls at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is too strong to be resisted, the testimony of Xenophon, supported by that of Lysias, seems equally to preclude the belief that there were more than two Long Walls soon after the termination of that war. The first proposal of the Lacedæmonians, which the Athenians rejected, was that they should throw down ten stades of *each* of the Long Walls², thereby indicating that no more than two were in question. It would

Æschines seems only to have repeated the words of his predecessor; but, correcting Andocides by Thucydides, we may infer from them as much at least as I have stated; and perhaps also, that the Peiraic fortifications were not completed until after the five years' truce, B. C. 450.

¹

πάσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ

Λόγοισι προάγει Περικλῆς, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

Cratinus ap. Plutarch. Pericl. 18. de Gloriâ Athen. c. ult. Mr. Mueller remarks (de Munim. Athen. p. 22), that Cratinus could not have alluded to any but the Νότιον, or southern Peiraic wall; because he did not exhibit comedies until Ol. 81, 3, or B. C. 454 (V. Clinton, F. Hell. II. p. 49), when the northern and Phaleric walls were already built.

² See above, p. 421, n. 1.

seem, therefore, that after the erection of the Νόριον, or second Peiraic Long Wall, the Phaleric had been neglected; or, at least, that it was not considered of sufficient importance to form part of the first demand of the Lacedæmonians, though its destruction was afterwards comprehended in the treaty, according to which all the Peiraic walls, as well as the Long Walls, were to be destroyed.

The erection of the southern, or intermediate (διαμέσου) wall, may perhaps have been the cause of the neglected state of the Phaleric Long Wall. This latter wall, having traversed the marsh of Phalerum, as we may infer from the words of Plutarch in describing its construction¹, followed a direction not parallel to the Peiraic Long Walls, but direct from the north-eastern angle of Phalerum to the Asty, leaving between it and the northern, then the only, Peiraic wall a space, which may have been found, towards the maritime extremity, too wide for the military purposes of such works, which, as before observed, were usually parallel, and with a much smaller interval: hence probably the advice of Pericles to build the southern Peiraic wall, which, when executed, not only remedied the defect of the too great distance of the Phaleric wall from the northern Peiraic near the maritime city, but rendered the Phaleric almost unnecessary. The strength of the Athenian navy secured Attica from maritime invasion during the greater part of the Peloponnesian war; the Phaleric wall, therefore, was an additional defence on the side where it was least

¹ χαλκι καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἐλῶν πιεσθέντων. Plutarch. Cim. 13.

wanted, and after the building of the southern wall became little better than a superfluous outwork.

If the Phaleric wall had been found unimportant during the Peloponnesian war, and unworthy of notice when the Lacedæmonians destroyed the two other Long Walls, we may easily conceive that it was not repaired when they were restored by Conon, in the eleventh year after their destruction. Conon may even have made use of its materials in rebuilding the neighbouring parts of the Long Walls or the Peiraic fortifications, or in forming a new wall for the purpose of uniting the Νότιον, or southern Peiraic wall, to the Phaleric κύκλος, or inclosure, in the manner still shown by the existing foundations: at least, no further notice of the Phaleric wall occurs in history, nor have any vestiges of it been yet discovered.

Seventy-one years after the re-establishment of the Peiraic Long Walls¹, when Antipater, after his victory at Crannon, occupied in succession Munychia, Peiræus, and the Long Walls²: the latter appear from this circumstance to have been still in a good state of repair. During the century which was nearly completed between the Lamiac war and the liberation of the Attic fortresses from the Macedonians, by means of the exertions of Aratus³, the defences of Athens suffered no injury from war, with the exception of those of Munychia in the siege by

¹ The Peiraic and Long Walls received two repairs in this interval; one about 352 B. C., the other in 339—330. See Appendix XX.

² Φρουρά δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐσθλὴν Ἀθηναίους, οἱ Μουνυχίαν, ὅστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ μακρὰ τείχη ἔσχον. Pausan. Att. 25, 4.

³ See above, p. 406. 407.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, when doubtless the damage was speedily repaired. By the possession of this natural citadel of maritime Athens, which commands all the harbours, and thereby the city itself, the Macedonian princes insured the preponderance of the party favourable to them; and, treating the Athenians with clemency and favour¹, had no motive or pretence for destroying the Long Walls. But the Athenians had as little for incurring expense in repairing them; and accordingly, forty-two years after the retreat of the Macedonians from Attica, we find a strong evidence of the neglected state of the Long Walls, in the statement of Livy, that Philip, son of Demetrius, was then repulsed, in a sudden irruption which he made into "the space between the two half-ruined Long Walls²." It seems evident, that Philip found the walls in this state, not that he himself reduced them to it; for which his desultory and unsuccessful, though destructive, invasion, had scarcely afforded time. Probably they were never completely repaired after this time, although still considered one of the objects of admiration at Athens; as appears

¹ Diodor. 18, 74. Κάσσανδρος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἡγνυμένησε λαβὼν ὑπήκουσεν τὴν πόλιν. Strabo, p. 398. This does not agree, indeed, with the δεινὸν τι ὑπῆλθεν οἱ μῖσος ἐς Ἀθηναίους of Pausanias, Att. 25, 5; but the former alluded chiefly to the time when Cassander occupied Munychia, and Demetrius of Phalerum governed Athens; the latter, to the effects of the successful opposition of the Athenians to Cassander, after the expulsion of Demetrius; but which ended in the re-establishment of the influence of Cassander at Athens, under the administration of Lachares.

² Inter angustias semirutū muri, qui brachiis duobus Piræeum Athenis jungit. Liv. 31, 26.

from the terms in which the same historian mentions them, when L. Æmilius Paullus, in the year B. C. 167, made a progress through Greece, after completing the conquest of Macedonia¹. Eighty-one years later, the remains were useful to Sylla in the erection of his mounds against the Peiraic fortifications, while the groves of Academus furnished timber for his engines². There can be little doubt that the damage which the Peiraic walls sustained during the siege, and in the subsequent destruction of the place by Sylla³, was never repaired, as considerably within a century from that time the maritime city was reduced to a few habitations around the harbours⁴. The remains of the Longomural and Peiraic defences met doubtless with the usual fate of great ruined buildings,—that of serving as materials for the construction of more ignoble edifices. For this purpose the Long Walls were not less conveniently situated, with regard to Athens and the plain, than the Peiraic walls were for maritime transportation.

From the brief remarks made by Pausanias, about the middle of the second century of our era, little

¹ Athenas plenas quidem et ipsas vetustate famæ, multa tamen visenda habentes : arcem, portus, muros Piræeum urbi jungentes, navalia magnorum imperatorum. Liv. 45, 27.

² ὅλην δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἔκοπτε καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας· τὰ τε μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρει, λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ γῆν ἐς τὸ χῶμα μεταβάλλων. Appian. de B. Mithrid. 30.

³ Sylla set fire to the place, and destroyed every thing that was most admired in it. φειδόμενος οὔτε τῆς ὀκλοθήκης οὔτε τῶν νεωσοίκων οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν ἀοιδίμων. Appian. de B. Mithrid. 41. τὰ πλεῖστα κατέκαυσεν· ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὀκλοθήκη, θανατούμενον ἔργον. Plutarch. Syll. 14.

⁴ Strabo, p. 395.

more can be derived, than that the Long Walls were in ruins at that time ; but we may suspect, that very little of them was then extant, as Pausanias does not even allude to the southern wall, in proceeding from Phalerum to Athens, though he could not but have passed very near its remains ; but reserves his notice of the Long Walls for his remarks on the road from the Peiræus to Athens ¹, which probably then passed immediately on the outside of the northern Peiraic wall ; but which, since the *ἐρείπια*, or ruins of his day, have been reduced to mere *θεμέλια*, or foundations, has followed the foundations themselves. Spon, in 1676, asserts that the foundations of the Peiraic Long Wall were visible “almost all the way” from the Peiræus to Athens²; but this is not exactly confirmed by his companion Wheler, who states only that the “foundations are seen in many places³.” They allude only to one wall, and evidently had not observed the remains of the southern or *intermediate* wall⁴.

The manner in which the “southern” wall was united to the inclosure of Phalerum, may give us some means of judging how the northern wall was

¹ Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστίν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδου ναυμαχίας, ἀνέστησε. Pausan. Att. 2, 2.

² En revenant à Athènes, on voit presque tout le long du chemin les fondemens de la muraille, qui joignoit le Pirée à la ville. Spon. II. p. 136.

³ Travels, p. 420.

⁴ The scholiast, on the words *διαμέσου τείχος* (Plat. Gorg. 24), remarks, that this wall was still in existence in his time (*ἔχει νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι*), but he mistook the wall in question ; for he places it in Munychia, and describes it as connecting that fortress on one side to Peiræus, on the other to Phalerum.

united to the Peiraic defences, and may give reason for believing that there was an enlargement of the Longomural inclosure at its Astic termination, similar to that which seems to have existed at its opposite extremity. On this supposition the Longomural inclosure, at its north-eastern end, may have followed the crest of the hills, so as to join the Astic walls on the summit of Museum on one side, and near the Pnyx on the other. Nor is there any thing inconsistent with this hypothesis, in the fact that numerous artificial excavations in these heights prove them to have been at one period excluded from the fortifications of the city, and at another included within it; some of them consisting of sepulchral chambers and niches, while others were magazines, cisterns, chairs (*θρόνοι*), or seats of a more simple form, foundations of houses, drains, chimneys, and walls, in which holes for rafters are observable.

There may possibly be a question, whether these heights were a part of the Asty, or of the Longomural inclosure, at the time when Thucydides, describing the preparations for the defence of Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, made a calculation of the Athenian forces and of the length of rampart to be defended in the whole circumference of the Asty, Long Walls, and maritime city; for although the foundations of the Astic walls, which are traced along the crest of the hills of Pnyx and Museum, would seem to leave little or no doubt on this question, a suggestion may be made that those foundations, although now almost the only parts of the Astic inclosure easily traceable, belong to the most ancient works of Athens; that this wall

has never been entire since the Persian war ; that Themistocles, when he renewed the defences of Athens, the year after the retreat of Mardonius¹, may have inclosed all the heights to the south and west of the Pnyx and Museum, within the new κύκλος τοῦ Ἀστυος, or inclosure of the city ; and that Pausanias, in describing the wall which crossed the Museum, as ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος, may have referred to this fact². And two considerations seem to favour this opinion : 1. That, previously to the time of the Thirty tyrants, the bema of the Pnyx is said to have commanded a view of the sea³ ; which, although inconsistent with the Pnyx in its present position, on account of the height of the hill behind it, and only to be understood by imagining not a bema only, but an entire prior place of assembly on the summit of the hill, is more consonant with probability, on the supposition, that the town wall on the Pnyx, after having been demolished, together with the other defences of Athens, by the Persians⁴, was not renewed by Themistocles ; since, on the opposite hypothesis, the

¹ Thucyd. i. 89. 93. Plutarch. Themist. 19. Theopomp. ibid. Diodor. 11, 40. Demosth. c. Leptin. p. 478. 479.

² Pausan. Att. 25, 6. See above, p. 166. It may seem strange that Pausanias should have described the Museum as a hill *within* the inclosure (ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου λόφος), when the wall followed its summit. The Museum, however, was specifically the place where Musæus was said to have been interred : upon which site, or immediately adjacent to it stood "the monument of the Syrian" (Philopappus) : and this was *within* the wall.

³ Plutarch. Themist. 19. See above, p. 182.

⁴ The almost total demolition of the walls of Athens is attested by Herodotus (9, 13), and Thucydides (1, 89).

place of assembly would not have been in the city, but without the walls: 2. That Demetrius, son of Antigonus, in the year 307 B. C., fortified Museum, and placed a garrison in it¹; a fact, which seems more probable in the absence of any town wall crossing the summit of the height.

In truth, however, neither of these arguments is of much weight. Demetrius may have made use of the wall as one side of his fortress, and Plutarch may have adopted an unfounded tradition concerning the Pnyx. On the other hand, there is this strong reason for believing that the Longomural inclosure is to be measured as far as the wall crossing the crest of Museum and Pnyx; namely, that the length of the Long Walls, measured only to the south-western extremity of the heights, will be much less than that which is ascribed to them by Thucydides; whereas, measured to the summit of Museum, they agree with sufficient accuracy to his statement².

¹ Plutarch. Demet. 34. Pausan. Att. 25, 6.

² As the Long Walls cannot have differed much from direct lines, and as those lines had undoubtedly been measured, they furnish the best means of comparing the numbers of Thucydides with the real distances; the Phaleric Long Wall is better for this purpose than the Peiraic Long Walls, as the point of junction of the Phaleric with the inclosure of Phalerum can be more nearly defined than that of the Peiraic Long Walls with the inclosure of Peiræus. The circumstance of a part of the Phaleric wall having been founded in the marsh (Plutarch. Cimon. 13), shows that this was no obstruction to its rectilinear direction, and leaves little question of its having been very nearly a right line. Now we find that the distance from the summit of Museum to the remains of the inclosure of Phalerum, is very nearly equal to 35 stades, at the rate of 600 Greek feet, or 607 English feet to the stade; a coincidence that goes far to prove not only

The remains of ancient walls, which serve to guide us in investigating the plan, dimensions, and system of defence of the Peiraic peninsula and Longomural inclosure, will not afford the same degree of assistance in a similar inquiry as to the Asty itself. Across the crest of the hills of Pnyx and Museum, the foundations of the walls and of some of the towers are clearly traceable. Between Museum and Enneacrunus vestiges of the walls may also be distinguished

the point of termination of the Phaleric wall, but the length also of the stade employed by Thucydides.

A tetrastich inscription, which recorded the distance between the harbour of Peiræus and the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora, and which was found by Chandler (*Insc. Ant.* xxv. p. 55) in a wall not very far from the supposed site of the altar, accords with the numbers of Thucydides, and the true distances according to the above named proportion of the stade to the English foot. The inscription is imperfect; but has been restored in the three first lines by Pr. Boeckh (*C. Ins. Gr.* No. 525) as follows :

Ἡ πόλις ἔστησέν με βροτοῖς μνημεῖον ἀληθές,
 πᾶσιν σημαίνειν μέτρον ὁδοιπορίας·
 ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμόν
 εσσαράκοντ' ἐγ' λιμένος στάδιοι.

The deficiency in the last line may be supplied with ΕΙΣΚΑΙΤ or ΤΡΕΙΣΚΑΙΤ, or ΠΕΝΤΕΠΙΤ or ΕΠΤΕΠΙΤ, but ΤΡΕΙΣ is the only reading that can well be admitted, because 40 stades having been the length of the Peiraic Long Walls, the distance between their Astic termination and the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora, added to that (if any) between the Peiraic termination and the harbour, must have been more than one and less than five stades. This document is the more interesting, as it is of the time of Thucydides, the H and Ω being employed, though the Ξ had not yet displaced the ΧΣ. It was, therefore, a little prior to the archonship of Eucleides, after which the four new letters were always employed in public documents.

in many places. Their direction on the south-eastern front has already been adverted to¹.

On the heights to the northward of Pnyx some foundations may be traced, lying in a line, which accords so well with that of the remains on the hills of Museum and Pnyx, that little doubt remains as to the general direction of the Walls in that part of the inclosure (the north-western). The intersection of that line with the road from Athens to Eleusis gives us a near approximation to the position of Dipylum; but between this point and the Ilissus, throughout the northern side of the city, I was unable to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the exact direction of the Astic inclosure, or of the extent of the city in that quarter. This, however, is not a valid reason why we should reject the evidence of Stuart on this question, or of Fauvel, who,

¹ We learn from Vitruvius and Pliny, that here, as well as on the side facing Pentelicum, or towards the E. N. E. the walls of the Asty were constructed of brick. *Nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privatas domos etiam regias e latere structas licet videre; et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem et Pentelensem. Vitruv. 2, 8. Græci, præterquam ubi a silice fieri poterat structura, parietes lateritios prætulere: sunt enim æterni, si ad perpendicularum fiant: de eo et publica opera, et regias domos struxere: murum Athenis, qui ad montem Hymettum spectat: Patris etc. Plin. H. N. 35, 14 (49).*

The wall, although of brick, was erected probably upon a sub-structure of stone; this having been a practice not uncommon among the Greeks, as appears from Xenophon in his narrative of the transactions of Agesipolis at Mantinea, confirmed by the extant remains of that city. See *Travels in the Morea*, III. p. 69.

We may infer perhaps, from the remarks above cited of Vitruvius and Pliny, that all the inclosure of the Asty, except towards the east, was formed entirely of stone.

about fifty years later, had leisure during a long residence at Athens to examine the site; and both of whom, although not exactly agreeing with one another, satisfied themselves that they had not only traced the walls but even the position of some of the gates on this side of the *Asty*¹. It is certain, at least, that the extent of the city on the northern side could not have been much greater than they have indicated, otherwise it would have comprehended a portion of the heights of *Lycabettus*. The circuit of the *Asty* following the line of *Stuart* and *Fauvel* on the north, is about 20,000 English feet, equivalent to not more than 33 stades, instead of about 47², showing that a large allowance is to be made for the flexures of the ramparts, which, it is natural to suppose that *Thucydides* took into his calculation, when considering the number of men required to defend them.

The entire circuit of the *Asty*, Long Walls, and maritime city, taken as one inclosure, is equal to about seventeen English miles, or 148 stades³. This

¹ *Fauvel* communicated his plan of Athens to *Olivier*, who published it in the Atlas of his "*Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*." Both *Stuart's* and *Fauvel's* evidence on these remains of walls are inserted in the plan of Athens accompanying the present edition of the *Topography of Athens*.

² *Thucydides*, in stating the length of rampart in the *Asty*, requiring defence, excepts the portion situated between the Long Walls (see above, p. 423, n. 1), without mentioning its length: this the *Scholiast* supplies by a number quite incredible, 17 stades. The exact circumference therefore is uncertain, but it is scarcely possible that the deficient number of stades could have been more than four.

³ This is precisely the number of stades resulting from the

is very different from the two hundred stades which Dion Chrysostom states to have been the circumference of the same walls¹, an estimate exceeding by more than twenty stades even the sum of the peripheries of the Asty and Peiraic towns, according to the numbers of Thucydides. The computation of Dion Chrysostom, therefore, was doubtless erroneous. The walls of Servius Tullius at Rome are stated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to have been not much greater in compass than those of the Asty of Athens²; and in relating the attack upon Rome by the Æqui and Volsci, which occurred about thirty years before the Peloponnesian war, he remarks that the circuit of Rome, which was then bounded by the Tiber, and was undefended by walls on that side, was equal to that of the Asty³. In fact, if we compare the diameters, assuming that of the Asty to have

length of rampart requiring to be manned at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, according to Thucydides : namely,

Walls of the Asty	43 stades.
The Long Walls	75
Half the Peiræo-Munychian rampart	30

148 stades.

The number of men disposable for this service was 16,000 : the breadth, therefore, for each man to defend was $148 \times 607 \div 16,000 = 5$ feet 7 inches English.

¹ καίτοι διακοσίων σταδίων εἶναι τὴν περίμετρον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, τοῦ Πειραιέως συντεθειμένου καὶ τῶν διαμέσου τειχῶν πρὸς τὸν περίβολον τοῦ Ἀστεος. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 6, p. 87. Morell.

² εἰ δέ τις βουλευθεῖη μετρεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίων κύκλον τὸν περιέχοντα ἄστυ, οὐ πολλῶ μείζων ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης φανεῖη κύκλος. Antiq. Rom. 4, 13.

³ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ὄντος ἐν τῇ τότε χρόνῳ ὅσος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ Ἀστεος ὁ κύκλος. Antiq. Rom. 9, 68.

been about eleven stades, and estimating that of Rome by the distance between the Tiberine island and the mounds beyond the baths of Diocletian, which are generally supposed to indicate the line of the Servian inclosure, we find an excess in the latter distance of not more than two stades.

Plutarch was not so correct in comparing the circumference of Syracuse with that of Athens¹, if he meant by the latter the entire circuit of the Asty, Long Walls, and Peiræus; for an accurate military survey of Syracuse, made during the late war, showed the perimeter of the walls, including the site of Neapolis, to have been fourteen English miles, or 122 stades².

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that these comparisons relate to the circumference of the cities and not to their superficial contents, and their capacity of containing population. Rome was circular, Syracuse triangular, and Athens consisted of two circular cities, joined by a street of four miles in length,—a figure, the superficies of which was not more than the fourth part of that of a city of an equal circumference, in a circular form. Hence, when to Rome within the walls were added suburbs of equal extent, its population was greater than that of all Attica. That of

¹ Plutarch. Nic. 17.

² The circuit of 180 stades, attributed to Syracuse by Strabo (p. 270), could not have been correct, unless by including the Olympium. This quarter, however, was so separated from the city, that it could never have been connected even with the suburbs, but by means of a street along the head of the harbour.

Athens, although the most populous city in Greece¹, was probably never greater than 200,000².

Demi, Dis-
tricts, and
Gates of
Athens.

Isocrates remarks that the city was divided into *κῶμαι* and the country into *δῆμοι*³, which would seem to imply that none of the Attic demi were within the city. But there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. The Comæ, therefore, were similar to the wards of a town, which is divided also into parishes; and in Athens comæ were the more necessary, as some of the urban demi were partly without the walls. There is reason, however, to believe that some of the comæ bore the same names as the demi; and, in the instances of Melite and Collytus, their boundaries may have been identical: but this cannot be supposed of Diomeia and Ceraumeicus, which were partly within and partly without the walls. Some of the *χωρία*, or districts of Athens, noticed by Pausanias and other authors, may have been the same as the comæ of Isocrates; but as we have no other information upon the latter, nor of their number, we can only attempt to arrange the districts and the demi.

Demi.

The demi, which were wholly or partly within the city, were οἱ Κεραμεῖς, οἱ Μελιτεῖς, οἱ Διομεῖς⁴, οἱ Κολλυτεῖς⁵, οἱ Κυδαθηναεῖς⁶, οἱ Σκαμβωνίδαι⁷.

¹ Thucyd. 1, 80. 2, 64. Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 3, § 24.

² See Appendix XXI. on the population of Attica and Athens.

³ διελόμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατὰ κόμας, τὴν δὲ χώραν κατὰ δήμους. Areopag. p. 149, Steph.

⁴ See above, p. 163. 220. 276. and Meursius de Pop. Atticæ in vv.

⁵ See below, p. 443, n. 2. 3.

Although the word Cerameicus was often applied ^{Ceramenses.} to the old Agora generally, there is reason to believe from Pausanias, that this demus, as strictly defined, ἐν τοῖς ὁρίμοις τῆς πόλεως, did not extend far to the eastward of the Stoa Basileius, and that the Hephæsteium was beyond its limits¹. From other authorities we perceive that Melite comprehended the ^{Melite.} Macra Stoa, the Hephæsteium, and Eurysaceium, which were near the northern side of the Areiopagus, as well as the Colonus Agoræus², which was probably a part of that height. Cerameicus and Melite, therefore, were conterminous. That Melite extended from hence northward, so as to include the Theseium and the parts around it, is rendered likely by the well-known conjunction of the worship of Hercules and Theseus³; for Melite was said to have been named from a wife of Hercules, and it contained the most celebrated temple of Hercules in Athens, as well as the monument of Melanippus, son of Theseus⁴, which was probably not far from the Theseium. As there was a gate of the Asty, named the Melitides, we may infer that the demus extended beyond the Theseium as far as the ancient walls, but there seems not to have been any

⁶ Κυδαθηναιον· δῆμος ἐν ἄστει. Hesych. in ν. Κυδαθηναιον· δῆμος ἐν ἄστει τῆς Παιδιονίδος φυλῆς· καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Κύδαθον. Schol. in Plat. Sympos. 1.

⁷ See below, p. 444, n. 1.

¹ See above, p. 120, 252.

² See above, p. 255. Κολωνὸν . . . Μελίτη γὰρ ἄπαν ἐκείνο ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὁρίμοις γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 998.

³ See above, p. 167, and Appendix IX.

⁴ Cleidemus ap. Harpocr. in Μελανίππειον.

exterior Melite, for the suburban demus Coele was contiguous to the gates of Melite; beyond which the road was called ἡ διὰ Κοίλης ὁδός, as passing through the demus Coele¹.

Diomeia.

As Cynosarges was in the demus of the Diomenses, and the gate Diomeiæ led to it, Diomeia occupied the north-eastern part of the Asty, and there was an inner and an outer Diomeia, as there was an inner and an outer Cerameicus. The outer Diomeia, however, was not extensive, and indeed seems to have comprehended no more than Cynosarges; for the latter bordered on the demus of Alopece, which place was no more than eleven or twelve stades from the city-walls². Collytus bordered upon Melite³; and the Athenian tradition, as to the reception of Hercules at Athens⁴, seems to leave little doubt that it bordered also upon Diomeia; in other words, that it lay between Melite and Diomeia. This agrees perfectly with the words of the rhetorician, who places Col-

¹ ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφος (Thucydides sc.) πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν ἐν χωρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃ Κοίλη καλεῖται . . . πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα. Marcellin. in Vita Thucyd. Τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος πέραν τῆς Διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. Herodot. 6, 103. Here, according to Marcellinus, lay Herodotus himself, as well as Cimon and Thucydides.

² Herodot. 5, 63. Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 119, Reiske.

³ Strabo (p. 65) instances Collytus (Κολλυτεῖς on the monuments) and Melite, as places having precise boundaries, marked by pillars, on one side of which was inscribed Τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ Κολυττὸς, on the other τοῦτο δὲ Μελίτη.

⁴ Diomus was the son of Collytus, whom Hercules favoured in gratitude for the hospitality shown to him by Collytus. Some of the Melitenses migrated to Diomeia, and celebrated Metageitnia, in memory of their origin. Plutarch. de Exil. 6.

lytus in the centre of the city¹. Although the street through Collytus is designated as a στενωπός or narrow street, it appears nevertheless to have commenced in the Agora², and to have been a favourite place of residence³. It terminated probably like the streets of Melite, Cerameicus and Diomeia, in a gate of the Astic inclosure.

The Κυδαθηναίῃς were an urban demus, whose importance is evident from numerous monuments, as well as from ancient authors. The name indicates something distinguished in the situation of the demus⁴. Possibly, therefore, it occupied the Theseian city⁵; that is to say, the Acropolis, together with the parts adjacent to it on the south, south-east, and east, as far as Enneacrunus and the Ilissus, bordering northward on Diomeia. There would still remain suffi-

Cydathe-
næum.

¹ We have seen that the street through the inner Cerameicus was described as a δρόμος, and that from the gates of Melite through the suburb Cœle, as an ὁδός.

² στενωπός τις ἦν Κολυττός, οὕτω καλούμενος, ἐν τῇ μεσαιάτῃ τῆς πόλεως, δήμου μὲν ἔχων ἐπώνυμον, ἀγορᾶς δὲ χρεῖα τιμώμενος. Himer. ap. Phot. Myriob. p. 1139.

³ Τὸ δέ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐθὲν ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες κατοικοῦσι Κολυττὸν, οὐδὲ Κορίνθιοι Κράνειον, οὐδὲ Πιτάνην Λάκωνες. Plutarch. de Exil. 6. Plutarch. Demosth. 11. Alciphron, 1, 39.

Collytus was noted for having been the demus of Plato, and it was the residence of Timon the misanthrope (Lucian. Timon. 7. 44).

⁴ Κυδαθηναῖος· ἐνδοξος Ἀθηναῖος. Hesych. in v. See Müller's Dorians, II. p. 72.

⁵ In like manner, the Eupatridæ were originally inhabitants of the city, and were thus contrasted with the γεωργοί, or peasantry. Etym. M. in Εὐπατρίδαι.

cient space on the southern and south-western sides of the Asty, for the Scambonidæ, if this demus was within the walls. The reason in favour of this opinion is, that mention is made of a street at Athens in the Scambonidæ, named Myrmex, from a hero who was said to have been son of Melanippus¹, and who, according to Hesiod, was father of Melite, wife of Hercules, from whom the demus Melite received its name². We must admit that this etymology tends to place Scambonidæ near Melite and the Melanippeium; but if Cerameicus, Melite, Collytus, and Diomeia, were respectively contiguous, and occupied all the northern side of the town, there is no place for Scambonidæ but to the south.

Eretria.

We learn from Strabo, that, according to some antiquaries, the Eubœan cities Eretria and Histiaæa were named from Attic demi³. Of the demus Histiaæa we have evidence both from authors and monuments. In another place the geographer says of Eretria that it "is at Athens where now is the Agora⁴." The site of the Agora of the time of

¹ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Σκαμβονιδῶν ἐστὶ Μύρμηκος ἀτραπός, ἀπὸ ἡρώος Μύρμηκος ὀνομαζομένη. Hesych. in Μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς. Aristoph. Thesm. 106. Phot. Lex. in Μ. ἀτραπός. Hesych. in Μυρμήκων ὁδοί.

² Phot. Lex. in Μελίτη.

³ Ἐνιοὶ δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθῆναι φασὶ τὴν Ἰστιαίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰστιαίων ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Ἐρετριέων τὴν Ἐρέτριαν. Strabo, p. 445.

⁴ Ἐρετρίας δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναι φασιν, ὑπ' Ἐρετριέως· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἥ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. Strabo, p. 447.

Strabo, being well known from its extant portal, we have thus the position of an urban district exactly where a name seems wanting to complete the *χωρία*, or districts, which encircled the Acropolis : for bordering upon Eretria to the south-eastward was Tripodes, beyond the latter westward Limnæ, then Museum, Pnyx, Areiopagus, and the Inner Cerameicus, which met, or nearly met, the western end of Eretria. One might infer from the words of Strabo just cited, that Eretria was a demus as well as a district of the city ; but as nothing has yet been found to confirm this opinion, and as Strabo shows that the name of the Eubœan Eretria was by some persons traced to Triphylia, in the Peloponnesus, we may conclude, that if Eretria ever was an Attic demus, it had ceased to be so at an early time. Limnæ is stated to have been a demus by the Scholiast of Callimachus, but he has evidently mistaken the Limnæ of Athens for that of Messenia.

No more than nine gates are noticed by ancient Gates. authors ; namely, the Thriasæ, otherwise called Dipylum ; the Diomeiæ, Diocharis, Melitides, Peiraicæ, Acharnicæ, Itoniæ, Hippades, and Heriææ. But there was certainly a greater number. Reckoning, as the *first*, the gate between Museum and Pnyx, which terminated the Longomural street, and the name of which is unknown, but may possibly have been Munychiæ, as leading directly to the Munychian peninsula, there was a *second* about midway between the summit of Museum and Enneacrunus (the Itoniæ) ; a *third* at Enneacrunus, for the sake of a ready access to that fountain (the name unknown) ; a *fourth* opposite to the Stadium (the name unknown) ;

a *fifth* at the eastern extremity of the city, leading to the Lyceium (the gate Diocharis); a *sixth* leading to Cynosarges (the Diomeisæ); a *seventh* at the end of the street Collytus (the name unknown); an *eighth* at the northern extremity of the city (the Acharnicæ); a *ninth* at the end of the street Melite (the Melitides); the *tenth* was Dipylum; the *eleventh* was the Peiraic gate; and there are vestiges of a *twelfth* in the hollow on the northern side of the hill of Pnyx.

The only one of the gates above mentioned, of which it is necessary to justify the name given to it, is the Itoniæ. That the Itoniæ led to Phalerum seems clear on comparing the commencement of the Platonic dialogue, named Axiochus, with a remark of Pausanias, who, in conducting his reader into Athens from Phalerum, says that the monument of Antiope stood just within the gate. In the Axiochus, Socrates, who had walked out of the Asty at a gate in the eastern walls, not far from Enneacrunus, encounters Clinias, and is persuaded by him to visit Axiochus, the father of Clinias, who was confined by sickness to his house at the monument of the Amazon, near the Itonian gate¹.

¹ . . . ταῖς Ἰτωνίαις πύλαις· πλησίον γὰρ ἔκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ. Axioch. 1.

Plutarch differs from Pausanias, inasmuch as he places the monument of Antiope near the temple of Tellus Olympia, which was within the peribolus of the Olympieum; but there appears from Plutarch (Thes. 26 et seq.) to have been a difference of opinion among Athenian antiquaries as to the name of the Amazon who was slain by Theseus. Some said Antiope, others Hippolyte, and, according to Pausanias, it was Molpadia. Those, therefore, who considered the monument of the Olympieum as

The twelfth gate of the preceding enumeration, or that which stood in the opening between Pnyx and Museum, was possibly the Hippades, or Equestrian Gate, having taken its name from the cavalry who may have marched out by this gate to the Hippodrome; for, as the other places of exercise—namely, the Lyceium and Academy¹—were to the east and north, the Hippodrome was probably on the western side, where alone the vicinity of the town affords another favourable situation. The *seventh*, or intermediate, gate on the north-eastern side, between the Diomeiæ and the Acharnicæ, was perhaps the Heriææ; so called from the *ῥοία*, as that kind of sepulchre was called, in which the body was laid, together with its *κειμήλια*, in a cavity below the surface of the ground, constructed with slabs of stone at the side and ends, and similarly covered². This kind of tomb, in the absence of the stele, which anciently marked the site, presents little or no appearance externally; it is common in every part of Greece, and many of them have been excavated on the northern side of Athens.

These twelve gates were nearly equidistant, at intervals of about five hundred yards, except between the Itonian gate and the *first*, or the gate which I have supposed to have been called the Munychian.

that of Antiope, gave undoubtedly some other name to the monument at the Itonian gate.

¹ Xenoph. Hipparch. 3. See above, p. 300, n. 1.

² Ἡρία εἶδιν οἱ τάφοι. φασὶ δὲ τινες κοινότερον πάντας τοὺς τάφους οὕτως ὀνομαζέσθαι· κατ' ἐξαίρετον δὲ τοὺς μὴ ἐν ὑψέϊ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὰ σώματα εἰς γῆν κατατεθῇ· ὠνομάσθη δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔραν. Harpocr. in v.

Here the interval is double some of the shortest distances between the other gates, and there can be little question as to any gate having occurred in this interval, the walls being clearly traceable in this part of the periphery. This exception however to the ordinary intervals between the gates may be sufficiently accounted for by the steep and rocky nature of the hill of Museum, which admitted of no convenient situation for a gate, in the line where the walls crossed it.

Besides the principal gates, there were doubtless several *πυλίδες*, similar to that of Panops, which was situated between the Diomeiæ and Diocharis, and some traces of which were observed by Fauvel.

APPENDIX I.

Page 8.

ON THE TYRRHENI PELASGI.

THE fortifying of the Acropolis by the Pelasgi, is one of the most curious incidents in the early history of Athens. From whence they came is uncertain, but the epithet Tyrrheni or Tyrseni, which Herodotus and others give to them, may incline us to the belief that they were a portion of the Pelasgi, who are said to have been driven out of Tuscany: for Tyrrheni was the name which the Greeks constantly applied to the people of that country. The first Pelasgi who came to Athens, were joined soon afterwards by some others, who had been compelled to retire from Bœotia by the Bœoti, when these returned to their original seat on being expelled from Arne of Thessaly by the Thessali coming from Epirus. The Tyrrheni Pelasgi when exiled from Attica, settled in Lemnus and Imbrus, and these were the Tyrrhenian pirates, whom Bacchus was fabled to have converted into dolphins, and of whom the earliest notice is in the Homeric hymn. As the Pelasgi were already dispersed and destroyed as a nation, at the time of the Trojan war, we must look to a much higher date for their *acme*, and accordingly the general testimony of history tends to show that before the arrival of the Phœnician and Egyptian colonies on the south eastern coast of Greece, the Pelasgi existed as a tribe of Greeks, who had already derived letters and arts from the same

quarter, through Asia Minor, and by means of their superior intelligence had governed a great part of Greece, but who were gradually confined by less civilized but more powerful tribes, to the north of Thessaly and some parts of Macedonia and Epirus. Others passed over into Italy: those of Peloponnesus after an intermediate colonization on the western side of Greece, others by crossing the Adriatic into Middle Italy, whither they conveyed the use of the alphabet, and where they fortified many strong positions in the manner of their native country¹. The numerous remains of these fortresses or their repairs, especially in the central part of Italy, indicate the long prevalence in that country of a state of society, exactly resembling the Pelasgic or earliest civilized state of Greece, when that country was divided into small independent tribes dwelling in fortified towns, sometimes at war, sometimes in alliance with each other. The first Pelasgic or Greek emigrants were followed by others; they were not always successful in establishing themselves where they had intended, and some of them, or their descendants, were under the necessity of returning to Greece. Among these were the Pelasgi who went to Athens. Even before the Trojan war, the Pelasgi were so much dispersed, that the name and nation were extinct except in Thessaly, and in some small districts or towns of Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor².

¹ (Enotrus) *ῥέκισι πόλεις μικράς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὥσπερ ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος οἰκήσεως συνήθης.* Dionys. Antiq. Rom. 1, 12.

² A tendency or liability to wander, to colonize and to settle in small communities in foreign countries, was perhaps a necessary consequence of the geographical construction of the native land of the Greeks, and of its position with regard to surrounding countries. The Pelasgi of the fifteenth century carried letters once more into Italy. Greeks engaged in commerce, and seldom unmindful of letters, have from that time been found in all the great cities of Europe and Asia, and even of America, not to mention the larger communities, which took refuge, and have continued to reside in the countries immediately bordering on Turkey. In London, the Greeks were most numerous in the reign of Charles the second, when Greek street, Soho, was named from them. Under the patronage of that king, and of his

The similarity, not to say the identity, which is remarkable in the alphabets as well as in the most ancient military architecture of Italy and of Greece, affords in its combination an unquestionable proof of the reality of the Pelasgic migrations, without having recourse to tradition, which however is not deficient. The same kind of monumental evidence gives an approximation to their date; for we may observe,

1. That the Etruscan, Oscan, Samnite, and Latin letters are similar to the earliest form of the Greek; and that they were written at the time of their introduction into Italy, from right to left like the Phœnician, and other oriental characters, whereas by the Greeks the alphabet was employed at a remote period in the opposite direction¹, probably even before the time of Homer; although in short documents, we often find it, at a much later period, written from right to left, or in the transition state of Boustrophedon.

2. That the ancient fortresses of Italy belonging to the Pelasgic state of society, resemble in their positions, their construction, and dimensions, those of Greece which were built in the ages prior to the Trojan war, as appears from the extant walls of numerous places named in the catalogue of Homer; those places having ceased to be of importance after that event, when a new form of society gradually established itself in Greece, and when in general the *μικροπολῖται* quitted their fortresses and collected themselves into larger towns.

3. That in Italy, although the Pelasgic or early form of the Greek language did not displace the indigenous dialects, the latter adopted, together with the alphabet, many Greek words, and that the names of a great number of places in Italy, which are situated and fortified exactly

brother, the Duke of York, and assisted by donations from them, as well from Compton, bishop of London, and other prelates, they built a church, which still exists, with a Greek inscription upon it, attesting these facts.

¹ A Phrygian specimen of the alphabet, of the seventh century B.C., on a rock near Nacoleia, is engraved from left to right. See "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor," p. 21.

in the Pelasgic manner of Greece, are of Greek derivation.

4. That the mythology of Italy closely resembled that of Greece, that some of the names of deities were identical, that if others were not so, the same kind of dissimilitude occurred in different parts of Greece, and that even the heroes of Italy were in general of Greek origin.

Among the people of Italy who profited by Pelasgic migration, the Etrurians by means of their federal union and the wisdom of their institutions, obtained far greater and more permanent power than any others. Before the foundation of Rome they had attained to great skill in almost all such manufactures as were known to the ancients, and in the imitative arts they had formed a school little inferior to the archaic Greek, and which to the last resembled the Greek, though still distinguishable from it like a family long separated from the original stock. Etruria in short was nearly in the same state as the monarchies or federal unions of Greece when in the ninth and eighth centuries, B. C., the redundant population of Greece sought colonial settlements in all the surrounding countries, and bringing with them wealth, naval power, and skilful men in various branches of art, found no difficulty in obtaining lands on the coast of Italy as far north as Etruria, including a part of that country, and inland as far as Rome. In some instances they established themselves in unoccupied sites near the sea, but more frequently they enlarged the bounds and population of places inhabited by people among whom they found the kindred manners which had been introduced by the Pelasgi.

The discoveries which have lately been made in the Papal states within the ancient Tyrrhenia, of numerous vases bearing Greek inscriptions, are monumental illustrations of these later Greek migrations, not less satisfactory than those afforded of the earlier or Pelasgic, by the alphabets, by the names of places and deities, and by the fortresses. On some vases of archaic design, are found

inscriptions, written in the character which was employed in Greece in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, B.C. on others are inscriptions in letters precisely similar to those used in the fifth century: but vases, of a later date, inscribed in Greek are very rare, which accords with the fact that the Greek colonies of Etruria then began to decline, the defeat of the Tyrrhenian fleet by Hiero in the year 474, B.C., having probably been the termination of that prosperity and naval power, for which the Etrurians had been mainly indebted to the Greek colonists who had settled among them. The figures represented on the vases and other utensils found in Etruria, as well those of Greek, as those of Etruscan style, show an identity of religious worship and mythology between those who made them and the people of Greece: and many of them are illustrations of the poems of Homer or of the legends of Greece on either side of the Isthmus. Similar vases inscribed with Greek characters, have been found at Veii, Agylla, and other ancient sites around Rome, together with numerous objects of common use, greatly resembling those of Greece, and leaving little doubt that at the time of the infancy of Rome, the Greek language was the chief organ of civilized communication in that country¹, which was thus Greek before it became Roman; and might have continued so to the present day, but for the development of Roman power, and the cultivation of the Latin language.

Among the numerous vases which have been found on ancient sites in the Roman states, those of Vulci bear the most remarkable resemblance to Athenian monuments, as well in the dialect and form of the inscribed characters, as in the subjects depicted upon them and in the names of the artists when these occur. We are led therefore to believe, that "Ὀλκίον" was founded by or received a colony from Attica, at the same time that Damaratus brought his Corinthians to the neighbouring Tarquinia.

¹ Dionys. Antiq. Rom. 1, 89. 4, 26.

² This appears from Polybius (ap. Stephan. in v.) to have been the Greek form of the name.

As it was a constant object with Athenian statesmen to find a remedy for the increasing numbers and increasing poverty of the citizens of Athens, we may easily conceive that when naval intercourse was easy and safe between Athens and foreign countries, many citizens skilful in the Ceramic art, which was one of the staple manufactures of Attica, may have been induced to leave the metropolis for the purpose of exercising their profession with greater profit in the colonies. To this circumstance it is most reasonable to attribute the close resemblance of the Vulcian vases to those of Athens: for it is almost absurd to suppose, that a bulky and brittle commodity should have been to any great extent an article of commerce by sea, when its materials were found in every place, and skilful workmen were alone required to conduct the manufacture.

Some writers, both ancient and modern, have supposed that Etruria may have originally derived its civilization from Lydia, others from Egypt, others from Palestine. It is not impossible that such a migration from Lydia, as Herodotus relates, may really have occurred; but as the immigrants are supposed to have come from Lydia by sea in the fourteenth century before Christ, when naval communication between Greece and Italy, (as we may judge from the *Odyssey* of Homer,) could not have been very common, such a colony could not have consisted of any great numbers, and was quite insufficient to have reformed a large portion of Italy, or to account for that close resemblance which prevailed between Greeks and Etruscans in religion, mythology, manners, and civil institutions. Still less can we conceive these peculiarities to have been derived from Egypt; for although an occasional resemblance may be observed between the art and mythology of Etruria and of Egypt; those of Greece and Egypt have an equal resemblance, caused by a certain degree of affinity between all the religions of the ancient world, and in art by a similarity in the effects of general principles. Any more exact similitude will be found to belong to an age subsequent to the occupation of Egypt by the Greeks. After that time com-

merce became active between Egypt and Italy, and a taste for Egyptian art was diffused in the latter country, to a much greater extent than it ever was in Greece¹.

The Greeks, though they may have originally derived a part of their mythology from Egypt, were not the pupils of that country in the arts of design. Seven centuries after Egyptian art had arrived at its meridian, the sculptors of Corinth and Sicyon, had not proceeded beyond the rudest representations of animal life: their architecture was indeed then approaching the state which became the normal Doric; but even this branch of art, though it arrived at perfection earlier than any other, could not have derived any assistance from that of Egypt, being clearly traceable to a construction in wood, while that of Egypt originated in the rocky margin of its inundated soil.

Nor can a Phœnician origin be attributed to Etruscan civilization, on the ground of the early and extensive commerce and navigation of the Phœnicians, for the alphabet employed by the Etruscans, and other people of Italy who possessed any literature, was not Phœnician but Greek, derived indeed from the Phœnician, but clearly distinguishable as that modification of it, which prevailed at a very remote period in Asia Minor and Greece. Attempts have been made to distinguish Pelasgic masonry from Etruscan, but in truth, every variety of this kind of construction existing in Italy, may also be found in Greece. A part of the walls of Mycenæ closely resembles in its masonry those of Volaterræ and Fæsulæ. Although a classification of the various kinds of ancient masonry occurring in Greece, is found convenient to the traveller in describing them, there is but one ancient name besides "Pelasgic" which can with authority be applied to a distinct species of Greek masonry; the author who describes it, having supplied us with an example which is still extant.

¹ Pompeii shows that long before the time of Hadrian, Egyptian communities, with their temples, deities, ponates, hieroglyphics, and other peculiarities were naturalized in Italy.

Pausanias has accurately stated that the walls of Tiryna, said to have been built by the Cyclopes who came from Asia, are formed of large rude masses, the interstices of which are filled with smaller stones. To shape each stone, and to fit it to its neighbour, instead of heaping up unhewn masses, was a natural improvement upon the "Cyclopiian" method, and this improvement we may attribute to the Pelasgi. In different places and at different times, the "Pelasgic" masonry thus formed was more or less irregular in the form of the stones, more or less perfect in their juncture, and more or less approaching to a system of regular courses, until at length after the time of Alexander the Great, equal horizontal courses became the prevailing mode of building. The construction peculiar to the Pelasgi, or early engineers of Greece and Italy is that of a wall, from eight to twelve feet thick, roughly built with stones and cement within, but composed on both faces of large uncemented masses, laid so as sometimes to approach to, though never exactly to form equal horizontal courses, and more frequently consisting of stones, in the shape of triangles, quadrangles, or polygons, very accurately fitting to each other, so that there is little appearance of courses, and sometimes not any in the entire wall. Though not regardless of flank defence, the Pelasgi seem never to have built a regular succession of towers, at equal or nearly equal distances, which was a common practice in Greece after the sixth century, B.C. when fortresses were built upon more level ground, than was usually chosen by the Pelasgi, whose sites were generally rugged hills, accessible only in particular places, where flank defence might be derived from the sinuosities of the ground, assisted by a few great towers or bastions on the weak points.

See Homer, Il. B. 681. 840. K. 429. Od. T. 177. Herodotus, 1, 56. 2, 51. 5, 26. 6, 137. 7, 42. 8, 44. Thucyd. 1, 3. 2, 17. 4, 109. Strabo 218 et seq. Dionysius, *Antiquitates Romanæ*, 1. 2. Lanzi, *Saggio di*

lingua Etrusca. Micali, Storia degli antichi popoli Italiani. Raoul Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, I. Larcher, H. d'Herodote, VII. Marsh. Horæ Pelasgicæ. Inghirami, Monumenti Etrusci. Vermiglioli, Iscrizioni Perugine. Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde. Niebuhr, Roman History, I. Thirlwall, History of Greece, I. Millingen. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, II. Fynes Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, III.

APPENDIX II.

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ON THE TREASURE IN THE ACROPOLIS IN THE YEAR 431
B. C.

IN this year Pericles made the following statement to the Athenians :—

Θαρσύν τε ἐκέλευε, προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει, ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμον ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλείεστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἔς Ποτίδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη· χωρὶς δὲ χρυσοῦ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου, ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἦν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἦν πάννυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσοῖς· ἀπέβαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν· χρησάμενους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, ἔφη, χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστῆσαι πάλιν¹.

Hence it appears that the whole treasure in the Acropolis, considered by Pericles as disposable to the exigencies of the

¹ Thucyd. 2, 13.

state, was about twelve thousand talents; for the gold on the statue of Minerva in the Parthenon, which, according to Philochorus, weighed as much as forty-four talents¹ (the authority of Diodorus, who states it at fifty, is scarcely worth mentioning) was equivalent to five hundred talents of silver. Demosthenes, therefore, seems to have been moderate in saying that the Athenians brought to the Acropolis, during the forty-five years of their ascendancy in Greece, more than ten thousand talents².

The tribute which produced the treasure of 9700 talents in coined money was a commutation for service in prosecuting the war against Persia, and was first levied upon the allied cities by Aristides in the year 477 B. C., and hence was called *ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος*. It was deposited in the temple of Apollo at Delos, from whence we are to suppose that it was drawn out as the exigencies of the war required. The yearly amount was 460 talents, augmented to 600 by Pericles, who, on the pretext that it would be safer from the Barbarians at Athens, removed it to the Acropolis, which thenceforth became the treasury of the Confederacy. During the Peloponnesian war the tribute was raised to 900, 1200, and even 1300 talents³. Neither the year in which the annual payment was augmented to 600, nor that in which the residue at Delos was removed to Athens, can be exactly ascertained; but we may presume that they were nearly simultaneous: and, as the latter measure appears to have been already in contemplation while Aristides was living⁴, that they occurred not long after his death in B. C. 468, about the time of the first accession of Pericles to power, who seems always to have had the credit or disgrace of this bold attack upon the liberty and property of the allied cities. Isocrates, who employs the round number of 10,000

¹ Ap. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 604.

² πάντε μὲν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤρξαν ἐπόντων· πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον. Olynth. 3, p. 35, Reiske. *περὶ συντάξ.* p. 174.

³ Andocid. c. Alcib. p. 116, Reiske. Æschin. dc f. leg. p. 337. Plutarch. Aristid. 24. 25. Pericl. 12. 17.

⁴ Theophrast. ap. Plutarch. Arist. 25.

talents in reference to the maximum of the confederate treasure¹, remarks in another place, that the sum collected by Pericles was 8000 talents, *χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν*²; that is to say, over and above the money which had been transported from Delos, and which was therefore about 2000 talents. It is scarcely necessary to advert to the negligent Diodorus, who says that the treasure brought from Delos amounted to 8000 talents, and who represents Pericles as stating that 460 was the annual *φόρος* at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war³.

The Delian treasure, as well as that which was added to it at Athens, having been formed from the annual savings of the tribute, after defraying all the expenses which the Athenians charged to the national defence under their *ἡγεμονία*, we might expect to find the average yearly expenditure nearly equal in the two periods, the fleet having generally amounted during the whole time to about 250 triremes. And, in fact, the difference appears not to have been very great, for if 2000, or, correcting this number from Thucydides with reference to the coined money only, 1900 talents, was the saving upon a revenue of 460 talents in ten years, and 8000, or with a similar correction 7800, was the saving on a revenue of 600 talents in twenty-two years (taking the year 445 for that on which the saving ceased and the abstraction began), the average yearly expenditure in the former period was 270 talents, and in the latter 246, the difference being perhaps attributable to the resources derived from the profitable campaigns of Cimon. It is satisfactory to observe that this approach to equality in the average yearly expenditure accords with the foregoing suggestion, as to the date of the removal of the Delian treasure, and of the augmentation of the tribute, as well as with the supposition that the treasure was at its maximum prior to the year 444, when Pericles attained unopposed power, and began to lavish this treasure without reserve on the embellishment of Athens.

¹ De pace, p. 173, Steph.² P. 184.³ Diodor. 12, 38. 40.

APPENDIX III.

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ON THE COST OF THE WORKS OF PERICLES.

OF the five buildings on which is founded the fame of Pericles and his advisers in affairs of art, no more than three were finished when the Peloponnesian war suspended the progress of all such works. Of the two unfinished, namely, the Erechtheium and the Mystic temple of Eleusis, considerable progress had probably been made in the former, when the war broke out. The Eleusinian temple, having been of great importance to the Athenian religion, may have been restored to a serviceable state before the administration of Pericles, but that it proceeded slowly while the great buildings of the Acropolis were in progress, and still remained incomplete at the beginning of the war, is evinced by its having had three successive architects, besides Ictinus, as well as by the fact that its exterior portico was not built until about 150 years afterwards, when Philo, a fifth architect, was employed for that purpose¹. The Odeium was the earliest of the five buildings in date. The comic poet Cratinus, in reference to the peculiar formation of the cranium of Pericles, and at the same time to his power, calls him a squill-pated Jupiter, with his Odeium on his head, that Odeium having been noted for its pointed roof².

¹ Strabo, p. 395. Vitruv. 7 in præf. Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

² Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσίρχεται
Περικλῆς, τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
ἔχων, ἐπιιδὴ τοῦστρακὸν παροίχεται.

Cratin. ap. Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

Cratinus, in the same passage, alludes to the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias, which had raised Pericles to undivided power; whence it appears that the Odeium was already finished in the year B. C. 444, when Thucydides was banished. As we learn, moreover, from Plutarch, that the party of Thucydides accused Pericles of expending the treasure of the confederates upon his buildings, it appears that he had already begun to draw upon it when he was erecting the Odeium.

The Parthenon was the next in order; it was completed in the year 438-7, and in the following year the Propylæa was begun, which was finished in five years; that is to say, in the year preceding the commencement of the Peloponnesian war¹. It is not so easy to determine when the Parthenon was begun, as when it was finished. In all probability the plan was formed soon after the retreat of the Persians, when the great protectress of the Athenians having been left without a temple, a *ἐκατόμπεδος ναός* may have been voted, and even its foundations laid, although its execution may have been suspended, until the energy of Pericles, with an abundant treasury at command, allowed full scope to the genius of Phidias. The harmony and adaptation of all the parts to each other sufficiently show the work to have been almost entirely executed under the influence of one and the same comprehensive mind. The construction and completion of the Parthenon, therefore, is to be attributed almost entirely to the eight years occurring between 446 and 437 B. C.²

We have no direct testimony as to the cost of any of the great works of Pericles, except the Propylæa; the expense of which is stated by Heliodorus, the author of a work on

¹ Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 604. Philochorus, Heliodorus ap. Harpocrat., Suid. in *Προπύλαια ταῦτα*. Palmer. Exercit. p. 746. Corsini Fasti Attici, III. p. 217. Sillig. Catal. Artif. in Phidias. Mueller de Phidiæ vitâ, et operibus, p. 35, not. 1.

² Plutarch alludes to the rapidity with which the works of Phidias were executed. Pericl. 13.

the Acropolis, to have been two thousand and twelve talents ¹. In this he agrees very nearly with Diodorus, who remarks that four thousand talents were spent upon the Propylæa and the siege of Potidæa ², which latter we know from Thucydides to have caused an expenditure of two thousand talents ³. But though we may deduce from this concurrence of testimony that such an opinion, as to the cost of the Propylæa, prevailed in the time of those writers, there is great difficulty in believing it to have been correct. Neither Philochorus, an Attic historian who lived only a century after the time of Pericles, nor Plutarch, who appears to have been diligent in his inquiries as to the buildings of Pericles, have left us any statement of the expense of the Propylæa, though they agree as to the name of the architect, and as to the length of time employed in its erection ⁴. Two thousand and twelve talents, or even two thousand, is too great a sum both in itself, and in proportion to the whole amount which could have been expended on the celebrated edifices of Pericles.

Two thousand talents contained a quantity of silver equivalent in our present currency, as will be seen below, to 460,000*l.*, and they were capable of commanding two or three times the quantity of labour and skill which the same sum can obtain at the present day. If the Propylæa had cost two thousand talents, the Parthenon would have required double that amount, and all the buildings not less than eight or nine thousand talents. Such a sum it would have been impossible for the Athenian revenue to have afforded during the fourteen or fifteen years that the buildings were in pro-

¹ Περὶ δὲ τῶν Προπυλαίων τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ὡς ἐπὶ Εὐθύμηνους ἀρχοντος οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι, Μνησιαλέους ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος, ἄλλοι τε ιστορήκασιν καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ. Ἡλιόδωρος δ' ἐν πρώτῃ περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως, μεθ' ἑτέρα καὶ ταῦτά φησιν· ἐν ἑταίῳ μὲν πέντε παντελῶς ἐξεποιήθη, τάλαντα δὲ ἀνελώθη δισχιδία δώδεκα, πέντε δὲ πύλας ἐποίησαν, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσίσαιεν. Harpocrat. in Προπύλαια ταῦτα.

The same citation from Heliodorus occurs in Suidas and Photii Lex. in Π. γ.

² Diodor. 12, 40.

³ Thucyd. 2. 70.

⁴ Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

gress; the yearly revenue of Athens at that time, both foreign and domestic, having been not more than one thousand talents¹,—a sum scarcely sufficient for the growing exigencies of state. Among the sources of expenditure may be mentioned the public amusements, the sacred spectacles, the gratuities granted to the people, the completion of the two Long Walls, the minor buildings and general decoration of the City and Peiræus, the restoration of some of the ruined temples of Attica, particularly those of Rhamnus and Sunium, a fleet increasing from two hundred to three hundred triremes², the revolt of Eubœa and Megara, together with the hostile demonstrations of the Peloponnesians on that occasion; the expeditions to the Chersonese and to Pontus; the war of Samus, which alone consumed one thousand or twelve hundred talents; the colonies sent to Thurium, Amphipolis, and Sinope; the completion of the fortifications of Peiræus; the building of the inter-

¹ Xenoph. Anab. 7, 1, § 27. The tribute of the Confederates having been at the same time six hundred (Thucyd. 2, 13. Plutarch. Aristid. 24), it follows from Xenophon that the domestic income was four hundred. Nine years afterwards, in the midst of the Peloponnesian war, when there were no less than one thousand cities in the alliance, and paying tribute,

(Εἰσὶν γὰρ πόλεις χίλια, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν.

Aristoph. Vesp. 707),

the whole revenue had nearly reached two thousand (Aristoph. Vesp. 661), and the *φόρος* thirteen hundred (Plutarch. Aristid. 24). The domestic portion, therefore, had then increased to near seven hundred talents. That these numbers are not to be taken as a mere poetical exaggeration, seems evident from the accuracy with which Aristophanes has detailed the items of the revenue.

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λόγισαι φαύλως, μὴ ψήφοις ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρὸς,
τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυλλέβδην τὸν προσίοντα
ἐᾶξω τοῦτον τὰ τέλη χωρὶς, καὶ τὰς πόλλας ἱκαροστάς,
Πρυτανεία, μέταλλ', ἀγοράς, λιμένας, μισθοὺς, καὶ δημόπρατα·
τούτων πλήρωμα, τάλαν! ἐγγὺς δισχίδια γίγνεται ἡμῖν.

Aristoph. Vesp. 657.

² At Salamis the Athenians had 180 triremes (Herodot. 8, 44): at the siege of Samus alone, in the year 440 B. C., two hundred were employed (Thucyd. 1, 116. Isocrat. *περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως*, p. 446, Oxon.). Nine years afterwards, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the fleet amounted to three hundred triremes (Thucyd. 2, 13).

mediate Long Wall (τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος), and finally the preparations for that conflict, the magnitude of which was fully foreseen¹.

It seems evident, therefore, that when Pericles began his great buildings, he began also to draw upon the treasure of the confederates deposited in the Acropolis; and as this was the principal accusation urged against him by his opponents prior to the year 444 B. C.², it was probably in the preceding year that the treasure attained its maximum of 9700 talents, and began to be diminished. When Pericles, therefore, in his speech to the Athenians, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, stated that 3700 talents had been expended out of the 9700 for the Propylæa and other buildings, and for the Potidæan expedition³, he intended all the great buildings which Plutarch has particularly mentioned, namely, the Odeium, the Parthenon, the Mystic temple of Eleusis, and the Propylæa; to which we may add the Erechtheum until its progress was arrested by the war. Plutarch, who appears to have had good information on this subject, seems clearly to mark that the buildings of Cimon were defrayed from his private fortune and the spoils of his successful campaign against the Persians, and those of Pericles from the confederate treasure. The greater importance, therefore, given to the Propylæa by the words of Thucydides, or rather of Pericles (τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τἄλλα

¹ Thucyd. 1, 1. 102. 114 et seq. 2, 21. Corn. Nep. Timoth. 1. Diodor. 11, 88. 12, 5. 27. 32. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 23, 3. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lysia. Dionys. de Lysia, p. 453. Plin. H. N. 12, 4 (8). Plutarch. Pericl. 6. 19. 20. Polit. Præcept. 15.

A particular proof of the great expense of the state at the period here alluded to is found in Plutarch, who tells us that Pericles sent out every year for several years an exercising squadron of sixty triremes, for the instruction of the citizens in naval operations, and kept them in pay for eight months. As a talent was soon afterwards reckoned the ordinary monthly expense of a trireme on service against the enemy, this exercising squadron must have required a yearly expenditure of little less than three hundred talents, which was more than the average yearly expenditure from the confederate fund.

² Plutarch. Pericl. 16.

³ See above, p. 458.

οικοδομήματα), may have been a consequence of its more recent construction and of the novelty and boldness of the design, which may have rendered it comparatively more costly than the other buildings; circumstances tending to make it an object of greater present curiosity to the people than any of them.

Thucydides in recording the surrender of Potidæa, observes that the whole siege had cost two thousand talents¹. If, therefore, a probable estimate can be made of the portion of these 2000 talents which had been expended when 3700 talents had been laid out upon the siege and buildings together, we shall have a tolerably correct valuation of the entire cost of the works of Pericles.

In the first year of the Peloponnesian war, eighty days before midsummer, six months of the siege were not yet terminated². Pericles made his financial statement to the Athenians when Archidamus, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, was moving from the isthmus into Attica³. Hence if we consider the time occupied in collecting the combined forces at the Isthmus before that movement, together with the time spent in the siege of CEnoe, between the movement and midsummer, when Archidamus entered the plain of Athens, we cannot be very wrong in concluding that the speech of Pericles upon the finances was made about forty days before midsummer, and that the siege had then lasted seven months. The siege terminated about the middle of the second winter, and consequently lasted twenty-seven months in all.

The investing land force consisted of three thousand hoplitæ, with as many *ὑπηρέται*, or light-armed attendants. Each hoplita was allowed two drachmæ a-day for himself and his attendant⁴. The expense of the investing army was therefore, as follows :

¹ Thucyd. 2, 70.

² Thucyd. 2, 2, 19.

³ Thucyd. 2, 13.

⁴ Thucyd. 3, 17. The ordinary pay of the hoplita was four oboli, whence *τετρωβολίζειν* and *τετρωβόλου βίος* for the life of a soldier. But

	Talents of 6000 drachmæ.
Six thousand men for twenty-seven months, at thirty drachmæ	
per man per month	810

To this sum must be added the expense of the corps under Phormio, which was sent from Athens not long after the beginning of the blockade, and which, after completing the investment of Potidæa towards the peninsula of Pallene, and after building a wall on that side, made occasional excursions upon the Chalcidenses and Bottiæi. As this corps was not in Macedonia in the ensuing autumn ¹ (having probably been withdrawn at the time of the invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians in the spring), it was employed about six months against Potidæa. It consisted of one thousand six hundred hoplitæ ², paid at the same rate as the three thousand ³: the expense of this corps, therefore, was,

Three thousand two hundred men for six months, at thirty drachmæ per man per month	96
Which added to 810 talents gives for the total expense of the investing land force	906
This deducted from	2000
Leaves	1094

for the naval department of the investment, and for the occasional expeditions and operations against Potidæa. As Thucydides remarks ⁴, that in the first year of the war the Athenians had two hundred and fifty triremes at sea, a hun-

this was the *μισθος* only ; besides which there was a *σιτηρίσιον*, or ration of corn, sometimes paid in money ; as it appears to have been on the expedition of Potidæa, but which it was obviously more consistent with good discipline that the state should provide. Accordingly, we find that the expedition to Syracuse was accompanied by *σιταγῶγα πλοῖα* (Thucyd. 6, 30). In the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war a body of Thracian peltastæ was hired at a drachma by the day for each man (Thucyd. 7, 27) ; these probably had no further allowance for provision.

¹ Thucyd. 2, 31.

² Thucyd. 1, 64.

³ Thucyd. 3, 17.

⁴ Ibid.

dred in the Attic seas, from Eubœa to Salamis, a hundred around Peloponnesus, and fifty at Potidæa and in other places, we may allow twenty-five for the blockade of Potidæa, which was then the principal foreign expedition. As the historian further remarks¹, that all the ships' companies were paid at the same rate as the land forces, we may calculate the pay of the seamen at a drachma per diem², and the complement of the Athenian ships being generally fifty seamen and a hundred and fifty rowers³, we may conclude that the monthly expense of each trireme was about one talent⁴.

The expense, therefore, of the permanent naval force before Potidæa was probably

	Talents.
Twenty-five triremes, at a talent a month, for twenty-seven months	675
A few smaller vessels, the expense of which may have been equivalent to that of three triremes	81
	756

¹ Ibid.

² Thucydides gives us to understand that the pay of the sailors at Potidæa was uncommonly high. In like manner, the Peloponnesian seaman was considered as highly paid when he received a drachma a-day from Tissaphernes in the twentieth year of the war (Thucyd. 8, 29. 45). The usual daily pay of the Athenian seamen was three oboli (Thucyd. 8, 45. Xenophon. Hellen. 1, 5, § 7). Those of the celebrated trireme *Paralus* received four oboli (Harpocrat. in Πάραλος). But in addition to this was the allowance for corn, which, in the time of Demosthenes, when the medimnus cost five drachmæ (c. Phorm. p. 918, Reiske) was reckoned at ten drachmæ a month, or two oboli for soldier as well as seaman (Demosth. Philip. 1, p. 48, Reiske, c. Polycl. p. 1209. 1214). When the same orator estimates the pay of the sailor at thirty drachmæ a month (de coron. trierarch. p. 1231) we may suppose that he includes the *σιτηρίσιον*.

³ See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, xxxviii. p. 559.

⁴ This was the sum which Lysander endeavoured to prevail upon Cyrus to allow for each of the Lacedæmonian triremes; but Cyrus would only consent to raise the daily pay of each man from the usual sum of three oboli to four (Xenoph. Hellen. 1, 5, § 5. Plutarch. Lysand. 4.); that is to say, the pay in money (ὅσον ἕκαστος λαβὼν ἀργύριον), and exclusive of the *σιτηρίσιον*. See Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209.

To this must be added the charge for the ships attached to the corps of Phormio ; for it is evident, from the words of Thucydides, that there were ships so employed ¹. Reckoning their expense in the same proportion to the expense of the corps itself, which that of the permanent naval force bore to that of the three thousand hoplitæ, we shall have for the cost of the naval department of the corps of Phormio about . . . 90

Giving for the whole of the naval service . . . 846

Which added to the charge of the land service . . . 906

Makes a total of . . . 1752
for the whole expense of the investment of Potidæa :

This sum deducted from . . . 2000

leaves . . . 248

for the charges of two expeditions against Potidæa. The former of these was in the summer preceding the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the battle of Potidæa was fought, when the wall was built across the isthmus, and when three thousand hoplitæ and seventy ships were employed². The latter was in the second summer of the war, when Agnon, with four thousand hoplitæ, lay before Potidæa for forty days, and besieged it with machines³. If we allow the same proportion of ships in the latter expedition as in the former (and it was about the average proportion of triremes to soldiers in the floating expeditions of the Athenians⁴), we may suppose Agnon to have been accompanied

¹ Thucyd. 1, 64.

² Thucyd. 1, 61, et seq.

³ Thucyd. 2, 58.

⁴ No great accuracy can be expected upon this head ; the proportion of the naval to the land forces depending in great measure upon the circumstances of each expedition. In that of the Corinthians against the Coreyræi, four years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, two thousand hoplitæ were embarked in seventy-five ships (Thucyd. 1, 29). In the expedition against the coasts of Peloponnesus, commanded by Pericles in the second year of the war, four thousand hoplitæ were embarked in a hundred ships (Thucyd. 2, 56). In an expedition commanded by Nicias, in the seventh year, two thousand hoplitæ were embarked in eighty ships (Thucyd. 4, 42).

by about ninety ships. It does not seem probable from the narrative of Thucydides that the operations against Potidæa, in the year preceding the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, were much longer or shorter than those under Agnon in the second year of the war. The two hundred and forty-eight talents, therefore, which defrayed them both, may be divided between the two in the proportion of their land forces, or in the ratio of three to four :

	Talents.
Giving to the former expedition an expense of	106
And to that of Agnon an expense of	142.

It is observable, that this sum of a hundred and forty-two talents would have been nearly sufficient to defray the expense of the expedition of Agnon, upon the supposition that it consisted of ninety ships and four thousand hoplitæ, and calculating the cost of the former at a talent per month, and the pay of the latter on shore at a drachma per diem : for the expense of ninety ships during forty days, would have been one hundred and twenty talents, and that of four thousand hoplitæ for the same time, twenty-six talents.

According to the preceding calculation, the expenses of the siege of Potidæa, during the seven months previous to the opening of the war, and the speech of Pericles upon the Athenian finances, were composed of,

	Talents.
1. The expense of the expedition previous to the formation of the blockade	106
2. The expense of the corps of Phormio 96+90 or	186
3. $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the expense of the whole blockade, or of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two talents	455
Total	747

Or in round numbers 750

Having deducted this sum from three thousand seven hundred talents, we have two thousand nine hundred and fifty talents for the cost of the buildings of Pericles.

It would be desirable to ascertain, if possible, what proportion of this sum was applied to the most admirable of them, the Parthenon ; but there are no means of arriving at any accuracy on this point. It is difficult to conceive, however, that less than two-thirds of the whole sum could have sufficed for the Odeium and Propylæa and for the temple of Eleusis, and Erechtheium, as far as the two latter were built when Pericles made his financial statement to the Athenians ; one thousand talents, therefore, seem as much as we can allow in round numbers for the Parthenon. The temple of Delphi, which was built of the stone called *πῶρος*, with the exception of the front which was of Parian marble, with sculptured metopes, cost between three and four hundred talents¹ ; but the difference between this sum and one thousand talents is considerably reduced by the diminution, which occurred in the value of silver in the sixty years which elapsed between the building of the Delphic and that of the Athenian temple : the remaining difference is sufficiently accounted for by the superior magnificence of the Parthenon. The exact power of one thousand talents, in commanding labour and skill at the present day, it may not be possible to ascertain, but some approximation may be made to it by adverting, I. to the quantity of silver contained in the talent, and, II. to the price of some of the necessities of life at Athens in the time of Pericles.

1. The rich mines of Laurium having rendered silver the most important of all the productions of Attica, the Athenians made their coinage an object of especial care ; during the four centuries in which the mines were principally worked, it was multiplied to an immense extent ; and it obtained a reputation in the commercial world, to which it was well entitled by its purity and the unvarying correctness of its standard. The element was the drachma, but the obolus or sixth part of the drachma also served as unity ; and from the bisections, or binal multiples of these two, twelve different denominations of coins were formed, of

¹ Herodot. 2, 180. 5, 62. Euripid. Ion 190.

which seven were of the drachma and five of the obolus ; the smallest having been the quarter obolus, weighing less than three grains Troy, and the largest the octodrachm, which weighed near 540 grains¹. Of these the didrachm and octodrachm are the most rare, and the tetradrachm the most common. The mina contained one hundred drachmæ, and the talent sixty minæ, but these were nominal measures of money. There are three modes of arriving at the correct weight of the drachma : 1. By weighing a great number of Attic drachmæ and tetradrachms, selecting those in the best preservation, and excluding most of the broad tetradrachms, of which the far greater number are subsequent to the age of Alexander ; for these tetradrachms, with a very few remarkable exceptions of overweight, are generally light², when compared with the older coinage, partly perhaps in consequence of the greater wear of the larger surface.

2. By weighing the best preserved Macedonian coins, particularly the staters or didrachmæ of Philip and Alexander in gold, the Macedonian standard having been the same as the Athenian.

3. By means of the proportion which the Attic drachma bore to the Roman pound.

Mr. Burgon, in whose rich collection are many Philips and Alexanders, of gold and silver, as well as Athenian drachmæ and tetradrachms in the best preservation, has from these, and the weights of similar coins in the Hunter collection and in the British Museum, deduced an average of from 66 to 66½ grains Troy to the drachma, without any allowance for wear³. But although the wear

¹ One or two examples of the Decadrachm are said to have been discovered : this would make the number of Athenian silver coins amount to thirteen. In gold there were the stater or didrachma and one or two small weights.

² It was by admitting a great number of these into his calculation of the average of the drachma, that Mr. Payne Knight deduced its weight to have been sixty-five grains troy. Prolegomena in Homerum, § 56 ; Boeckh's Economy of Athens, p. 25.

³ Of seven didrachmæ of Philip and Alexander, in my own collection, the lightest is 131½ grains, the heaviest 133½.

has been very small in the best preserved specimens, something may be allowed for the effect of twenty-two centuries; $66\frac{1}{2}$ therefore would seem to have been rather below the weight of the drachma during the ages when the Attic silver-mines were most productively wrought, and when the Athenians were most scrupulous as to the weight of their drachma, its multiples, and divisions.

A comparison of the drachma with the Roman pound will give more than 67 grains for the weight of the drachma. In the treaty of Antiochus with the Romans, he engaged to pay his tribute in Attic talents of eighty Roman libræ or pounds each¹. The Roman pound, according to Raper², was 5040 grains Troy, or, according to Letronne³, 6160 French grains, or rather 6154⁴, equal to 5045 Troy. Taking the medium $5042\frac{1}{2}$, the drachma was equal in grains Troy to $\frac{5042\frac{1}{2} \times 80}{6000} = 67\frac{1}{2}$. Again we find a remark of Galen⁵, that the Attic mina contained sixteen and the Roman pound twelve Roman ounces. The drachma, therefore, was the 100th part of $\frac{5042\frac{1}{2} \times 4}{3}$, which gives the same result.

From Demosthenes, in his oration against Phormio⁶, delivered about 335 B. C., we learn that the ordinary price of wheat at that time was five drachmæ the medimnus⁷.

¹ *μη ἑλαττον δ' ἐλείπω τὸ τάλαντον λιτρῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.* Polyb. 22, 26. Talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat. Liv. 38, 38.

² Phil. Trans. lxi. p. 462.

³ Consid. sur les monnaies Grecques et Romaines, 4to, Paris, 1817.

⁴ See p. 7.

⁵ V. ap. H. Stephan. Lex. in Append., p. 215, A.

⁶ P. 918, Reiske.

⁷ The Attic dry measure was the *μέδιμνος*, divided into *εκτηῖς* or sixths, each of which contained eight *χοίνικες*. The medimnus was equal to six Roman modii (Corn. Nep. Attic. 2. Cicero in Verr. de frumento, 45 & seq.). Pliny, who has given us (H. N. 18, 7 (11 & seq.) the weight of the modius of several kinds of wheat, remarks, that of those which were imported into Italy, the Gallic and the Thracian Chersonesian were the lightest, and that the modius of these grains weighed twenty libræ. We learn from Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 8, 8) that the wheat of Attica did not contain more than three-

In the age of Solon it had been no more than one drachma the medimnus¹. About the year 435 the retail price of flour was two oboli the hecteus², or two drachmæ the medimnus. About 393 B. C., the hecteus, of wheat (*ρυρῶν*) cost three oboli³, or three drachmæ the medimnus. This comparison of prices is the more worthy of attention as the price of corn was kept generally steady at Athens by a free importation, and that the gradual rise is sufficiently accounted for by the increase of silver in Greece, derived from mines, or from the plunder of the sacred deposits at Delphi and other places.

About the same time four oboli, equal in silver to sixpence of our present coinage, was the wages of the commonest kind of labour, as well as that of a foot-soldier, but who in Greece, as in modern Europe at the present day, generally received about half as much more for provision. It has been reckoned that, about the time of Pericles, an Athenian family of four persons might be supported with severe oeconomy at an annual expense of five hundred drachmæ⁴, equivalent to about 20*l.* in silver of our present currency. Under these circumstances we can hardly suppose that a thousand talents, equivalent in silver to 230,000*l.* was not capable of obtaining as much art and labour as two or three times that sum at the present time (1838).

fifths of the nourishment of the Boeotian, which Pliny considers to have been of the very first quality. Hence we may suppose that the wheat of Attica was nearly of the same quality and weight as that of Chersonesus, the soil of which peninsula very much resembles the Attic soil. We cannot be very wrong, therefore, in estimating the weight of the Attic medimnus at a hundred and twenty libæ, which, at 5042½ grains to the libra, is equal to a hundred and five pounds troy, or to about eighty-six pounds avoirdupois. Suidas indeed (in *Μίδιμνον*) says that the medimnus was equal to a hundred and eight *λίτραι*; but his authority is not to be placed in competition with that of Pliny, and the *λίτρα* of his time may have been different from the Roman libra of the time of Pliny.

¹ Plutarch. Sol. 23.

² Plutarch. de Anim. tranq. 10. Stob. Serm. 95.

³ Aristoph. Eccl. 380. 543.

⁴ Boeckh's *Economy of Athens*, I. p. 151.

APPENDIX IV.

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ON THE VARIOUS WRITERS NAMED PAUSANIAS.

THE identity of Pausanias of Magnesia, who wrote the *Periegesis* of Greece, with the Pausanias cited by Stephanus as the author of a work on Syria, is assumed on the following grounds :

1. There was a tradition in Lydia, that Ascalus, son of Hymenæus, and brother of Tantalus, had conducted from thence a colony into Syria, where he had founded and given name to Ascalon¹.

2. Tantalus, according to Pausanias the Περιηγητής of Greece, was a native of Magnesia, whence it appears that the expedition of Ascalus proceeded from that city.

3. Stephanus refers to a Pausanias, as having written on the colonies of his native city, and as having noticed Ascalon as one of them²; it seems to follow therefore, that Pausanias of Magnesia was the author of that work.

¹ Ζάνθος ἐν τετάρτῃ Λυδιακῶν φησιν, ὅτι Τάνταλος καὶ Ἀσκαλος παῖδες Ὑμναίου τὸν δὲ Ἀσκαλον ὑπὸ Ἀκταμόυ τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως αἰρεθίοντα στρατηγὸν εἰς Συρίαν στρατεύσαι κακῇ παρθίνου ἱρασθεὶς πόλιν κτίσαι, ἣν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὕτως ὠνόμασε. Τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Νικόλαος (Damascus) ἐν τετάρτῃ ἱστορίᾳ. Stephan. in Ἀσκάλων.

² Πανσανίας δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ ἐκίσει Δωριεὺς αὐτοὺς καλεῖ, τῇδε γράφων, Τύριοι, Ἀσκαλωνῖται, Δωριεῖς, Ῥαφανεῶται.—Stephan. in Δῶρος.

Both these articles are from the original work of Stephanus, but the

Again, I. Tzetzes and I. Malala refer, as well as Stephanus, to a Pausanias who wrote a work on the foundation of Antioch (*Ἀντιοχείας κτίσις*) which agrees with the mention of Antioch, the Orontes, and Daphne, by the Periegetes of Greece; the article *Δῶρος* in Stephanus accords equally with his notice of some of the most remarkable places in Judæa. Malala describes Pausanias as a *χρονογράφος*, which concurs with the references in Tzetzes and Stephanus, to the extent of shewing that the work on Syria was chiefly historical¹.

Pausanias of Cæsareia at Mount Argæus, wrote *περὶ συντάξεως, περὶ προβλημάτων, καὶ ἕτερα*. Philostratus speaks of him as a sophist and a rhetorician who betrayed his Cappadocian origin by his speech. He was a pupil of Atticus Herodes, a cotemporary of the Sophist Aristides, resided long at Rome, and died there at an advanced age².

A third Pausanias, who was of Damascus, is classed by Constantine Porphyrogenetus among historians (*τὴν ἱστορίαν γεγραφότις*) together with Strabo, Menippus, and Scylax³. He seems to have been the same person described as the Syrian sophist (*ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σοφιστῆς*) by Galen, who cured him at Rome of a paralytic affection in his fingers⁴.

A fourth Pausanias was a Lacedæmonian *ἱστορικὸς*, who wrote Laconian chronicles and works on the festivals of Laconia, on the Hellespont, and on the Amphic-

Epitome of Hermolaus (in *Δῶρος*) deserves also to be cited as confirming the name of Pausanias which some critics have doubted.

¹ I. Tzetz. 7, 118. I. Malal. Chronog. p. 86. Stephan. in *Σελευκώβηλος*. Malala correcting Pausanias, and asserting that Antioch had been named by Seleucus, not from his father, but from his son Antiochus, adds *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ αὐτὸς σοφώτατος Πανσανίας ποιητικῶς συνεγράψατο*: where the adverb not unaptly describes the style of the historical narratives of Pausanias.

² Philostrat. Sophist 2, 13. Suid. in *Πανσανίας*. Eudocia in Π. ap. Villosion. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 353.

³ De Them. 1, 2.

⁴ Galen. de locis affectis, 3, 14.

tyons¹. Arrian and Ælian refer to another Pausanias, author of a work on Tactics², who lived apparently three or four centuries before the time of the Periegetes of Greece; and Photius as well as the Scholiast on Thucydides, to a Pausanias, author of an Attic Lexicon³, which the former praises, and to which Eustathius often refers.

Different from all these probably was the Pausanias, whom Diogenes Laertius in his life of Heracleitus, names among the writers who had commented upon the work of Heracleitus *περὶ φύσεως*, for this Pausanias was distinguished from other authors of the same name, as *Πανσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτίστης*.

¹ Suid. in *Πανσανίας*. Eudoc. in II. ap. Villosion. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 350.

² Arrian. *Tactic.* p. 4, Blancard. Ælian. *Tactic.* 1.

³ Phot. *Myriobib.* p. 322. Schol. Thucyd. 6, 28.

APPENDIX V.

Page 90.

DESCRIPTION OF ATHENS BY A GREEK OF THE XVTH CENTURY.

For the following abstract of a manuscript by an anonymous modern Greek in the Imperial Library of Vienna, I am indebted to Professor K. O. Mueller, of Goettingen. The author's allusion to the Duke of Athens, and to the Parthenon as a church of the Panaghía, shows that he wrote before the Turkish conquest, but as Mr. Mueller thinks, judging from the manuscript, not before the fifteenth century.

Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Vindobonensis Cod. Theolog. Græcus cclii. p. 29. hanc continet Athenarum descriptionem ex medio ævo.

Πρώτη ἡ 'Ακαδημία ἐν χωρίῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν· δευτέρα ἡ 'Ελαιατική¹ εἰς τοὺς 'Αμπελοκήπους·² τρίτον τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διδασκαλεῖον εἰς τὸ Παραδείσιον. τέταρτον τὸ τοῦ Πολυζήλου ἐν ὄρει τῷ ἡμίτι.³ πέμπτον τὸ τοῦ Διοδώρου πλησίον τούτου. ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τοῦ Σωκράτους, ἐν ᾧ εἰσι κύκλῳ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι ἱστορισμένοι.⁴ κατὰ δύοσιν δὲ τούτου ἴστανται τὰ παλάτια τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. καὶ πλησίον τούτου εἰσὶν οἱ λαμπροὶ οἴκοι

¹ Eleatica philosophorum secta.

² Pagus Ambelokipi.

³ Hymettium, puto.

⁴ Aperte Andronici Cyrrhestæ horologium Socratis dicit scholam.

τοῦ πολεμάρχου. ἴστανται δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Διὸς ἐγγὺς τούτου. ἀντικρυς δὲ τούτου ἐστὶ βωμὸς, εἰς ὃν ταφῆς ἀξιούνται οἱ παγκρατιασταὶ καὶ Ὀλύμπιοι· ἐν ᾧ φοιτῶντες οἱ ῥήτορες τοὺς ἐπιταφίους λόγους ἀνεγίνωσκον. κατὰ ἄρκτον δὲ τούτου ὑπῆρχεν ἡ πρώτη ἀγορὰ τῆς πόλεως, εἰς ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος τὸν γραμματεῖα ἐβύθησεν. ἔνθα ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ λαμπροὶ οἴκοι φυλῆς τῆς Πανδιονίδος¹. κατὰ δὲ τὸ νότιον μέρος ὑπῆρχε διδασκαλεῖον τῶν Κυνικῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ πλείον τούτου τῶν τραγικῶν.

Deinde dicit scriptor, extra acropolin esse etiam διδασκαλεῖον Sophoclis. Hinc versus meridiem Areopagum. Hinc versus orientem palatia Cleonidis et Miltiadis. Prope διδασκαλεῖον Aristotelis.

Ὑπερθε δὲ τούτου, pergit, ἴστανται δύο κίονες· καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸν ἀνατολικὸν ὑπῆρχε τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, εἰς δὲ τὸ δυτικὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος· μέσον δὲ τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι ποτε Γοργύνης κεφαλὴν ἔνδον κουβουκλαίου σιδηροῦ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὠρολόγιον τῆς ἡμέρας μαρμαριτικόν· ἀντικρυς δὲ τούτου πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ὑπῆρχε διδασκαλεῖον λεγόμενον τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ ἀνατολικά ἀκμὴν ἴσταται ὁ λύχνος τοῦ Δημοσθένους².

Prope, deinde scribit, fuisse Thucydidis ædes et Solonis, et alteram ἀγορὰν, et Alcmaeonis domum, et maximum βαλανεῖον.

Hinc, pergit, πρὸς νότον ἡ μεγάλη ἀγορὰ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τεμένη πλείστα ἀξιάγαστα ἕως τῆς πύλης νοτίδος· ἥς πρὸς τῆς φλιᾶς ἰστύρηνται ἑννεακαίδεκα ἄνδρες—[*Lacuna*]—τὸν ἕνα ἐδίωκον. ἐκεῖ ὑπῆρχε καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν λουτρὸν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα διὰ πατάγου φοβῆσαι ἤθελησαν· ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Μνησάρχου οἶκος. ἴσταται δὲ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τούτου καμάρια μεγίστη καὶ ὠραία³, εἰσι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Θεσέως.

¹ Hæc opinio fluxisse videtur ex titulo : ἰδοξεν τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ, Corp. Inscr. Græc. n. 213.

² Jam tum igitur lucerna Demosthenis dicebatur Lysicratis monumentum.

³ Arcus Hadriani.

Deinde narrat de οἴκῳ βασιλικῷ pulcris columnis instructo, quem XII. reges ædificasse scribit¹. Hinc ad meridiem versus esse οἶκον βασιλικόν, in quo ὁ δούξ convivium celebret. Deinde Ἐννεάκρουνον cum templo Junonis, nunc τῇ Θεοτόκῳ consecrato. Versus orientem esse Theatrum Athenarum, id habere 1. μίλιον ἐν διαστήματι, duosque introitus versus Septentrionem et Meridiem, et centum ζώνας circulares. Instructum esse candido marmore. Apud portam orientalem esse aliam ἀγορὰν et duo ἀγωγοὺς ὕδατος a Julio Cæsare structos. Alium ἀγωγὸν esse versus portam borealem, a Theseo structum.

In Acropoli esse parvum διδασκαλεῖον musicorum. Huic oppositum esse magnum Palatium, candido marmore factum, inauratum, quo Stoici et Epicurei commeaverint. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ (pergit) τῆς Θεομήτορος, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἀπολλῶς καὶ Εὐλόγως ἐπ' ὀνόματι ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, ἔχει οὕτως· Ἔστιν ναὸς δρομικώτατος καὶ εὐρύχωρος; habet muros candido marmore structos et ferro et plumbo vinctos; et circa eos columnas maximas, quarum capitula εἰς σχῆμα φοίνικος ornata esse; et supra has trabes candido marmore factas².

K. O. MUELLER.

The testimony of the Greek is here opposed to that of the Père Babin, who states that the Parthenon under the Christians had been a church of St. Sophia. The Turks bear witness to the same effect, and they have the same tradition as to some mosques at Saloniki and elsewhere, which had been churches before the conquest. In these instances, as well as that of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the Turks have a pride in retaining the name, because it is a memorial of the conquest, and conveys no meaning repugnant to the Mahometan faith. The Greeks on the other hand, as they became more idolatrous, and particularly after the introduction of pictures, preferred the Θεομήτωρ. At

¹ Olympium templum, puto.

² Hæc ad Parthenon pertinere, apertum.

Athens it was natural that the church should at first have been dedicated to ἡ Ἀγία Σοφία, as Minerva was a personification of the divine Wisdom.

Similar changes were common in the course of the extinction of Paganism. The founder of Constantinople, when he was himself in the state of transition, dedicated to ἡ Ἀγία Σοφία a Pagan temple, which he repaired, enlarged, and covered with a wooden roof, and which seems previously to have been a Pantheon, as it contained a great number of images of heathen gods and Roman emperors, which had augmented to the number of 427, when Justinian built his new church of St. Sophia on the same spot, and dispersed the statues over the city¹.

¹ Anon. de Antiq. Constant. ap. Banduri, I. p. 13. Codin. de Orig. Const. p. 8, Paris.

APPENDIX VI.

Pages 161, 304.

ON SOME MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WORSHIP
AT ATHENS, OF THE EARTH AND OTHER TERRENE
DEITIES.

AMONG the θεοὶ χθόνιοι were Dionysus, Hermes, and Poseidon, who, in his subterraneous capacity, was the Pluto of Latin mythology. At Athens Γῆ, the Earth, the same as the Cybele of Asiatic Greece, was the principal among them, and with her was associated Δημήτηρ Χλόη. In the year 1759, a marble was found in the stadium, and transported to Venice, where, until very lately, it formed an article in the Nani collection. A copy of it was published in the Monumenta Peloponnesia of Paciaudi, I. p. 207, and may be found in Millin, Galerie Myth. pl. lxxxi. No. 327. An inscription in characters, apparently not long subsequent to the archonship of Eucleides, occupies the breadth of the Stele between two representations in relief, in the upper of which the figures are on a smaller scale than on the lower, as in a similar tablet cut on the rocks of one of the quarries of Parus, which, as an Ionic island, may be supposed to have resembled Athens in its mythology. See a drawing of the latter in Stuart's Athens, IV. 4. pl. 5. and a description of it in "Travels in Northern Greece," III. p. 91. A third stele of the same kind, found near the Acropolis of Athens, is engraved in the Museum Worsleianum, II. pl. 9. This last had probably been an ἀνάθημα in one of the caverns in the rocks of the Acropolis. The subject is here treated more simply than on the two other monuments.

Three nymphs are led by a young man (*Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος*?) towards a colossal head of Bacchus; at the opposite end of the composition Pan is seated in the clouds; above and below are many worshippers on a smaller scale, preceded by a sheep, which was the usual sacrifice to Ceres Chloe (Eupolis ap. Sch. Sophoc. *Œd. Col.* 1600). In the two other monuments the lower compartment represents Tellus seated. In the tablet in the Parian quarry, she is attended by many other figures; but in the stele from the Panathenaic stadium, by Ceres only, who stands beside her, bearing two torches. Tellus has a fruit in her hand. Tellus and Ceres had the same postures in a temple of Ceres at Patræ, also an Ionic city (*αὕτη μὲν καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐστᾶσι, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον*. Pausan. *Achaic.* 21, 4). Opposite to them in the monument from the Athenian stadium is a man leading a horse, towards an altar in the middle, showing that the horse was intended as a sacrifice, or at least as a dedication to the deities of the sacred place¹. We are told by Pausanias, that horses were thrown into the Deine, a whirlpool on the coast of Argolis (see *Travels in the Morea*, II. p. 480) in honour of Neptune. The most popular part of the worship of the terrene gods was that of Pan and the Nymphs, who presided over rivers, fountains, and caverns, and they appear to have had many sanctuaries in the vale of the Ilissus. The inscription on the monument found in the stadium is as follows:

Οἱ πλυνῆς Νύμφαις εὐξάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν καὶ Θεοῖς πᾶσιν,
 Ζωαγόρας Ζωκύπρου, Ζώκνυρος Ζωαγόρου, Θάλλος Λευκά,
 Σωκράτης Πολυκράτους, Ἀπολλοφάνης Εὐπορίωνος,
 Σωσίστρατος,
 Μάνης, Μυρρίνης, Σωσίας, Σωσιγίνης, Μίδας.

¹ An altar and a hog for sacrifice are similarly placed in the lower compartment of a Stele at Rome, in the upper division of which are three *Sulevæ*, with two attendants. See Fabretti de *Aquæduct.* diss. 2. The ternal number was common to many female deities. The muses were anciently three in number. Pausan. *Boeot.* 29, 2. Plutarch. *quest. sympos.* 9, 14.

Paciaudi and Boeckh (C. Ins. Gr. No. 455.) have supposed these *πλυνεῖς* (Att. *πλυνῆς*) to have been a society of *lotores* or *balneatores*, persons who attended upon bathers. The former cites an inscription at Arezzo, attesting the ancient existence at Aretium of a Collegium lotorum, and supposes there were warm-baths near the stadium for the use of the Athletæ. But baths in Greece were attached to Gymnasia. Hercules, not the Nymphs, usually presided over them, and there is no evidence of stadia having been similarly provided. Nor does any instance occur of *οἱ πλυνεῖς* with such a meaning as has been supposed, while the ordinary application of the word at Athens is shown by that of τὰ *πλυντήρια*, a festival instituted for the cleansing of the garments of Minerva Polias. This *ex voto*, therefore, as Mr. Wordsworth has suggested ¹, refers probably to a custom similar to that of the Athenian women in the present day, who resort to the pools of the Ilissus to wash linen. A society of washermen appear to have erected the monument to the Nymphs of Ilissus, and to have placed it in some cavern on the banks of the river near the stadium. The humble condition of the persons might, indeed, suit either hypothesis. None of them were Attic citizens. The two first seem to have been from Cyprus, where names ending in *αγορας* were common, three other metæci follow, the remaining six were slaves. Manes and Midas were common names for men of that class ², and Sosias still more so.

¹ Athens and Attica, p. 160, note.

² Strabo, p. 304.

APPENDIX VII.

Page 163.

ON VARIOUS BUILDINGS AND PLACES AT ATHENS.

SOME of these have already been alluded to in other parts of this work ; of the remaining there are very few of which the situation can be determined. To begin with these. In the Ceramic δρόμος, or Agora, which commenced at Dipylum, and led to the centre of the city, bordered on either side by bazárs and public buildings, the first which occurred was the council-house of the artisans (τὸ τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον), situated very near the gate (παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμικοῦ πύλας οὐ πόρῳ τῶν ἵππῶν)¹. The horsemen here noticed by Philostratus may have been equestrian statues, or possibly a building belonging to the Ἴππῆες. In the same great street probably stood the stoa of Attalus², and near it perhaps the colossal statues of Attalus and Eumenes, which afterwards received inscriptions in honour of Marcus Antonius³.

In the quarter of Melite, besides the temples of Hercules Alexicacus and of Diana Aristobule⁴, was the house of Phocion. Plutarch describes it as still existing in his time, small and simple, but covered with copper tiles

¹ Philostr. Sophist. 2, 8, § 2.

² Athen. 5, 13 (50).

³ Plutarch. Anton. 60. When these were blown down at the time of the battle of Actium (see above, p. 349), it was an omen of the fall of Antony ; and the old inscriptions were probably restored.

⁴ See above, p. 163.

(χαλκαῖς λεπίσι κεκοσμημένη¹). Here also was a temple, or heroum, of Melanippus son of Theseus², and the place of rehearsal of the tragedians, called the house of the Melitenses (ὁ Μελιτέων οἶκος³). Behind the Prytaneium was a place called the plain of famine (Λίμου πεδίον⁴).

There were many palæstræ at Athens. Mention occurs of those of Lycurgus son of Lycophron⁵, of Taureas⁶, of Sibyrtius⁷, and of Hippocrates⁸. Plato, in the *Lysis*, alludes to a new palæstra, which was near the fountain of Panops⁹.

Baths (βαλανεῖα) were equally numerous. They resembled probably the baths of the Turks, who adopted the use of them from the conquered people: of one only is the situation known. It was near the statue of Anthemocritus, which was on the outside of Dipylum¹⁰. Λέσχαι, or places where the poor were allowed to warm themselves in cold weather and to pass the night, are said to have been still more numerous¹¹. Of the Athenian λέσχαι, of a superior kind, serving as places of meeting for conversation and business, and which had been customary in Greece as early as the time of Homer, we have no particular account, but we may readily believe that they were numerous at Athens.

The Agora was divided into markets, streets, and porticos, which in general derived their names from the objects sold in them. Such were the στοὰ τῶν ἀλφίτων, or στοὰ

¹ Plutarch. Phoc. 18.

² Asclepiades, Cleidemus, ap. Harpocr. in *Μελανίππιων*.

³ Hesych., Phot. Lex. in *Μελιτέων οἶκος*.

⁴ Hesych. in v. Zenob. Prov. 4, 93.

⁵ Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.

⁶ Plat. Charmid. 1. Lucian. Parisit. 43.

⁷ Plutarch. Alcib. 3.

⁸ Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat.

⁹ Plat. *Lys.* 1.

¹⁰ Isæus ap. Harpocr. in *Ἀνθεμόκριτος*. See above, p. 224, n. 1. The situation is explained by a remark of Athenæus (1, 14 (32)), that anciently baths were not permitted within the walls. This was perhaps one of the most ancient baths of Athens.

¹¹ Three hundred and sixty, according to Proclus (ad Hesiod. Op. 491).

ἀλφιτόπωλις¹ (flour-market); the ἀγορὰ γυναικεία², or shops for goods peculiarly adapted to the use of women; the ἀγορὰ σπειρόπωλις, or ἱματιόπωλις³ (for the sale of ready-made clothes); the ἀγορὰ ἰχθυόπωλις⁴ (for fish). There were other Agoræ, or divisions of the Agora, named Θεῶν ἀγορὰ, ἀγορὰ Ἀργείων, ἀγορὰ Κερκώπων⁵; the last of these, which was noted for the sale of stolen goods, was near the Ἡλιαία⁶, on the position of which, a conjecture has already been offered⁷. The different divisions of the markets for provisions were commonly indicated by the name of each article preceded by the preposition εἰς, as εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, the horse-market; εἰς τοῦψον, the cooks' shops; εἰς τὰ μεσκόνια, the place where asses' flesh was sold. Εἰς τὰ μῦρα, εἰς τὰς χύτρας, εἰς τὰ σκόροδα, εἰς τὰ κρίμνα, εἰς τὰ ἀρώματα, εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τύρον, εἰς τὰ κάρνα, εἰς τὰ μῆλα, &c., were the denominations of several parts of the Agora, where ointments, pottery, garlic, onions, perfumes, fish, cheese, walnuts, apples, &c. were sold. The booksellers' shops were called βιβλιοθήκαι⁸. The κύκλοι were round buildings in the Agora⁹; in one of which slaves were sold¹⁰, in another butcher's meat and fish¹¹, in another vases¹².

¹ Aristoph. Eccles. 682. The poet here alludes probably to a stoa of that name at Peiræus; but that there were others for the same purpose in the Asty may safely be presumed.

² J. Poll. 10, 18. Theophr. Charact. περὶ κολακείας.

³ J. Poll. 7, 78.

⁴ Vit. X. Rhet. in Hyperid.

⁵ Hesych. in vv. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 212. From Aristides the Sophist (Orat. in Minerv.) the Θεῶν ἀγορὰ appears to have been also called τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μέρος, and to have served for all kinds of affairs.

⁶ Hesych. in Ἀγ. Κερκ. Eustath. in Od. B. 7. K. 552.

⁷ See above, p. 361.

⁸ J. Poll. 7, 211. 9, 47. 10, 18. Theophr. Char. περὶ βδελυρίας.

The divisions of a bazar in Greece are indicated very nearly in the manner described by Julius Pollux in the provision-market of ancient Athens. The same mode of using the prepositions, and, with a few slight corruptions, the same words, are in general still preserved. Στὰ κρομμύδια, στὰ καρύδια, στὰ σκόροδα, στὰ μῆλα, στὸ χλωρὸ τυρί, will conduct the travellers to the shops for onions, walnuts, garlic, apples, and new cheese, in a modern Greek town, as well as the expressions mentioned by Pollux would have done in ancient Athens.

⁹ Menander ap. Harpocr. in Κύκλοι. Hesych., Suid. in K.

¹⁰ J. Poll. 7, 11.

¹¹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 137.

¹² Alexis ap. J. Poll. 10, 18

Some of the streets of Athens derived their names from the artizans who practised their trades in them. One of the streets was called ἡ τῶν Ἑρμογλυφείων, the street of the makers of Hermæ¹, or heads of marble on a quadrangular stele, which were extremely numerous at Athens; another was ἡ τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν, or the street of cabinet-makers². Some of the streets appear to have been named from deities; that of Vesta has already been noticed³: others from the demi and districts, as Colyttus, Tripodes. Sometimes numbers appear to have been employed to distinguish them. J. Pollux mentions ἡ τρίτη ῥύμη⁴ or the third street.

Among the sanctuaries not noticed by Pausanias, we find the following: A temple of the Hours (τὸ Ὡρῶν ἱερὸν), in which was an altar of Bacchus Ὀρθιος, and another of the Nymphs⁵: a sanctuary of the People and Graces (τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Δημοῦ καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων), in which stood a brazen statue of Hyrcanus, chief priest and ethnarch of the Jews⁶: a temple of Ceres Acheia, or Gephyræa⁷; τὸ ἱερὸν Μηνύτου Ἑρακλῆος, a temple of Hercules, founded by Sophocles, with the epithet of Menytes; because the god had pointed out to him in a dream the place where was hidden a golden crown, or patera, which had been stolen from one of the sanctuaries of Hercules, and for the recovery of which a talent had been offered by the people⁸. The Pherrephattium, or sanctuary of Proserpine, was in the Agora, not very distant from the Leocorium⁹. There were also sanctuaries of Diana Ἀνσίζωνος¹⁰, of Venus ψίθυρος, of Cupid, with the

¹ Plato, Sympos. 39. Plutarch. de Gen. Socratis, 10.

² Plutarch. ibid.

³ See above, p. 254, n. 1.

⁴ J. Poll. 9, 38.

⁵ Philochor. ap. Athen. 2, 2 (7).

⁶ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. 14, 8. According to the Athenians there were only two Hours, and two Graces; the former named Thallo and Carpo; the latter named Auxo and Hegemone (Pausan. Bæot. 35, 1). Socrates, in his statues of the Graces, in the Propylæa, appears to have adopted the Ἑρεσκέιοι χάριτες, from Orchomenus, which were three in number.

⁷ Herodot. 5, 55. Aristoph. Acharn. 709. Hesych. in Ἀχαία. Etym. M. in Ἀχία.

⁸ Schol. Sophocl. in vitâ. Cicero de Divin. 1, 25. Hesych. in Μηνόρας.

⁹ Demosth. c. Conon. p. 1259, Reiske.

¹⁰ Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. 1, v. 288.

same epithet, of Hermes *ψιθυρίστης*¹, and of Hermes Hegemonius, or leader of the blind². Each tribe had a place of meeting, called the Phratrium, which contained a statue of Jupiter Phratrius, and served to promote a friendly union among the *γένη* of the *φρατρία*³.

Altars of deities, and heroa or monuments and sanctuaries of ancient Athenian heroes, were found in every part of the city. We find mention made of the following:—the altar of Eudanemus, near the Metroum, and the ascent to the Acropolis⁴: the sepulchre of Solon, a little within the city walls, near one of the gates⁵: the temenus of Æacus, in the Agora⁶. There were heroa also of Hesychus, of Ægeus, of Phorbas⁷ (near the street of the Hermæ), of Stephanephorus⁸, of Calamites⁹, of Socrates¹⁰, and of Aristomachus, commonly called 'Ο *Ιατρός*¹¹. The altar and statue of Jupiter Agoræus¹² were probably in the ancient Agora. Of the situation of the altar of Anteros, which was a dedication of the Metœci, or of that of Amphilocheus, both named by Pausanias¹³, we have no indication. Altars of Jupiter, Hermes, Hercules, and other deities, were to be found at the door of every private house.

Near the temple of Theseus was the Horcomosium, so called because the treaty between Theseus and the

¹ Demosth. c. Næser. p. 1358. Harpocrat. in *ψιθυρίστης*.

² Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1160.

³ J. Poll. 1, 24. 3, 52.

⁴ Arrian de Exp. Alexand. 3, 16. Eudanemus, otherwise Angelus, was a son of Neptune. Hesych. in *Ἐδάνεμος*. Pausan. Achaic. 4, 6.

⁵ Ælian. Var. Hist. 8, 16.

⁶ Herodot. 5, 89. Plutarch. Thes. 10. Hesych. in *Ἀλακονρίσιον*.

⁷ Andocid. de Myster. p. 30. Andron, Hellan. ap. Harpocrat. in *Φορβαστίον*. Phorbas, king of the Curetes, another son of Neptune, was slain by Erechtheus.

⁸ Stephanephorus was a son of Hercules. Hellanicus ap. Harpocr., Suid. in v.

⁹ Demosth. pro Cor. p. 270. Apollon. in vit. Æschin.

¹⁰ Those of Ægeus, of Socrates, and of Hesychus, have already been noticed. See p. 143, 175, n. 1. p. 358.

¹¹ Demosth. de f. leg. p. 419. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in *Ἰατρός*. Apollon. in vit. Æschin.

¹² Æschyl. Eumen. 979. Eurip. Heracl. 70. Hesych. in *Ἀγοραῖος*. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 338.

¹³ Attic. 30, 1. 34, 2.

Amazones was there sworn to ¹. The Amazoneium appears to have been in the same quarter; for when the Amazones, proceeding to attack the Acropolis, took post on the Areiopagus, their right, according to the tradition, was at the Pnyx, and their left at the Amazoneium, which still existed in the time of Plutarch ². We have already seen that Plutarch speaks of a place called Heptachalcum, near the walls between the Peiraic and the Sacred Gates ³. The Meticheium, or Metiocheium, which received its name from the architect and rhetorician who built it, was one of the Athenian courts of judicature ⁴. The Thesmophoreium was a *συσσίτιον*, where the women, called Thesmophorizusæ, were lodged and boarded, in undergoing a particular discipline previous to their employment in celebrating the rites of the Thesmophoræ (Ceres and Proserpine) ⁵. It is uncertain where the *ἀργυροκοπεῖον* ⁶, or mint, was situated; but, in a state so celebrated for its silver coin as Athens, it must have been a building of considerable importance ⁷. The *θήσαυρος* was a building in which images (*ἀγάλματα*) and other sacred property were deposited ⁸.

¹ Plutarch. Thes. 27.

² Æschyl. Eumen. 689. Plutarch. Thes. 27. Stephan., Suid. in *Ἀμαζονεῖον*.

³ Plutarch. Syll. 14.

⁴ J. Poll. 8, 121. Hesych. in *Μητίχου τίμενος*. Phot. Lex. in *Μητιοχεῖον*, *Μητιοχος*. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 309, where we ought to read with Photius, *ρήτορος τῶν ΟΥ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευσάντων*: for this Metiochus was doubtless that colleague of Pericles who meddled with every thing, and of whom a comic poet said,

*Μητιοχος μὲν στρατηγεῖ, Μητιοχος δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς,
Μητιοχος δὲ ἄρτους ἐποκτᾷ, Μητιοχος δὲ τὰ ἄλφιστα,
Μητιοχος δὲ πάντα ποιεῖται, Μητιοχος δ' οἰμώζεται.*

Ap. Plutarch. Polit. Præcept. 15.

⁵ Hesych. in *Πρυτανεῖον*. Meurs. Attic. Lect. 4, 21.

⁶ Antiphon ap. Harpocrat. in v.

⁷ From an Athenian inscription (Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 123), compared with Harpocrat. and Hesychius (in *Ἀργυροκοπεῖον*, *Στεφανήφορος*), it appears that the heroum of Stephanephorus was in the mint, and perhaps that the mint itself was called the house of Stephanephorus. It would seem also from Hellanicus (ap. Harpocr., Suid. in *Ἐρεφ.*), that this was called the Astic Stephanephorus, to distinguish it from some other; and consequently that the mint was in the asty.

⁸ Hesych. in *Θήσαυρος*.

Several archives (*ἀρχεῖα*) have already been noticed¹. The Lyceum contained the archives of the Polemarch, or third Archon². The Parasitium was an *ἀρχεῖον*, where the parasites, who in the origin held an honourable situation, deposited the first-fruits of the sacred corn³. The *βάραθρον*, or *ὄρυγμα*, was a deep excavation, where those were confined who were condemned to death⁴; whence the expression, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρυγματι*, for the executioner⁵. The *Ἐξαίρεσις* was a place where burthens were deposited⁶. The monument, called *Ἴππου καὶ Κόρης*, was in memory of the cruelty of an Athenian archon, Hippomenes, who had exposed his daughter, Limone, to be torn in pieces by a horse⁷. Blaute was a place where a shoemaker had dedicated a wooden last (*βλαύτη*)⁸.

Among the great number of statues which adorned the Agora, we find the names of those of Phocion, Diphilus, Berisades, Satyrus, Gorgippus, Demades, and Chabrias⁹. The statues of Demades were all destroyed. Chabrias was represented kneeling, with his spear couched, and his shield upon his knees, this being the position in which he ordered his phalanx to throw themselves, when, by this new and unexpected movement, they prevented a charge of Lacedæmonians under Agesilaus, near Thebes¹⁰.

As every tribe, *φρατρία*, *γένος*, *ἔρανος*, and family, had its protecting deity, to whom statues and altars were raised, we may imagine the immense number of them there must

¹ See above, p. 114, n. 1. p. 243.

² Hesych. in *Ἐπιλύκιον*.

³ J. Poll. 6, 35. Athen. 6, 6 (27).

⁴ Harpocr., Stephan., Hesych., Suid. in *βάραθρον*. Harpocr. in *ὄρυγμα*. According to the Scholiast of Aristophanes (Plut. 431), it was a deep pit, with hooks on the sides. The messengers sent to Athens by Darius are said to have been thrown into the barathrum to seek for the earth and water, which they demanded as a token of submission.

⁵ J. Poll. 8, 71. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 46, Reiske. Lycurg. c. Leocrat. p. 221.

⁶ Etymol. Mag. in *Ἐξαίρεσις*.

⁷ Heraclid. de Polit. 1. Suid. in *Ἴππομένης*, *Πάριππον*.

⁸ J. Poll. 7, 22. Hesych. in *ν*.

⁹ See Meursius Ceram. Gem. 16.

¹⁰ Corn. Nep. Chabr. 1.

have been at Athens. Each had an epithet derived from the name of the family, or from some peculiarity attached to the worship. For some of these appellations see Meursius *Athenæ Atticæ*, l. 2, c. 13, 14.

After the time of Alexander, statues, raised by the vote of the people, became so common, that the Agora was filled with them. Meursius, in his *Ceramicus Geminus* (p. 16), has collected the names of many, and the evidence upon which they rest.

Dinarchus and Plutarch show the great number of brazen statues which were often erected to the favourite of the day, and the facility with which they were thrown down and melted, when popularity changed its object ¹.

Among the places in and near Athens, of which the names are known, but the situation is uncertain, may be mentioned the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα ²: the hill Σικελία, described by Suidas as a three-legged hill (τρισκελῆς λόφος) ³: Trigla, a place where stood a statue of Hecate Triglathena, to whom the red mullet (ἡ τριγλα) was offered in sacrifice, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκειότῃ, τρίμορφος γὰρ ἡ θεός ⁴: Cycloborus, a torrent, which occasionally rushed down with a great noise ⁵.

Demosthenes asserts, in the third Olynthiac, that some of the dwellings of Athens surpassed the buildings of Pericles in magnificence ⁶, which, although it may be an orato-

¹ Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 33, Reiske. Plutarch. Polit. Præcept. 27.

² Ἀγέλαστος : ὁ μὴ πρὸς γέλωτα ἐπιτήδευς καὶ ὁ συγγνός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πέτρα Ἀθήνῃσι οὕτω λεγομένη. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 337. It was so called, according to Hesychius (in v.), because Ceres sat upon it, when in search of her daughter.

³ Possibly the lower or western rock of Lycabettus; for this hill being near the walls, and commanding a part of the northern side of the city, explains, by its position, the Dodonæan oracle, which recommended to the Athenians to occupy Sicily. Pausanias mentions this among some other fatal examples of oracular ambiguity. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ μάντευμα ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης Σικελίαν οἰκίζεν· ἡ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἡ Σικελία λόφος ἐστὶν ἐν μέγας. Pausan. Arcad. 11, 6.

⁴ Athen. 7, 21 (126). Eustath. in Il. γ. 71.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 137. Acharn. 381. Plutarch. Polit. Præcept. 9.

⁶ p. 36, Reiske.

rical amplification, must have had some foundation. The streets at the same time were crooked and narrow ¹.

Julius Pollux has given an idea of some of the principal features of Athens, in enumerating several of the constituent parts of a city. πόλιως δὲ μέρη—στοαὶ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ στρατήγια καὶ ἀρχεῖα καὶ γραμματεῖα καὶ διδασκαλεῖα καὶ παιδ-αγωγία ἃ καὶ φωλεοὺς ὠνόμαζον. 9, 41. The walks (ἡ περίπατος) were ἐν στοᾷ ἢ δρόμῳ ἢ ἄλλει. 10, 57.

¹ Dicæarch. p. 8, Hudson.

APPENDIX VIII.

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ON THE MONUMENT OF PHILOPAPPUS.

THE monument of Philopappus was built in a form slightly concave towards the front. The chord of the curve was about thirty feet in length. In front it presented three niches between four pilasters; the central niche was wider than the two lateral ones, concave and with a semicircular top; the others were quadrangular. A seated statue in the central niche was obviously that of the person to whom the monument was erected. An inscription below the niche shows that he was named Philopappus, son of Epiphanes, an Attic citizen of the demus Besa (Φιλόπαππος Ἐπιφάνους Βησαιεύς). On the right hand of this statue was seated a king Antiochus, son of a king Antiochus, as we learn from the inscription below it (βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου). In the niche on the other side was seated Seleucus Nicator (βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἀντιόχου Νικάτωρ). On the pilaster to the right of Philopappus of Besa, is the inscription: C(aius) JULIUS C(aii) F(ilius) PAB(iâ), ANTIOCHUS PHILOPAPPUS, COS. FRATER ARVALIS, ALLECTUS INTER PRÆTORIOS AB IMP(eratore) CÆSARE NERVA TRAJANO OPTIMO GERMANICO DACICO. On that to the left of Philopappus was inscribed βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Φιλόπαππος, βασιλέως Ἐπιφάνους, τοῦ Ἀντιόχου. Between the niches and the base of the monument, in a single compartment, there is a representation in high relief of the

triumph of a Roman emperor, similar to that on the arch of Titus at Rome.

The part of the monument now remaining consists of the central and eastern niches, with remains of the two pilasters on that side of the centre. The statues in the niches still remain, but without heads and otherwise imperfect; the figures of the triumph, in the lower compartment, are not much better preserved. Although the monument stood so near the wall, the back front was not without ornament; there are remains of two pilasters at the back of the great niche¹.

The monument of Philopappus appears, from Spon and Wheler, to have been nearly in the same state in 1676 as it is at present: and it is to Ciriaco d'Ancona, who visited Athens two centuries earlier, that we are indebted for a knowledge of the deficient parts of the monument. Stuart in the year 1751 found two statues lying on the ground at the foot of the hill below the monument, which had evidently from the style formed a part of it. These statues in the year 1785 had been carried away, and are now probably in some collection, where their origin may be forgotten. Stuart had no knowledge of the MS. of Ciriaco, which is in the Barbarini library at Rome; but judging from what he saw, he rightly concluded that the two statues stood on the summits of the two pilasters, and were intended for the persons whose names were inscribed on the pilasters below them.

We learn from Josephus, that in the fourth year of Vespasian (A. D. 72), Samosata the capital of Commagene was taken by Pætus, whom Vespasian had left in the government of Syria. Antiochus, the king of Commagene, retired to Cilicia with his wife and daughter, but his two sons Epiphanes and Callinicus held out for a short time in arms, and even engaged successfully in action with the Romans, but at length having been deserted by their soldiers, they

¹ Here Mr. Kinnard thinks there may have been some monument in honour of Epiphanes, father of the Philopappi.

crossed the Euphrates into the territory of Vologeses, king of Parthia. Vespasian showed no resentment against them, but permitted both the father and sons to proceed to Rome, where he treated them with distinction. We may infer from the inscriptions, that Philopappus of Besa, and king Antiochus Philopappus, were sons of Epiphanes, and had assumed the name of Philopappus from respect to the grandfather, the last *de facto* king of their family. The name was similar to many adjuncts of those days, such as Philometor and Philoromæus. While one of the brothers affected the republican simplicity of an Attic citizen, the other still adhered to the empty title of king, which of course he bestowed also on his father Epiphanes. As to the Latin inscription, I am inclined to believe with Stuart, that it was intended for a son of Callinicus; he could not have been a brother of the titular king Antiochus Philopappus, their two Greek names having been the same; but for that very reason he was likely to have been a first-cousin. The Caii filius show that his father was a citizen of Rome as well as himself, and it appears that they were enrolled in the Fabian tribe and Julian family.

From the Latin inscription, we learn nearly the date of the monument. Trajan is styled Dacicus, but not Parthicus, which title, if the senate had then bestowed it upon him, would not have been omitted, especially as there was a sufficient space for it on the pilaster. The monument, therefore, was erected between the years 101 and 108¹ of the Christian æra. As Epiphanes is stated by Josephus to have been young in the year 72, his son Philopappus must have died at a middle age; and the monument was probably erected by his surviving brother and cousin, who may have intended to explain this fact by their own statues having been erect while the two others were seated. The

¹ If we refer the titles Dacicus and Parthicus to the two triumphs of Trajan, the years will be 105 and 115 instead of 101 and 108. Optumus was bestowed upon Trajan as early as the year 99, though seldom found on monuments until near the end of his reign. But Philopappus would probably be early in doing honour to his patron.

treatise of Plutarch on "How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend," is addressed to an Antiochus Philopappus, and in another place he mentions a βασιλεὺς Φιλόπαππος as having executed with great munificence the office of Agonothetes, and that of Choregus for all the tribes, on 'some particular occasion'. The title and the two names are suited to the person whose statue stood on the left hand of Philopappus of Besa. But it is possible that Plutarch may have referred to two persons; and that one of them may have been Philopappus of Besa, who residing among the Athenians, may have been usually known as king Philopappus, although an Attic citizen; for it was probably in the latter capacity that he filled the offices mentioned by Plutarch. The magnificence of the monument, and its position within the city in one of the most honorable and conspicuous situations, show it to have been that of some person who had obtained the special favour of the Athenians. One hundred and fifty years before, they had refused to permit M. Claudius Marcellus a consular, who was killed at Athens by one of his attendants, to be buried within the walls, but erected a monument to him in the Academy¹.

¹ Quæst. Sympos. 1, 10.

² Locum sepulturæ intra urbem impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent: neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Servius Sulpicius Rufus M. Ciceroni ap. Epist. ad Div. 4. 12. V. Ep. ad Attic. 13, 13.

APPENDIX IX.

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OF THE *Θησεῖον*, OR TEMPLE OF THESEUS.

EIGHT centuries after the death of Theseus, the people of Athens suddenly became ashamed of the ingratitude of their ancestors towards this great benefactor, in driving him out of Athens, to die by violence in a foreign country: it was reported that his spectre had been seen fighting against the Medes at Marathon; and the Pythia having been consulted, directed the removal of his bones to Athens, and that he should be honoured as a hero. Cimon, son of Miltiades, who about seven years before had reduced and colonized Scyrus, was sent to that island to obtain the remains. Bones of large stature were found, with the head of a spear and a sword of brass lying by them. These having been recognised as the bones of Theseus, were brought by Cimon to the Peiræus. The Athenians received them with processions and sacrifices, and interred them on a height in the middle of the Asty. This event occurred in the archonship of Apsephion, B.C. 469-8¹. The present temple, therefore, which was erected over the tomb, was finished, allowing five years for its completion, about the year 465 B.C. It was unequalled in sanctity, except by the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis and the Eleusinium². Its sacred inclosure

¹ Thucyd. 1, 98. Plutarch. Thes. 35. 36. Cimon. 8. Diodor. Sic. 4, 62. 11. 41. 48. Pausan. Attic. 17, 6. Lacon. 3, 6. Plutarch and Pausanias are incorrect in connecting the conquest of the island with the search for the bones.

² Plutarch. de Exil. 17.

was so large as occasionally to serve as a place of military assembly¹, and it enjoyed the privilege of an asylum², which had the effect of rendering it a prison to those who fled from justice³.

The temple faces about 8° to the southward of east. It is a peripteral hexastyle with thirteen columns on the sides, one hundred and four feet long and forty-five feet broad on the upper of two steps which form the stylobate. It consists of a *σηκὸς* or cella, having a prodromus or prothyraeum to the east, and an opisthodomus or posticum to the west. These were separated only from the ambulatory of the peristyle by two columns and perhaps a railing, which may have united the columns with one another, and with the *antæ* at the end of the prolongation of the walls of the cella. The prodromus was deeper than the opisthodomus, as well as more distant from the adjacent front of the temple; the sum of the two dimensions in the pronaus being thirty-three feet, and in the posticum twenty-seven feet. The ambulatory at the sides of the temple is no more than six feet in breadth. The thirty-four columns of the peristyle, as well as the four in the two vestibules, are near three feet four inches in diameter at the base, and near nineteen feet high, with an intercolumniation of five feet four inches, except at the angles, where, as usual in the Doric order, the interval is made smaller in order to bring the triglyphs to the angle, and at the same time not to offend the eye by the inequality of the metopes. The height of the temple, from the bottom of the stylobate to the summit of the pediment, is thirty-three feet and a half.

The eastern fronting of the temple, marked by the greater depth of the pronaus, is shown still more strongly by the sculpture. In the eastern pediment only, are there any traces in the marble of metallic fastenings for statues; and the ten metopes of the eastern front, with the four adjoin-

¹ Thucyd. 6, 61.

² Diodor. Sic. 4, 62. Plutarch. Thes. 36. Hesych., Etymol. Mag. in *Θησεῖον*.

³ Etymol. ibid. et in *Θησεῖον*.



ing of either flank, are exclusively adorned with figures, all the other metopes having been plain¹. But no Doric temple had yet been attempted, either in Greece or its colonies, in which sculpture had been employed in decorating the entire frieze of the peristyle, still less of the cella. For Phidias was reserved the glory of leaving no part of either unadorned with sculpture in relief, at the same time that he filled both the pediments with statues, and thus left in his great work, the Parthenon, no difference in the magnificence of the two fronts or of the two sides of the temple. In the Theseium the cella was adorned, as the temple of Jupiter at Olympia appears from Pausanias to have been, with a sculptured frieze over the columns and antæ of the prodomus and opisthodomus. In the Theseium it stretches across the whole breadth of the cella and ambulatory, and is more than thirty-eight feet in length.

When the Theseium was converted into a Christian church, the two interior columns of the pronaus were removed to make room for the altar and its semicircular inclosure, customary in Greek churches. A large door was at the same time pierced in the wall which separates the cella from the opisthodomus: when Athens was taken by the Turks, who were in the habit of riding into the churches on horseback, this door was closed, and a smaller one was made in the southern wall. The roof of the cella is entirely modern, and the greater part of the ancient beams and lacunaria of the peristyle are wanting. In other respects the temple is complete, though the sculptures have suffered greatly from time or violence, and some of the component blocks of the columns have been thrown out of their line, probably by the effect of earthquakes. The building consists entirely of Pentelic marble, and stands upon an artificial foundation formed of large quadrangular blocks of

¹ It is not impossible that the contrast of these latter metopes with the high reliefs of those at the eastern end, may have been diminished by means of painted figures; and that the western pediment may have been filled with figures in clay.

ordinary lime-stone. At the north-western angle of the temple, where the hill upon which the temple stands is steep, six courses of the substruction are apparent to view, the form of the ground having here a tendency to expose the foundations to be undermined by torrents.

The Theseium was not only the sepulchre and heroum of Theseus, but it was a monument also in honour of Hercules, the kinsman, friend, and companion of Theseus, who had delivered him from the chains of Aidoneus, king of Molossi; in return for which, Theseus was said to have brought Hercules with him from Thebes to Athens, that he might be purified for the murder of his children. Theseus then not only shared his property with Hercules, but gave up to him all the sacred places which had been conferred upon Theseus by the Athenians, changing all the Theseia of Attica, except four, into Heracleia¹. The Hercules Furens of Euripides, which, like the temple itself, seems to have been intended to celebrate unitedly the virtues of the two heroes, represents Theseus promising to Hercules that the Athenians should honour him with sculptured marbles, and appears to refer to the decorations of this among other buildings at Athens².

¹ Philochorus ap. Plutarch. *Thea*. 35. Two of the others were in the Long Walls, and in Peiræus. See above, p. 393. 419. The third was at Colonus. Pausan. *Attic*. 30, 4.

² "Επου δ' ἄμ' ἡμῖν πρὸς πόλισμα Παλλάδος.

Ἐκεῖ χείρας σὰς ἀγνίσας μάσματος,
Δόμους τε δώσω, χρημάτων τ' ἐμῶν μέρος.

"Α δ' ἐκ πολιτῶν δῶρ' ἔχω, σῶσας κόρους
Δις ἱπτά, ταῦρον Κνωσσίον κατακτανῶν,
Σοὶ ταῦτα δώσω· πανταχοῦ δέ μοι χθονὸς
Τεμένη δίδασται· ταῦτ' ἐπωνομασμένα
Σέθεν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ βροτῶν κεκλησεται
Ζῶντος· θανόντος δ', εὐτ' ἂν εἰς Ἄιδου μόλῃς,
Θυσίαισι, λαίνοισί τ' ἰξογκώμασι
Τίμιον ἀνδρὶ πᾶσι Ἀθηναίων πόλις.
Καλὸς γὰρ ἀστοῖς στίφανος Ἑλλήνων ὕπο,
Ἄνδρ' ἰσθλὸν ὠφελοῦντας, εὐελείας τυχεῖν.
Κάγω χάριν σοι τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας
Τήνδ' ἀντιδώσω.

Eurip. *Herc. fur.* 1323.

If it was perfectly in harmony with Athenian tradition to select the exploits of Hercules as well as those of Theseus for the sculptural decorations of the Theseium, it was equally so to give the more conspicuous situation to those of Hercules, as Theseus had yielded to him the first honours of his native country. We find, accordingly, that all the metopes in the front of the temple, which can be deciphered, relate to the labours of Hercules, and that all those on the two flanks, which can be deciphered, relate to the labours of Theseus.

As the great actions of Hercules were much more numerous than the metopes in front of the Theseium, the artist had to select ten¹. These were, beginning from the south : 1, Hercules and the Lion of Nemea ; 2, Hercules and Iolaus destroying the Hydra ; 3, Hercules taming the stag of Ceryneia ; 4, Hercules and the Erymanthian boar² ; 5,

¹ The twelve labours of Hercules were the invention of a later age ; when they seem to have been assimilated in number, as well as to have had some recondite mythological reference to the twelve gods, the twelve months, and the twelve signs of the zodiac. Apollodorus who has described the labours of Hercules called the Twelve, together with other exploits called the *Πάρεργα*, observes that anciently ten only was the number, and ten also is the number described in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides. They are not the same, however, as those represented on the Theseium, but as follows : 1, Hercules kills the Lion of Nemea ; 2, overthrows the Centaurs of Mount Pelium ; 3, kills the deer of Diana ; 4, tames the horses of Diomedes ; 5, kills Cygnus ; 6, destroys the dragon of the Hesperides ; 7, relieves Atlas from the burthen of the Heavens ; 8, conquers the Amazons, and brings the girdle of Hippolyta to Mycenæ ; 9, destroys the hydra of Lerna ; 10, kills Geryon the triple-bodied pastor of Erytheia. It is evident, therefore, that in the fifth century B.C., artists and poets felt themselves at liberty to choose among the actions of Hercules, when celebrating those which they wished to represent as his ten principal labours.

² This, Stuart supposed to be the Cretan bull ; but the outline of the hinder part of the animal is that of a boar, and not a bull, as becomes evident, on comparing it with the bull and the sow represented by the same artist on the metopes relating to the labours of Theseus. Besides this, the vase upon which Hercules sets one foot, generally accompanies the representations of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar : it refers to the story of Eurystheus having hid himself in a vase when Hercules brought home the boar. Hence on ancient monuments the head of Eurystheus

Hercules with one of the horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace ; 6, Hercules and Cerberus ; 7, much injured, but probably Hercules taking from Hippolyta the girdle of Mars ; 8, Hercules having slain Cynus¹ ; 9, Hercules and Antæus, whose mother, Earth, stands by, and stretches out both arms, in an attitude often seen upon Greek vases ; 10, Hercules receiving an apple from one of the nymphs Hesperides.

Of the four sculptured metopes on the southern side, the first from the angle, represents Theseus and the Minotaur : the second, Theseus and the Marathonian bull : the third, Theseus and Pitocampes : the fourth, perhaps Theseus and Procrustes. The first on the north side is perhaps Theseus and Corynetes² : the second, Theseus and Cercyon : the third, Theseus and Scyron : the fourth, Theseus and the sow of Crommyon.

The sculptures over the prodomus and opisthodomus of the Theseium are in much higher relief than the frieze of the Parthenon ; and although now for the most part in a state of extreme degradation, they were evidently, that of the prodomus at least, works of greater merit and perfection. As Micon, who painted the walls of this temple, was a sculptor as well as a painter, there is every reason to believe that

is often seen looking out of the vase, while Hercules stands over it, exactly as here represented:

¹ Of this metope, though particularly injured, the design is evident. The contest with Cynus was the most celebrated of the *μονομαχίαι* of Hercules. It was represented in a group of the Acropolis, (see above, p. 157), and in relief upon the throne of the Amyclee Apollo. Pausan. *Lacon.* 18, 6.

² This metope and the former, represent a victorious hero standing over his prostrate antagonist ; but none of the attributes which may formerly have distinguished the personages are now apparent. As the labours of Theseus, however, were usually held to be eight in number (Hygin. *Fab.* 38), and as six of the eight metopes are sufficiently preserved to show the particular labours which they described, it can hardly be doubted that the remaining two described the defeat of Corynetes and Procrustes, though it may be uncertain which of the two was intended for the former, and which for the latter.

these are not only from his designs, but that being not very numerous, all the best of them were finished by his own hands; this at least is much more likely than that the sculptures of the Parthenon were executed by Phidias himself. The artist appears to have bestowed a care in the execution, proportioned to the great prominence of the relief, and to the protection from the weather, which these interior friezes derived from their sheltered position: their perfection however has been, in some measure, the cause of their present imperfect state, the high relief having rendered them so much more liable to suffer from the bigotry or wanton violence of the barbarians, who for more than three hundred and fifty years have had possession of them.

We have seen that the ten metopes in front of the temple were devoted to the exploits of Hercules, and that eight, less conspicuously situated, related to those of Theseus. In like manner we find that the frieze over the columns and antæ at the back part of the building, was one of the most celebrated actions of the life of Theseus, his contest with the Centaurs. It may be presumed, therefore, that the corresponding pannel of the pronaus related to some of the exploits of Hercules. This composition, which is thirty-eight feet in length, is divided into three unequal portions by two groups, each consisting of three figures seated upon rocks and facing each other. The three which are not far from the southern end represent a male and two females; those towards the northern end, but which are nearer to the middle of the frieze, consist of a female seated between two males¹.

There can be no doubt that these figures being, although seated, as high as those on foot, were intended for deities, like the similar figures on the frieze of the Parthenon, and that the rocks are those of Olympus. The destruction of the heads

¹ See the plates from Pars's drawings in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, III, pl. 15, et seq.; or the casts of the original marbles in the British Museum.

and of the greatest part of the original surface, together with the loss of those additions to the marble, in metal or colour, by means of which the ancient artists left no ambiguity as to the characters which they intended to represent, render it impossible now to assign names to all these deities: it seems sufficiently evident, however, that the southern group consists of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, because they are seated in that order, and because the two former lean apparently upon sceptres, while the third wears a helmet. The masses of rock with which all the combatants on one side in the principal action are armed, and the enlarged proportions of two figures represented as dead, leave little doubt that the subject of the composition was that so often introduced in Athenian art, the Gigantomachia or rebellion of the Giants, who were said to have hurled whole mountains against the gods, and to have been subdued chiefly by the assistance of Hercules¹. The difficulties of this subject, some of which were not smaller than those inseparable from two other representations common among the Athenians, namely their fabulous battles with the Amazones, and with the Centaurs, have been surmounted by the artist with admirable ingenuity.

As the whole frieze, thirty-eight feet in length, was devoted to a single subject, the composition may be regarded, like those in the pediments of the Parthenon, as a great glyptic picture, and the more correctly so as its effects in many of the minor details were produced by metallic adjuncts and by painting. It consisted of twenty-nine figures. The arrangement of the subject depended principally upon the position of the king of gods and men. Seated as he was supposed to have been on the summit of Olympus, which the giants were never permitted

¹ τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λόγιον ἦν ὑπὸ θεῶν μὲν μηδὲνα τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπολίσθαι δύνασθαι, συμμαχοῦντος δὲ θνητοῦ τινος τελειήσῃν . . . Ζεὺς . . . Ἑρακλῆα δὲ σύμμαχον δι' Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπεκάλισατο . . . πάντας δὲ Ἑρακλῆς ἐτόξευσεν. Apollod. 1, 6. § 1. 2. See Pindar Nem. 1, 102. Apollod. 2, 7. § 1. Diodor. 4, 15. Sil. Ital. 17, 680.

to approach, he is placed towards the southern extremity of the frieze ; leaving nothing behind the mountain, but an episode, which though important to the general design, and connected with the main action, was subordinate and separate.

On the other hand, in order to show that the giants had attained the lower heights of the mountain, which were occupied by some of the deities inferior in rank to the three on the summit, the former were placed nearer to the centre of the frieze than to the northern extremity, in order that the war might be represented on both sides of them : this is very clearly explained by the two young warriors next to them on the north, who are marching behind them to reach the battle on the other side, as appears particularly from a part of their shields hid by the mountain.

The apparent want of symmetry in the position of the two groups of deities with respect to the whole sculpture, was not repugnant to ancient taste ; in fact it produces a more agreeable and a far more poetical effect, than if the two groups of deities had been at equal distances from the centre. Jupiter was placed towards the southern, not the northern end, in order that his forces, advancing towards the giants in the lower part of the mountain, might have their right sides towards the spectator, which placing the giants in the background, gave superior effect to the action of the right arms of their opponents, enabled the artist to represent the shields of the latter in slight relief on the lowest surface, and generally made it more easy for him to show them as combatants prevailing in the contest. These warriors on the side of the gods being generally armed with shields, we cannot hesitate in believing that they had swords in the right hand, though not a single right hand is preserved.

As Micon could not distinguish his giant combatants by their stature, without degrading his gods and heroes, it is only in the dead figures that any marked difference

appears ; though it is to be supposed that, wherever there was a close contrast, some distinction had been made. This indeed is evident from the only figure of a giant in sufficient preservation to admit of the comparison ; namely, the third figure from the southern end of the frieze, which represents a young giant on his knees, and which may be remarked as having a greater fulness of face and limbs, than the figures of his equally youthful opponents. The only part of the composition, in which the sculptor has drawn upon the spectator's imagination as opposed to his senses, is in representing human figures as grasping and hurling rocks of which their hands are capable of covering only a small part ; but this was a difficulty inseparable from the subject.

The Greek sculptors and painters having seldom been servile followers of the mythological writers, we cannot expect any close coincidence between Micon and Apollodorus, the only extant author who has entered into particulars of the giant war, and who probably followed the ancient poets. He represents Jupiter as having fulminated some of the rebel giants, Hercules as having transfixed them all with his arrows, and Minerva¹ as well as Hecate, Diana, and the Fates, as having been engaged in the battle ; instead of which Jupiter is here a tranquil spectator, no females are to be perceived except the seated deities, and no figure can be discovered shooting with a bow, which indeed would in sculpture have been almost ridiculous against such weapons as the giants employed. The assistance of the bow of Hercules, therefore, without which, it was said, that none of the giants could be destroyed, seems to have been entirely omitted.

The male deities engaged in combat with the giants, were said to have been Apollo, Bacchus, Hermes, Vulcan, and Neptune². Porphyry was reported to have been killed

¹ See also Pausanias Arcad. 47, 1.

² Apollod. 1, 6. § 1, 2. According to Diodorus (4, 15), and the Scholiast of Pindar, Nem. 1, 100, Bacchus as well as Hercules was a *ῥηϊθς*,

by Apollo¹; Bacchus to have destroyed Eurytus with his thyrsus; Hermes to have prevailed over Hippolytus by virtue of the helmet of Orcus (*Ἄϊδος κυνέη*) which concealed him from view²; Clytius to have been slain by Vulcan with irons from his forge; Polybotes by Neptune, who hurled at him the island Nisyrus, which he had wrenched off from Cos; Typhon by Jupiter, who buried him under Ætna³. Some of the deities had probably been identified by means of these fables, or by the more usual attributes: but such is the present state of the monument, that nothing better than conjectures can now be offered in explanation.

The main action, however, may be divided into five monomachiaë. The pair of combatants nearest to Jupiter, consists of a warrior having a shield and a crested helmet, but otherwise naked, fighting against a giant who appears to be hurling a stone from his right hand, and who is the only one among the giants having any appearance of drapery. Next to him a naked warrior stands over a prostrate giant. The third pair of combatants, unlike the others, consists of a giant on the southern side of his adversary, of whom the bust only remains with the left arm, the shield, and a part of the chlamys. Next come the two warriors above mentioned, marching northward and passing behind the three seated deities; beyond whom is the fourth monomachia. Here we perceive a warrior larger, broader, and more muscular

born of a mortal mother, without whose assistance the Fates had declared that the Gods could not prevail. See also the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, 540.

¹ Pindar *Pyth.* 8, 15. According to Apollodorus, by Hercules and Jupiter.

² V. Homer. *Il.* E. 845.

³ Apollod. *l. l.* According to Strabo (p. 489), and Stephanus of Byzantium who follows Strabo, Neptune broke off Nisyrus from Cos with his trident, and overwhelmed the giant with this new island. A statue of Neptune, in the street leading from the Peiraic gate to the Cerameicus, represented him as hurling his trident at Polybotes. See above, p. 110. Neptune is seen in the same attitude on the coins of Posidonia and other places.

than the preceding, and in violent action. A long flowing chlamys trails behind him, leaving the whole figure naked in front. The giant opposed to him, hurls an immense rock with each hand; one of these masses his adversary pushes back with his left hand, while his right arm was stretched out so directly as to give the idea that the deadly blow, which he was about to inflict, was with a missile weapon of some kind. In the last combat, to the north, the bust and left thigh of the fighting deity only are preserved, and the left arm appears to grasp a rock. The bust is of the same muscular description as the preceding. He seems to have already destroyed a giant, who lies prostrate before him; and to be engaged with another, who throws a rock with each hand.

This may perhaps be Neptune fighting with another giant, after having slain Polybotes. The rock in his left hand may represent the island with which he covered the giant; and his right may have been armed with the trident¹. In this case the fourth may be Vulcan hurling red-hot iron at Clytius (Κλύτιον βαλὼν μύδροις); the third, Bacchus; the second, Apollo, whose superior power may be expressed by his having already slain Polytion; and the figure next to Jupiter may possibly be Hermes wearing the helmet of Pluto. But it will be asked, where was Hercules, one of whose actions this composition was particularly intended to commemorate. It was for him probably that the southern extremity of the composition was reserved, where five figures are seen between the southern end of the frieze, and the figure of Minerva seated on Olympus. The first figures at the former extremity are two young chlamydated warriors bearing shields, the first bareheaded, the second wearing a helmet without a crest, and both marching northward like the two near the lower deities. Next to them is the giant on his knees, before mentioned, behind whom a warrior, wearing a chlamys and crested helmet, ties the giant's

¹ The action is thus represented on a Vulcan vase in my possession, but the trident is there directed not against a fresh adversary but against the prostrate Polybotes.

arms behind his back. Between him and Minerva there remains only a young naked warrior without helmet, but having a thong on his left arm, which indicates there was also a shield. He is represented stepping northward, but suddenly turning round to behold the action behind, and as stretching out his right arm, as if ready to assist the victor against his struggling adversary. The action here represented is, probably, Hercules binding Alcioneus, whom he had overcome. The assistance which Minerva granted to Hercules in all his undertakings, and especially in his contest with this giant, may have been one reason why the artist placed the action near Minerva, although from other obvious considerations he was obliged to represent her as facing towards the main contest. There was a motive also for separating this action from the others: Hercules, whom we may suppose to have already wounded all the giants with his arrows, could not subdue Alcioneus his particular adversary, until (by the advice of Minerva) he had driven the giant out of Pallene, in which peninsula, whenever the latter was thrown to the ground, he was revived by his mother Earth¹. Hercules now secures him from any further resistance, by binding him as a captive in the usual manner.

At the northern end of the composition, behind the group of deities, and beyond the fourth and fifth pair of combatants, the extremity of the frieze is occupied by five figures, obviously intended to balance the same number which accompany the action of Hercules at the other end, and together with them to give importance to the centre of the composition. Among all these only one head and one leg are preserved. In their graceful attitudes, and unemployed or preparatory state of action, they resemble those of the western frieze of the Parthenon, and may have been intended perhaps for some of the inferiors of Olympus,

¹ αὐτὸς δὲ (Alcioneus) ἐπὶ τῆς Γῆς μᾶλλον ἀνεθάλπειτο· Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ὑποθεμένης, ἐξω τῆς Παλλήνης εἴλκυσεν αὐτόν, κακτείνος μὲν οὕτως ἐτελέετο. Apollod. 1, 6. § 1.

or possibly the followers of Bacchus not yet called into action. The southernmost, a naked young warrior with a shield, stands fronting the spectator: the second is a youth with a girded chlamys, who rests his left arm on the neck of an older figure, of which no more remains than the bust, the feet, and the chlamys hanging at the back. The fourth is clothed in a chlamys, which covers both the left arm and the right hand. The farthest to the north is a young warrior with a girded chlamys and a close helmet, leaning forward and stretching forth his right arm towards his left leg, which is placed upon an elevation. This figure, which Stuart supposed to be erecting a trophy, was probably adjusting a *κνημὶς* to his leg, an action often represented on gems and vases.

In the combat of Centaurs and Lapithæ, which forms the subject of the frieze of the posticum, we distinguish Theseus as the only one of the men who has slain his opponent. Micon had conferred the same distinction upon him in a painting which adorned one of the walls of the cella¹. We also recognise Cæneus, who, having received from Neptune the gift of being invulnerable by weapons, was overwhelmed by the rocks and trees which the Centaurs heaped upon him.

"Saxa trabesque super totosque involvite montes ;

..... et erit pro vulnere pondus."

Ovid, *Metam.* 12, 507.

Cæneus is represented half-sunk into the earth, while an enormous mass of rock is suspended over his head, and is held up by a Centaur on each side².

All the sculptures of the Theseium, as well of the metopes as of the friezes, were painted, and still preserve some remains of the colours. Vestiges of brazen and golden-coloured arms, of a blue sky, and of blue, green, and red drapery, are still very apparent. A painted foliage and

¹ See above, p. 125.

² The same subject is seen upon the frieze of the Phigalian temple, now in the British Museum.

mæander is seen on the interior cornice of the peristyle, and painted stars in the lacunaria. . Similar painted ornaments are seen in the Parthenon, in the Panhellenium of *Ægina*, and in several other temples.

The three pictures which adorned the three interior walls of the Theseium related to the actions of Theseus. The stucco upon which they were painted is still apparent, and shows that each painting covered the entire wall, from the roof to two feet nine inches short of the pavement. On one of the walls was represented the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons : on another the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, in which Theseus alone was represented as having slain a Centaur, the rest being engaged in an equal combat. The picture on the third wall described an action of Theseus in Crete¹. From the inferior importance of the latter subject, it is probable that this picture was on the western wall, which was the smallest of the three.

¹ See above, p. 125.

APPENDIX X.

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ON THE Ὀλυμπεῖον, OLYMPIUM, OR TEMPLE OF JUPITER OLYMPIUS.

THE Athenians began to build a temple to Jupiter Olympius at a very early period. Deucalion was reported to have been the original founder¹. About the year 530 B.C. a temple was commenced by four architects, employed by Peisistratus². Their design was magnificent, and probably Ionic, this being the national order in Attica; and hence perhaps the temple was ultimately Corinthian, this order having been in fact a decorated Ionic. Considerable progress appears to have been made by the Peisistratidæ; for, though the building cannot but have suffered injury from the Persians, the cella at least was rendered serviceable soon after their departure, if it be true that one of the earliest employments of Phidias was that of adorning this

¹ See above, p. 131.

² Aristot. Polit. 5, 11. Namque Athenis Antistates et Callæschros et Antimachides et Porinos architecti Pisistrato ædem Jovi Olympio facienti, fundamenta constituerunt: post mortem autem ejus propter interpellationem reipublicæ incepta reliquerunt, itaque circiter annis ducentis (350 ?) post, Antiochus rex, cum in id opus impensam esset pollicitus, cellæ magnitudinem, et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, epistyliorum et cæterorum ornamentorum ad symmetriam distributionem magna solertia scientiæque summa civis Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus. In æsty vero Olympium, amplo modulorum comparatu, Corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus, uti supra scriptum est, architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur. Vitruv. 7. in præf.

temple with paintings¹. Its unfinished state in the most flourishing period of the republic seems to have been a common subject of regret². About the year 174 B. C. Antiochus Epiphanes employed a Roman architect, named Cossutius, to proceed with it³, and his design appears from Vitruvius to have been followed until the building was completed. Upon the death of Antiochus, in the year 164 B. C., the work was interrupted. Seventy-eight years afterwards Sylla carried away some columns which belonged to the Olympieum, probably those prepared by the architects of Peisistratus, and applied them to the use of the Capitoline temple at Rome⁴. The work was not resumed until the reign of Augustus, when the kings and states in his alliance or subjection undertook to complete the building at their joint expense⁵. But the honour of finally executing the design of Cossutius, of dedicating the temple, and of erecting the statue of the god, was reserved for Hadrian, three centuries after its commencement by Antiochus, and 650 years from its foundation by Peisistratus⁶.

¹ Plin. H. N. 35, 8 (34). ² Plutarch. Solon. 32. Lucian Icaro-Menip. 24.

³ 'Εν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε (Antiochus) τοὺς βασιλευκώτας· τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο ἐκ τε τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ὀλυμπίου. Athen. 5, 5 (21).

Magnificentiæ vero (Antiochi) in Deos vel Jovis Olympii templum Athenis unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei potest testis esse. Liv. 41, 20.

Antiochus Epiphanes qui Athenis Olympieum inchoavit. Vell. Patere. 1, 10.

Τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε ὁ ἀναθεὶς (qu. Ἀντίοχος) βασιλεὺς. Strabo, p. 396.

Ὀλύμπιον, ἡμιτελὲς μὲν, κατάπληξιν δ' ἔχον (διὰ) τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφὴν. Dicaearch. Vit. Gr. p. 8, Hudson.

⁴ Athenis templum Jovis Olympii, ex quo Sylla Capitolinis sedibus advexerat columnas. Plin. Nat. Hist. 36. 6 (5). See above, p. 40, n. 2.

⁵ Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno, Cæsareas urbes condiderunt; et cuncti simul sedem Jovis Olympii Athenis antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt. Sueton. August. 60.

⁶ Hadrianus ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera quæ apud Athenienses ceperat dedicavit et Jovis Olympii sedem et aram sibi. Spartian. Hadrian. 13.

Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τό τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἱδρυται,

We perceive from the existing remains, that the temple consisted of a cella, surrounded by a peristyle, which had ten columns in front and twenty on the sides; and that the peristyle, being double in the sides, and having a triple range at either end, besides three columns between antæ at each end of the cella, consisted altogether of 120 columns; sixteen of which, six and a half feet in diameter above the base, and above sixty feet high, with their architraves, are now standing; thirteen of them at the south-eastern angle, and the remaining three, which are of the interior row of the southern side, not far from the south-western angle. There was a seventeenth column belonging to the western front, standing until about the year 1760, when it was taken down, by order of the Turkish governor of Athens, to build a new mosque in the Bazár¹. The entire length of the building was 359 feet, and its breadth 173. Livy accurately remarks, translating perhaps the words of Polybius, that the Olympium was “*unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei*” — “*inchoatum*,” because it was not finished at the period to which he refers, nor indeed in his own time, and “*unum*,” because it was a greater work than any other temple of Jupiter; for although its length is found to be a few feet shorter than the Agrigentine temple, with an equal breadth, the latter was not even peripteral, but was formed of semi-columns, and was still unfinished when destroyed by the Carthaginians². The temple at Selinus, being dipteral, furnishes a closer comparison, but its dimensions were only 331 feet by 161; and this also was never completed, as some of its unfinished flutings demonstrate. Of the three great models of architecture in marble, which Vitruvius unites with the Olympieum of Athens, that of Ephesus was the greatest of all, if Pliny is correct in stating its dimensions to have been 425 feet by 220³; for not a vestige has yet been found of this

ἡξιοίησε καὶ δράκοντα ἐς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας κομισθέντα ἀνέθηκε. Dion. Cass. 69, 16.

¹ Stuart, Antiq. of Athens, III, 2. Chandler, Travels in Greece, 13.

² Diodor. 13, 82.

³ Plin. H. N. 36, 14 (21).

great edifice to confirm or invalidate his assertion. Two others are still extant, and sufficiently preserved, to enable us to compare them with the Olympieum of Athens. These are, the temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ, near Miletus, which was 304 feet long and 165 broad, and the mystic cell of Eleusis, which was 217 feet by 178. The former was never completed; this indeed is generally the fate of such immense undertakings. Pericles and Phidias judged more correctly. By confining themselves to a more moderate scale, utility and perfection of art were both more attainable, and unrivalled works, of much longer duration than those immense monuments, were completed in a few years.

The eastern side of the peribolus, being about twenty feet high above the present level of the soil, shows that there was no access to the temple by steps in the centre of this side, and leaves us to conclude, that, although this was doubtless the front of the temple, the approach to it, as in the instance of the Parthenon, was from the west. The gate of Hadrian formed an entrance to the peribolus at the north-western angle, and presented to the spectator the same kind of view that he obtained of the Parthenon on emerging from the Propylæa. In both instances, his eye, by comprehending at once a view of one of the fronts and one of the sides of the building, enjoyed a more imposing prospect of those magnificent edifices than could have been presented to him, by an approach immediately in front. There was a similar approach at the temples of Minerva at Sunium and Priene, and at the Panhellenium of Ægina.

APPENDIX XI.

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ON THE PNYX.

THE Pnyx was an artificial platform on the north-eastern side of one of the rocky heights which encircled Athens on the west, and along the crest of which is still traced the ancient inclosure of the Asty. In shape this platform differed only from a circular sector of about 155 degrees, inasmuch as the radii forming the angle were about 200 feet in length, while the distance from the angle to the middle of the curve was about 240 feet. On this latter side, or towards the Agora, the platform was bounded by a wall of support, which is about sixteen feet high in the middle or highest part, and is composed of large blocks, of various sizes, and for the most part quadrangular. In the opposite direction the platform was bounded by a vertical excavation in the rock, which, in the parts best preserved, is from twelve to fifteen feet high. The foot of this wall inclines towards the angle of the sector, thereby showing that originally the entire platform sloped towards this point as a centre, such being obviously the construction most adapted to an assembly which stood or sat to hear an orator placed in the angle. At this angle rose the celebrated *βῆμα*, or pulpit, often called the rock (*ὁ λίθος*¹). It was a quadrangular

¹ *ἐν ἀγορῇ πρὸς τῇ λίθῳ*. Plutarch. Solon. 25. Six centuries earlier we find the same term familiarly applied to it by Aristophanes. See above, p. 180.

projection of the rock, eleven feet broad, rising from a graduated basis. The summit is broken ; its present height is about twenty feet. On the right and left of the orator there was an access to the summit of the bema by a flight of steps, and from behind by two or three steps from an inclosure, in which are several chambers cut in the rock, which served doubtless for purposes connected with that of the Pnyx itself. The rocky height out of which they were formed, and which is higher than any part of the Pnyx, was embraced by a great salient angle of the Astic inclosure, to the eastward of which a retiring angle approached to within sixty yards of that extremity of the Pnyx. The area of the platform was capable of containing between seven and eight thousand persons, allowing a square yard to each ; from five to seven thousand appears from the ancient authors to have been the greatest number ever assembled¹. It would otherwise be difficult to conceive how the theatre, which was generally the place of meeting for large assemblies in later times, was not sooner preferred to the Pnyx, in which the more distant auditors were much less advantageously placed for hearing the speaker than in the theatre. To be heard by them from the pulpit of the Pnyx must indeed have required the utmost exertion of the orator ; we cannot wonder, therefore, that Demosthenes found it necessary to strengthen his voice, in order to qualify himself for speaking in the Pnyx.

Cicero, in an interesting prelude to one of his philosophical discourses, in which he shows his knowledge of the topography of Athens, alludes to the Pnyx, though without naming it, as one of the Athenian monuments rendered most worthy of attention by its ancient associations. " Tum Piso quid Lucius noster (inquit) an eum locum libenter invisit, ubi Demosthenes et Æschines inter se decertare soliti sunt Et ille, quum erubuisset, Noli (inquit) ex me quærere, qui in Phalericum etiam descenderim, quo in loco ad fluctum aiunt declamare solitum Demosthe-

¹ Thucyd. 8, 72. Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 715, Reiske. C. Næser. p. 1375.

nem, ut fremitum assuesceret voce vincere
id quidem infinitum est in hac urbe: quacunque enim
ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus¹."

Various explanations have been given of the derivation of the word Pnyx,—from the multitude of counsellors, or of persons assembled, or of seats (*παρὰ τὸ πυκνοῦσθαι ἐκεῖ τοὺς βουλευτὰς*—*παρὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι τῇ πλήθει τῶν ἐκκλινόντων ἐκεῖσε ἀνθρώπων*—*ἀπὸ πυκνοῦσθαι τὸν ὄχλον*—*ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπυκνῶσθαι ταῖς καθέδραις*), or from the compactness and strength of the stones with which the Pnyx was constructed (*τῆς τῶν λίθων πυκνότητος*), or from the earth of the platform being consolidated and condensed (*πυκνουμένη*) by the upward pressure of the massive stones below, or from the numerous habitations around it (*ὅτι πυκνά ἐστι περὶ αὐτὴν οἰκήματα*¹).

The Pnyx appears to have been sacred to or under the protection of Jupiter. In the artificial wall of rock on either side of the bema are niches; below which an excavation brought to light a variety of votive offerings to Jupiter the supreme (*Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ*), which are now in the British Museum, Nos. 209 seq.

¹ Cicero de fin. 5, 2.

² Schol. in Aristoph. Eccles. 665. Eq. 42. Schol. in Demosth. de Cor. p. 244. Cleidemus ap. Harpocr. in Πνυκί. Phot. Lex. in Πυκνή. Suid., Etym. Mag., Phot. Lex. in Πνύξ. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 292.

APPENDIX XII.

Page 189.

ON THE CAPACITY OF THE DIONYSIAC THEATRE.

THE original termination of this great construction at the summit is evident; but to what extent it descended into the valley cannot now be traced. If, as we generally find in great theatres, resting on the side of rocky heights, the middle of the cavea was hollowed in the rock, an excavation would probably bring a part of it to light, which might afford some means of judging of the magnitude of the theatre, and enable us to understand, whether we are to interpret literally a passage in the Banquet of Plato, where he seems to show that the theatre was capable of containing more than thirty thousand spectators. Socrates ironically comparing his own shadowy pursuits¹ with the splendid result of those of the youthful Agathon, whose tragedy had obtained the prize, and had given him the honour of sacrificing as Choregus, adds, “your wisdom, Agathon, was manifested in the presence of more than three myriads of Greeks².” It appears, however, that the word *τρισμύριοι* was not uncommonly used at Athens, to mean the body of Attic citizens. Thus Herodotus (5, 97) says that Aristagoras deceived thirty thousand Athenians (*τρισμυρίους Ἀθηναίους*), and Aristophanes employs the

¹ σοφία . . . ἢ ἐμῇ . . . ἀμφισβητήσιμος ὥσπερ θναρὸς οὐσα. § 4.

² ἐξέλαμπε καὶ ἐκφανῆς ἐγένετο πρῶτην ἐν μάρτυσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλῆθον ἢ τρισμερίους.

words *πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίων*¹ exactly in the same sense; so that Plato may on this occasion have put a familiar expression into the mouth of Socrates, without any intention of defining the number of spectators actually present in the theatre.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that the theatre at Athens may have been intended to contain occasionally the entire body of Attic citizens, and may have been constructed accordingly; and this appears the more likely on considering that the Athenian theatre was probably at least as large as any in Greece, and on calculating the capacity of some of those still extant. Of these the theatre of the Hierum of Epidauria, and that at Dhramisiús in Epirus, are the only two in Greece sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct estimate of their capacity. The Epidaurian Theatre was about four hundred feet in diameter when perfect, and contained fifty-eight rows of seats in two divisions, separated by a *διάζωμα*, *præinctio*, or corridor of twelve feet; thirty-seven rows in the lower, and twenty in the upper division². There appears to have been a second corridor behind the topmost benches, as usual in Greek theatres. In the lower division the diameter of the lowest seat was sixty-six feet, that of the upper two hundred and fifty. Allowing a breadth of fifteen inches to each spectator³, this division would contain seven thousand three hundred and twenty-six spectators, thus $\frac{66+250}{2} \times 1.57 \div 1.25 \times 37 = 7326$.

The upper division, the lower seat of which had a diameter of two hundred and seventy-six feet, and the upper of three hundred and seventy-two, would by a similar process of

¹ Eccles. 1131.

² These are the numbers in Mr. Donaldson's Plan in the Supplement to the Antiquities of Athens, p. 51. In the "Expédition de la Morée," II. pl. 79, there are thirty-nine rows of seats in the lower, and twenty in the upper division.

³ Fourteen inches is the breadth generally allowed by modern architects. In one of the theatres of Pompeii, a breadth of fifteen inches and a half is marked.

calculation have contained eight thousand one hundred and sixty; and the whole theatre about fifteen thousand five hundred. But this computation supposes the cavea to have been exactly a half circle, whereas it was evidently prolonged at either end beyond the semicircle, and the two præcinctions would in standing room have a capacity equal to that of two or three of the highest seats. This would be much more than sufficient to cover the deduction to be made for the space occupied by eleven *scalæ* in the lower division, and twenty-three in the upper: we may conclude, therefore, that on pressing occasions, the theatre was capable of holding between seventeen and eighteen thousand persons. The theatre at Dhramisíus in Epirus being more complete than any other in Greece, would afford a still more exact computation, if the component blocks of the several ranges of seats were not so much displaced in many parts, that it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact number of ranges. Repeated trials induced me to reckon them at about sixty-five. Supposing the theatre to have been an exact semicircle, which it cannot much exceed, it will appear to have been capable of containing about twenty-one thousand, its lower seat being eighty feet in diameter, and the upper about four hundred and thirty. $\frac{430+80}{2} \times 1.57 \div 1.25 \times 65 = 20,800.$

An uppermost range of four hundred feet in diameter being capable of containing five hundred spectators, and every additional range an increasing number, it would require not more than sixteen ranges more than in the Epirote theatre, to obtain a complement of thirty thousand, and not so many, if the arch of the theatre were greater than a semicircle. That a prolonged semicircle was customary, numerous examples prove; and as the Epirote theatre belonged to a place, of which not even the ancient name is known, we may presume that the theatres of some of the leading states of Greece had a greater number of ranges. Of the latter fact, indeed, the remains of the theatre of Argos afford sufficient testimony. Two feet

eight inches being allowed for the breadth or depth of each seat ¹, a theatre of which the total diameter was five hundred feet, and the diameter of the orchestra or lowest range of seats eighty feet, would have contained eighty ranges of seats, which would have been capable, if semicircular, of seating twenty-nine thousand spectators: for, calculating as before, we find that $\frac{80+500}{2} \times 1.57 \div 1.25 \times 80 = 29,120$, and consequently a theatre of smaller diameter might have had an equal capacity, if it had been a semicircle prolonged, which, from the extant vestiges of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens, appears to have been its form.

In the theatre of Argos seventy rows of seats, cut in the rock, are still to be seen, measuring on the slope two hundred and thirty-seven feet ². At Athens, from the summit to the hollow below, which may be higher than the ancient orchestra, the slope is about three hundred feet in length, so that the theatre of Athens may have contained eighty ranges of seats: and if the mass of masonry marked in Stuart's plan was a part of the supporting wall of the western wing, it could not have been much less than five hundred feet in diameter.

¹ This is the breadth in the theatre of Epidaurus, the work of Polycleitus; but the breadth was not so great at Argos, and in some other examples, and is more than Vitruvius (5, 6) considered the maximum. "*Gradus spectaculorum, ubi subsellia componantur, ne minus alti sint palmipede ne plus pede et digitis sex; latitudines eorum ne plus pedes duos semis ne minus pedes duo constituentur.*" The height of the seats in the theatre of Epidaurus, and generally, is about one foot four inches. At Side in Pamphylia, with the same height of seat, there was the breadth only of two feet. Beaufort's *Caramania*, p. 152.

² At Argos, the lowest seat cut in the rock is part of a curve, having a diameter of one hundred and eighty feet: unless the orchestra therefore was of dimensions much greater than usual, there were about twenty ranges of seats below the lowest now existing, making at least ninety in all.

APPENDIX XIII.

Pages 203, 283.

ON THE SUPPLY OF WATER AT ATHENS.

ENNEACRUNUS having been the only source of sweet water at Athens—for even the water of the deepest wells is not free from saline impregnation—it would be interesting to discover in what manner the Athenians were adequately supplied with the first necessary of life. The brackish sources could not have been sufficient for their baths, and the various other purposes required in great cities. The aqueducts of the Greeks having been rectangular channels, cut in the rock, or constructed of solid masonry, and conducted along the ground in the more or less circuitous line, which was necessary to obtain the requisite slope, it often occurred that some parts were below and some a little above the surface; the former of which may be still hidden, while the latter have been ruined or obliterated. Hence it rarely happens that the aqueducts, with which all the principal cities of Greece were doubtless furnished, are now traceable. Syracuse is that where the aqueduct, which was twelve miles in length, is best preserved. Some remains of others, formed in the same manner, are to be seen at Argos, Pharsalus, Demetrias, and on some other ancient sites of Greece. Modern Athens was not many years ago, and possibly may still be, supplied from two reservoirs, situated near the junction of the Eridanus and Ilissus. Of these reservoirs one was the receptacle of a sub-

terraneous conduit from the foot of Mount Hymettus; the other, of one of the fountains of the Cephissus at the foot of Mount Pentelicum. This conduit, which may be traced to the north of Ambelókipo, in proceeding from thence by Kato Marúsi to Kifisia, where a series of holes give air to a canal, which is deep in the ground, may possibly be a work of republican times, which has endured, while of the ostentatious but less ancient work of Hadrian nothing remains, save a few pieces of the arches. One of these in particular is seen about midway between Athens and Kifisia, near the northern extremity of the heights which stretch north-eastward from Patissia: and where two branches of the aqueduct seem to have united, after having conducted water from two or more fountains in the streams which flowing from Parnes, Pentelicum, and the intermediate ridge, form the Cephissus. The diversion of the water of the Eridanus, and that diminished vegetation on the Hymettus, which was a natural consequence of the vicinity of a great city, may account for the present waterless condition of the Ilissus, compared with that which seems to have been its state, when Plato described a cool stream as flowing even in summer¹.

Solon made a law that no person should draw water from a well who dwelt more than four stades from it, unless, when having sunk a well of his own to the depth of ten fathoms (*ὀργυιαί*), he failed in procuring water; in which case he might have a limited supply from a neighbouring well². It seems evident, from the distance here mentioned, that the law was intended for Attica rather than for Athens, so that even at that time the city may have had an aqueduct. Three hundred years later, Dicæarchus described Athens as very dry and deficient in water³: but this also applied rather to the *χώρα* than the *πόλις*, or, if to the latter, to its natural rather than to its actual condition.

¹ Plat. Phæd. § 5.

² Plutarch. Sol. 23.

³ Dicæarch. Vit. Græc. p. 8, Hudson.

Κρήναι ' had long before that time been so numerous that they could only have been supplied by conduits from distant sources. Where the arts were so much cultivated, the hydragogic art could hardly have been in a very imperfect state, especially where a thirsty soil and a dense population, much engaged in agriculture, rendered irrigation necessary. Aristotle, in his imaginary city, which we may consider an improved Athens, recommends large receptacles of rain water to be made¹. Themistocles held the office of superintending the supply of water to the canals, and of detecting those who drew it off contrary to the regulations². The same necessity has caused a continuation of the custom to the present time. In every part of Attica where irrigation is employed, conduits from the rivers are formed, or private reservoirs are constructed, from which water is sold: the time during which each portion of land is entitled to the stream of water is strictly regulated, and an officer generally attends to see that the engagements are observed. Aristotle, in his Republic, places the superintendent of the fountains (*ἐπιμελητὴς κρηνῶν*) in the same rank with the inspectors of harbours and fortifications³.

¹ *Κρήνη—ὕδωρ ἀγώγιμον.* Hesych. in v.

² Aristot. Polit. 7, 13.

³ *ὕδατων ἐπιστάτης, εὐρῶν τοῦς ὑψηλόμενους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχεύσαντας.* Plutarch. Themist. 31. This office seems to have been called *κρήναρχος*, and sometimes *κρηνοφύλαξ*. *Κρηναγγή (κρηναρχή ?) ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὕδατος.* Hesych. in v. *Κρηνοφύλαξ ἀρχή τις Ἀθήνησιν.* Phot. Lex. in v.

⁴ Polit. 6, 8. 7, 12.

APPENDIX XIV.

Page 315.

ON THE PROPYLÆA.

OF the one hundred and sixty-eight feet which formed the natural entrance of the Acropolis, fifty-eight near the centre were occupied by the great artificial entrance; the remainder formed two wings, which projected twenty-six feet in front of the grand colonnade of the entrance. The central building, like others of the same kind, received the name of Propylæa¹, from its forming a vestibule to the five gates or doors, by which the citadel was entered², and which are still in existence. On the eastern side the same gates had another prothyrous portico, about half the depth of the western. The wall in which the doors were pierced was thrown back about fifty feet from the front of the artificial opening of the hill, which was itself thrown back a few feet behind the natural entrance.

This magnificent building was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble. Each Propylæum consisted of a front of six fluted Doric columns, supporting a pediment: the columns are four feet and a half in diameter, near twenty-nine feet in height, and have an intercolumniation which is ditri-glyph in the centre, where thirteen feet were left for the carriage-way, but which diminishes to seven feet at either end; the traces of the road with the wheel-ruts worn in the rock, are still in existence. The western vestibule was forty-three

¹ In common parlance this name comprehended also the two wings.

² Heliodorus ap. Harpocr. in Προπύλαια ταῦτα. See above, p. 463, n. 1.

feet in depth, having a roof sustained by six Ionic columns standing in a double row, and thus dividing the vestibule into three aisles. These columns, although only three feet in diameter at the base, were, including the capital, nearly thirty-four feet high; their architraves being on the same level with the frieze of the Doric colonnade. The ceiling was laid upon beams, which rested upon the lateral walls and upon the architraves of the two rows of Ionic columns; consequently there were three lengths of these beams in the whole breadth of the Propylæum. The beams covering the side aisles were twenty-two feet long, and those of the centre aisle seventeen feet, with a proportional breadth and thickness. Such masses raised to the roof of a building, standing upon a steep hill, and covered with a ceiling most elegantly adorned and painted, may excuse the notice which they received from Pausanias¹, though he is silent as to masses equally large and more numerous in the Parthenon; for the wide space within this Propylæum, interrupted only by the six columns, gave a more advantageous view of the ceiling than could be obtained in any portico of a peripteral temple.

¹ Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφήν ἔχει, καὶ κόσμος καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γὰρ ἱμοῦ προσίχει. Attic. 22, 4.

It is to the roof generally, including the pediment, that we are to apply the *ἀεὶ δὲ προπύλαιος*, which seems to have become proverbial. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 202, 348.

Some idea of the elegance and magnificence of the great vestibule of the Propylæa may be formed from an inspection of the plates of the Propylæum of Eleusis, in the Inedited Antiquities of Attica: for it appears that this building was almost an exact counterpart of the Athenian Propylæum, both in design and dimensions. Revett (in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, II. 5, pl. 4) has disfigured the beautiful Ionic columns, by placing them upon a high square base. But their bases have now been found to resemble those of the Propylæum of Eleusis. The capitals, therefore, differed little probably from those of the latter. Spon, though he had such a transient view of this building, and did not even discover that it was the Propylæa, had remarked that the columns were Ionic: "Il est d'ordre Dorique par dehors, mais les colonnes qui le soutiennent par dedans sont Ioniques, parcequ' étant plus hautes de toute l'épaisseur de l'architrave pour en soutenir le lambris, la proportion de l'ordre Ionique, qui fait la colonne plus haute que le Dorique, lui convenoit mieux." Tome 2, p. 81.

APPENDIX XV.

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ON THE TEMPLE OF VICTORY.

THE Cimonian, or southern, wall of the Acropolis terminated to the west in a sort of bastion; the western wall of which has already been mentioned as forming a right angle with the end of the Cimonian wall, and as having at the foot of it, in the body of the wall itself, two niches, which I have supposed to have been the adytum of the temple of Tellus and Ceres¹. At the northern end, this wall forms an angle of 109 degrees with the northern wall of the bastion, which thus directed falls in a line with the third or lowest step of the southern wing of the Propylæa. The western wall is about thirty-five feet long, and twenty-nine feet high, at the adytum; the northern wall is thirty feet long, and, standing on the slope, diminishes in height from the north-western angle of the bastion to the foot of the Propylæa: along the foot of it there is a flight of steps, which ascended from the level of the temple of Tellus to the Propylæa, and at the summit, led by a lateral smaller flight to a platform on the summit of the bastion, upon which stood the temple of Victory very near the western edge and north-western angle of the platform. This temple was constructed like the other public buildings of Athens, of Pentelic marble: it is raised upon a stylobate of three

¹ See above, p. 303.

steps, and is twenty-seven feet in length from east to west, with a breadth of eighteen feet; there is a space of about thirteen feet between it and the southern wall, and on the northern side a triangular space, of which the greatest breadth was less than six feet. This bastion, at the end of the Cimonian wall, having been the only part of the inclosure of the citadel which resembled a tower, with the exception of a smaller projection on the north-eastern side, seems to have been commonly called *ὁ πύργος*; for a statue of Hecate Triformis by Alcamenes, which stood by the side of the temple of Victory, was surnamed *Epipyrgidia*¹.

The temple of Victory was of the species called *Amphiprostylus Tetrastylus*, which had four columns at either end of the cella, and not any on the sides. The order was Ionic; the columns, including the base and capital, were thirteen feet and a half high, and one foot ten inches in diameter above the base. The external length of the cella was sixteen feet, the height of the entablature three feet nine inches, the total height of the temple to the apex of the pediment, including the stylobate, twenty-three feet.

The chief decoration of the building was a zophorus, or frieze, one foot six inches high, which encircled the exterior of the whole building, and represented in a kind of relief, which was higher than that of the cella of the Parthenon, and resembled that of the hyperthyra of the Theseium, various actions, adapted (we may presume) to a temple in which Minerva was worshipped in her character of the victorious goddess, or rather of Victory itself (*Νίκη Ἀθηνῶ*); and was represented by a statue, which bore a

¹ *Ἀλκαμένης δὲ (ἱμοὶ δοκεῖν) πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν. ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἀπτήρου Νίκης τὸν ναόν.* Pausan. Corinth. 30, 2.

² *Ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀπάντων θεῶν ὁμοίως δὲ πασῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυμος τῆς Νίκης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμος.* Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. p. 29, Steph.

ἔθεν καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνῶ Νίκη προσαγορεύεται νομιζομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς πολέμικῆς καὶ φρονητικῆς ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη καὶ τὸ τὴν νίκην αὐτῇ ξυνέπεσθαι τὸ γὰρ ἐμφρονῶς πολεμεῖν νικητικόν. Etymol. M. in Νίκη.

pomegranate, the type of abundance, in the right hand, and a helmet, symbolical of military virtue, in the left¹.

Of the four marbles belonging to the frieze which are now in the British Museum², two are six feet one inch, the other six feet eight inches in length; the former represent in a continued design a battle between Greeks and Persians, the latter of whom are distinguished by crescent-shaped shields and long loose dresses. The other two marbles represent a battle, in which the warriors engaged on both sides are on foot, and are distinguished as Greek hoplitæ by great round shields and helmets, though poetically represented as naked, or clothed only with a small chlamys, or a short chiton.

In the excavation of the year 1835, which brought to light the remains of the temple, the greater part of the other component pieces of the frieze were discovered. Those of the eastern side are found to agree with the words of Spon, inasmuch as he remarked, in passing the front of the temple, that the reliefs on the frieze represented "a seated figure; before and behind which were nine or ten on foot³." But, in fact, there were not less than twenty-eight or thirty figures in this front, and about 140 in the whole composition. These have so much suffered from time and from the barbarians, who have scarcely left any of the heads, that no very satisfactory conclusion can be derived from the examination of them; especially as our information on the Athenian mythus of Victory is too scanty and uncertain to afford much assistance in the explanation. All we know is, that as Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ, or identified with Minerva, her statue was without wings, and we may presume that this statue, styled by the authors who mention it as a ξόανον⁴, was either more ancient than the extant temple,

¹ Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ. Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερίας. ὅτι δὲ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥοῖαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκωνύμφῃ κράνος, ἱτιμάτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως. Suid. in v. V. et Harpocr. in v.

² See above, p. 321.

³ See above, p. 320.

⁴ Heliodorus ap. Harpocr., Suid. l. l. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 26, 5.

having belonged perhaps to an earlier on the same spot, or was an imitation of a more ancient figure with the same attributes. In subsequent times Victory was figured as a young female with large golden wings. In the fifth century B. C. she was thus described by Aristophanes¹, and was thus represented by Phidias on the hand of Jupiter at Olympia, and of Minerva Νικηφόρος in the Parthenon. The wingless Victory, however, was still worshipped; for Calamis in the same age made an imitation of the Athenian statue, as described by Heliodorus, for the Mantinenses, who placed it, on the occasion of some victory, beside a Minerva at Olympia, which had been dedicated by the people of Elis, and made by Nicodamus of Mænalus, who had represented the goddess as armed with her helmet and ægis². Possibly the Athenian mythus supposed Victory to have been presented with wings when she was admitted into Olympus. That the later Victory was winged, and the earlier without wings, is in some measure confirmed by the fable, according to which the wings of Love were transferred to Victory, when the former was expelled by the gods from Olympus³. When it became customary to attach wings to representations of Victory in painting, sculpture, and verse, the Victory of the Acropolis naturally assumed the distinctive epithet of ἄπτερος.

As to the date of the temple of Victory, we can scarcely err in considering it as contemporary with the wall on which it stands; for the two constructions seem to have been partly designed for each other. As a temple in this situ-

¹ *αὐτίκα Νίκη πέταται πτερυγοῖν χρυσαῖν. Av. 574. Νεωτερικὸν τὸ τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν Ἑρῶτα ἐπτερωθῆαι. Schol. ibid.*

² Pausan. *Eliac. pr. 26, 5.* There was a temple of Minerva Victoria (ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς καλουμένης Νίκης) in the Acropolis of Megara, near the temple of Minerva, but Pausanias has not described the statue. *Attic. 42, 4.*

³ ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ πτερὰ,
 ἵνα μὴ πέτῃται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,
 διϋρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδυσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐάτω·
 τὰς δὲ πτερύγας αἷς εἶχε τῇ Νικῇ φορεῖν
 ἰδοσαν.

Aristophon. *ap. Athen. 13, 2 (14).*

ation could not easily have escaped, when the Persians destroyed every thing in the Acropolis, the existing remains cannot be older than the Persian war; their style, moreover, not admitting of the considerably greater antiquity which such a supposition would render probable. On the other hand, no mention of a temple of Victory occurs among the constructions of Pericles: to Cimon, therefore, who built the wall on which the existing temple stands, it may safely be ascribed. As it was raised out of the spoils of his successful campaigns, one might expect to find his victories delineated on the frieze; but there is nothing to imply such an intention. The battle of the Eurymedon, the greatest of Cimon's victories, having been partly naval, something would probably have indicated the circumstance, had that action been intended; and something also to show that Asiatic Greek ships and soldiers were in alliance with the Persians on that occasion: whereas on that part of the frieze in which horsemen are introduced, the opponents of the Greeks, both on foot and horseback, are all trousered Medes, like those of the *Pœcile*¹. The democratic jealousy of the Athenians, of which some strong examples occurred about that time, would hardly have permitted so direct and immediate an honour to have been conferred on Cimon, as the representation of his victories on a new temple; and it was more customary for the poets and artists of those days, as of all times, to select subjects, which antiquity assisted in rendering poetical. The extant portions of the frieze which are at Athens, compared with those in the British Museum, are said to prove that both the two long sides were occupied with combats of horsemen, and that the western end alone related to a battle of hoplitæ². Perhaps one of the long sides may have represented the battle of Marathon, and the other that of Platæa. But in this temple, still more than in the Parthenon and Theseium, the

¹ *braccatis illita Medis Porticus.* Pers. Satir. 3, 53.

² *Akropolis von Athen.* I. p. 13.

degraded state of the sculptures, and the loss of those distinguishing marks which, whether in metal or in marble, were the parts most liable to injury, must render it extremely difficult to discover the artist's intention. In the combat of *Hoplitæ*, on the western end, there is nothing but the form of the armour that can lead to any well-founded opinion on the subject.

It has already been stated that the western wall of the substruction which supports the platform of the temple of Victory, was decorated at the summit of the wall, on the northern and western sides, with a cornice of Pentelic marble¹. This cornice was continued along the northern wall, and may be considered as part of the decorations of the temple of Victory. The excavations of 1835 have led to the further discovery that along the northern side above the cornice there was a balustrade three feet four inches in height, which extended from the north-western angle of the platform to the lateral flight of steps, ascending at the eastern end of the northern wall to the platform of the temple of Victory; and which balustrade was continued from thence to the north-eastern angle of the temple; thus securing the platform from an enemy in possession of the ground in front of the Propylæa, and affording a breastwork to those who from that side of the platform commanded the ascent to the Propylæa on the unshielded side of the assailants, in the same manner as the western side of the bastion commanded the lateral approach from the southward by the temple of *Tellus* and *Ceres*. This balustrade served also as a decoration to the temple of Victory; having consisted of slabs of marble, representing on the exterior side winged Victories in high relief: two of these, which are engaged in subduing an enraged bull, suggest that the general design of the balustrade was allegorical; but the parts which have been found are so broken and defective, that no conclusion can yet be formed concerning

¹ See above, p. 303.

the general design. The several pieces of marble which composed the balustrade were fixed to the masonry below by tenons of metal, and laterally to one another by clamps, so that the whole might easily be removed. At the top there appears to have been a railing of metal. There was probably a railing also along the edge of the western wall.

APPENDIX XVI.

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ON THE PARTHENON.

I. *On the glyptic Decorations of the Parthenon.*

1. Of the statues in the 'Aeroi or pediments.

At what time the eastern pediment of the Parthenon was reduced to the condition in which it was delineated by Carrey, the artist employed by M. de Nointel in the year 1674, is quite uncertain: the excavations recently made (1837) around the Parthenon have not brought any remains of the central figures of that pediment to light, and hence we are led to the belief that their loss, whether the effect of plunder, of iconoclast fury, of an earthquake, or of an original defect, which may have caused that part of the structure to fall, occurred at a distant period of time. Had there been among the statues removed from Greece, either at Rome or at Constantinople, a colossal group representing the birth of Minerva, some trace of the fact would probably have been found in the Latin or Byzantine writers.

It must ever remain doubtful, therefore, for what personages were intended the eight pieces of sculpture from this pediment which are now in the British Museum¹; and

¹ From No. 91 to No. 98, inclusive. Nos. 94 and 97 contain two figures each.

which, with the exception of the loss of two heads, are still nearly in the same state as they are represented in the drawings of Carrey¹. Deprived of all the central part of the composition, and having no intimation from antiquity of the manner in which the main subject was treated by Phidias², we are left to judge of it from the subordinate figures alone, assisted by such insufficient information on Athenian mythology as may be collected from the ancient writers; those figures, moreover, being so broken and injured, that little remains of the original character of the greater part of them, beyond that of sex.

The following is the hypothesis of the Chevalier Brøndsted :—

“ Dans le fronton oriental, Jupiter était assis sur son trône, au centre de l'univers, entre le Jour et la Nuit, entouré des divinités généthliques du sort, c'est à dire des trois Heures (Saisons) et des trois Parques avec la Fortune Bienveillante (*Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη*) et des divinités, qui président aux accouchemens,—Aphrodite-Uranie, et Ilithyie, Hephestus et Prométhée, Arés et Hermes. Le père tout-puissant des dieux venait d'enfanter de sa tête la fille divine, qui s'élançait dans les airs, brillante de ses armes d'or : miracle suprême de la création, elle planait au dessus de son

¹ The draped torso (No. 96 of the British Museum) was not seen by Carrey, as it was prostrate on the platform of the pediment.

² The following lines from the Homeric hymn to Minerva (v. 4) compared with many Ceramic designs and other monuments, may serve to show the mode in which this mythological event was sometimes represented :

. τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγένετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
 Σμενῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολέμη' ἰα τεύχε' ἔχουσαν,
 Χρῦσα, παμφανόωντα· σίβας δ' ἔχει πάντας ὀρώντας
 Ἀθανάτους· ἣ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο
 Ἔσσυμένως ὤρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,
 Σείσας' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ' ἔλελιξεν' ὄλυμπος
 Δεινὸν ὑπ' ὀμβρίμης γλαυκώπιδος· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
 Σμερδαλίον ἰάχῃσιν' ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος
 Κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος· ἔσχετο δ' ἄλμη
 Ἐξαπίνης.

père assis, s'élevant vers le sommet du fronton¹. . . . (Le Jour et la Nuit) avaient tous deux leurs satellites, analogues à la religion de l'Attique : car de même que Atropos ou la figure appuyée en arrière sur le giron de Lachésis était entièrement tournée vers le char de la Nuit, de même le regard du favori Attique du Jour et de l'Aurore, c'est-à-dire Kephalos, était entièrement tourné vers le char du Jour sortant de l'océan oriental²."

If we adopt this ingenious hypothesis, the elegance and simplicity of which cannot be denied, and the probability of which the author has ably supported by ancient authorities, the names of the several figures will be those which are attached to them in the plate with the initial B. The letter V. indicates the opinion of Visconti as to the same figures.

Of the statues of the western pediment, we have better means of judging; the composition, with the exception of the horses of Amphitrite, having been nearly complete in the time of Carrey : nor is there much hope of our ever obtaining better information than that which his drawings afford ; a recent excavation at this end of the Parthenon having only brought to light a portion of a colossal bust, supposed to be a part of the Neptune, with the body and right leg of the last male figure towards the southern angle of the pediment, as designed by Carrey.

We learn from Apollodorus, that the fable of the contest of Neptune and Minerva was related in two different manners : according to one version, Cecrops, the reigning monarch, bore testimony before the twelve gods sitting in judgment, that he had seen the olive of the Pandroseium planted by Minerva : according to the other mythus, not only Cecrops, but his successors Cranaus and Erechtheus were also present³ : in or after the reign of which last

¹ Voyages et Recherches en Grèce, II. Préface, p. xi.

² Ibid. note 3.

³ γενομένης δὲ ἐριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηναῖν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς, κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἶπον τινὲς, Κίεραπα καὶ Κραναὸν,

monarch, therefore, we must suppose the contest to have occurred. Phidias followed the latter version, or at least supposed the gods invisible, ranging the Attic kings who had been protected by Minerva on her side, and the followers of Neptune on the other. By the side of the car of Minerva stood Erechtheus or Erichthonius, to whom the goddess had revealed the art of yoking horses to chariots. Beyond the car were the three daughters of Cecrops with his son Erysichthon; and between the two male figures to the left of Agraulus, there was evidently another figure which had been thrown down by the fall of the superincumbent part of the cornice¹. If the male seated on the right of Agraulus was Cecrops, the two remaining figures were probably his successors Amphictyon and Cranaus. I am disposed to place Pandrosus nearest to Minerva, because she was the most favoured of the daughters of Cecrops, and had a temple under the same roof with the goddess.

In the southern half of the pediment, none but the four last names in the accompanying plate require any remark. The first of these personages is very uncertain: possibly it was Euryte, whose son Halirrhothius was said to have been slain by Mars for offering violence to Alcippe, his daughter by Agraulus; upon which Mars was brought to trial by Neptune, the father of Halirrhothius, before the twelve gods assembled on the Areiopagus². A gap in the drawing of

οὐδὲ Ἐρεχθία, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων, ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἑλαιοὶν ἐφύτευσεν. Apollod. 3, 14, § 1.

As Apollodorus chiefly followed Philochorus in his Attic fables (Philoch. frag. a Lenz. et Siebelis, p. 7) the version which was preferred by Apollodorus, was probably that of Philochorus. The same was adopted by Ovid, *Metam.* 6, 70. Callimachus (ap. Sch. Il. P. 53) seems to have followed a version of the mythus, different from either of those above mentioned; for he makes Cecrops to have been the reigning monarch and the sole judge.

¹ See Stuart's Athens, II. pl. ix.

² Apollod. 3, 14, § 2.

Carrey after the last-mentioned figure, seems to warrant the supposition of there having been three figures between it and the extremity of the pediment. These three figures were probably intended for Cephissus, Ilissus, and Callirrhoe; Neptune, as the god of waters, having a clear right to all the rivers and fountains of Athens in his train. The Ilissus I have placed next to Callirrhoe, because in reality the river was contiguous to the fountain, and because Cephissus would probably be the nearest to the centre, in consequence of the greater magnitude of the river, and that superior importance in Attic mythology, which is indicated by the exclusive notice it has received from the poets¹.

2. Of the metopes of the Parthenon.

Of the metopes, or sculptures in high relief on the intervals between the triglyphs on the exterior frieze of the peristyle, there were fourteen on either front, and thirty-two on either flank of the temple. All those towards the middle of the two sides were thrown down by the explosion of 1687; those of the two fronts still remain in their places. These works by their exposed situation, and the height of their relief, some parts of them having been entirely detached from the tablet, were rendered peculiarly liable to injury from wanton violence, or from the effects of weather. The metopes of the southern side had, however, from some cause difficult to explain, escaped better than the others, which appears to have been the reason why Carrey, when the temple was complete, copied the thirty-two metopes of this side, and not any of the three other sides.

For a similar reason, Spon concluded that Centaurs, or Horses, were on all the metopes²: nor had Stuart and

¹ See Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, p. 161.

² En dehors de la galerie règnent aussi, tout autour sur la frise, des cartouches où se voyent des figures de demi bosse, qui domptent des che-

Revett, near a century later, and after a residence of three years, obtained a much more correct opinion on the metopes of the Parthenon, as seems evident from their restoration of the western front, in which the metopes are represented as Centaureomachiae; although even now there are sufficient traces of all, except the seventh and eighth from the southern end, to show that not one of them contained a Centaur. Chandler laboured under the same error as to the metopes. Though a want of observation was the principal cause of these mistaken notions, they may partly be ascribed to the drawings of Carrey not having been then known, and to the bad preservation of almost all the metopes then existing on the ruin, except those of the southern side, where, on all the remaining metopes, there were figures of Centaurs. Under these circumstances, it is not very surprising that an error should have prevailed to the end of the last century, which, by supposing the same subject to have been repeated ninety-two times, almost degraded the metopes to an unmeaning decoration.

Since that time the truth has been gradually elicited by an examination of the drawings of Carrey¹, and of the artists of Lord Elgin, and by the observations of travellers: so that although we have very little information on the metopes of the northern side between the third and twenty-fourth, in consequence of the neglect of that side of the peristyle by Carrey, and the subsequent dilapidation of the temple, a descriptive enumeration of the

vaux ou qui combattent avec des Centaures: mais elles sont la plupart mutilées. Spon, II. p. 85. Wheler (p. 361) would seem to have observed something besides horses; for he mistook the metopes of the southern side of the temple for the dedications of Attalus on the southern wall.

¹ These valuable though imperfect sketches came into the possession of the Royal Library of Paris in 1770, but were mislaid or overlooked until 1797; and it was not until 1811 that they were arranged and formed into a folio volume, No. 616 of the Cabinet des Estampes. A few years after, a fac-simile of them was presented to the British Museum.

others, with some conjectures on the subjects of many of them, may now be offered.

As the variety of these works, and the beautiful execution still manifest in their remains, furnish a new and surprising proof of the admirable skill and invention of the Athenian sculptors, it would be equally interesting to the artist and the scholar to discover the intentions of Phidias in the choice and arrangement of the subjects: but their explanation presents great difficulties, partly in consequence of our defective knowledge of Athenian mythology, but chiefly from the mutilated state of the greater part of the existing metopes, the imperfection of the drawings of the southern metopes by Carrey, and the total want of all evidence as to ten of the metopes of the northern side. Hence we are deprived of those means of comparison which are the surest guide in the explanation of ancient monuments, and have a very imperfect perception of the principles upon which Phidias proceeded in forming this great chain of mythological decoration. The Centauromachiae show that the fabulous wars of the Athenians supplied a part of the subjects, and induce the belief that their contests with the Amazones was not omitted, nor any of the other most celebrated events of the fabulous period of Athenian history. And we may presume that the great actions and inventions of Minerva herself, together with the exploits of the heroes who immortalized themselves under her influence, were also included among them; in which light there are few great actions of this kind transmitted to us by the poets, that might not have formed the subject of a metope of the Parthenon, nothing great having been effected without the aid of Minerva¹.

The metopes of the eastern front seem to relate to the actions of Minerva herself, and of the principal Athenian

¹ 'Αθηνᾶς ἡγουμένης, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἀνθρώποις ἡμαρτήθη, οὐδ' αὖ πράξεισί ποτε χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἄνευ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς. Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. l. p. 21, Steph.

heroes, treated nearly in the same manner in which we often find them delineated on the Ceramic paintings of Athens. Beginning from the south, the first metope represents a hero about to kill his fallen adversary, who has a lion's skin. 2. A male figure contending with another holding a bow, a panther between them. 3. A hero bearing a shield, about to slay a bearded adversary. 4. Minerva Gigantophontis, another figure behind. 5. A female in a biga, perhaps Minerva, as the inventress of chariots for war or racing. 6. A hero, perhaps Hercules, destroying a bearded figure ; rocks behind. 7. Minerva taming Pegasus for Bellerophon. 8. A hero in armour attacks a bearded figure seated. 9. Hercules with the stolen tripod is seized by Apollo. 10. A female in a biga. 11. Theseus delivering an Athenian from the Minotaur. 12. Minerva Gigantophontis. 13. A hero in armour about to slay a fallen adversary. 14. A biga rising from the water ; two fishes near the wheels. The male figures of the metopes in general are either naked, or with a loose chlamys suspended upon the arms ; the females in the full peplus and the *χιτών στράδιος*.

On the northern side three metopes at the eastern end remain in position, and nine at the western. Of these, little can be distinguished, except that they generally represent female figures, and possibly several of them may have related to the contest of the Athenians with the Amazones, in like manner as the opposite side of the temple related chiefly to the other great fabulous Athenian contest with the Centaurs. It is curious, with reference to this conjecture, to observe that, from some information recently acquired, it appears that among the metopes, on this side, thrown down by the explosion, were nine representing Centaurs¹, and

¹ M. Brøndsted discovered in the Royal Library at Paris (Cabinet des Estampes, 804—808) drawings of some metopes of the Parthenon, which could not have belonged to any side of the peristyle but the northern. Nine of them represent Centaurs, and on the tenth were the figures of a young man and woman. On comparing one of the nine with a metope

thus forming exceptions to the general design of the metopes on this side, similar in their effect to the nine on the opposite side, which were exceptions to the general subject of that side.

Of the extant metopes on the northern side, the twenty-sixth and thirtieth, from the east, are quite obliterated. The following are the most remarkable: the twenty-fifth, which represents two females before an altar; the twenty-ninth, which resembles the ancient designs of Bellerophon watering Pegasus¹. The last, at the western end, which is very beautiful and well preserved, represents a woman draped, holding a large veil with both hands, and standing before a draped figure seated upon a rock.

On the southern side one metope only, the extreme western, now remains on the temple; all the others, which escaped the explosion, having been removed, fifteen to London, and one (the tenth from the western end) to Paris. All the metopes on this side had reference to the war of the Centaurs, with the exception of the nine from the thirteenth to the twenty-first from the western end. Of these metopes our only memorials are the drawings of Carrey. No. 13 represented a female holding up her right arm, and a male figure draped, but stripped of the upper part of his garments, which he holds in both hands in the form of a bag. 14. A man holding his chlamys with both hands; a woman who stands beside him looks into a box, which is in her left hand, while her right holds the lid. 15. A draped figure, driving a biga. 16. A victorious com-

published in vol. iv. of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, the identity of the monument from which the two drawings had been taken was evident, and showed that Stuart had seen and drawn a metope of the northern side, which of course was not in its place in his time, though the French drawing of this as well as of the nine others may possibly have been made before the Venetian siege, when all were in their places. See Brøndsted, *Voy. et Rech.* p. 273.

¹ Bellerophon was said to have made war upon the Amazones. *Il. Z.* 186. *Pind. Ol.* 13, 124. *Apollod.* 2, 3, § 2.

batant and his falling adversary. 17. A man naked, with the exception of a chlamys on his left arm; a woman retiring, holding something in both hands. 18. Two female figures in strong action, apparently running; a smaller figure on one side in a fixed attitude. 19. Two female figures apparently conversing; both, as usual, draped to the feet, but one having a veil. 20. A female unrolls a volume; another retires with a closed roll in her right hand. 21. Two women; one of them, naked above, crowns a small statue upon a column, which stands between them¹.

On the western front, the seventh and eighth from the southern end, as before observed, are obliterated; but it appears from the others, that the subjects throughout were alternately a horseman with a prostrate pedestrian, and two combatants on foot; the odd numbers, (beginning from the south,) containing the latter, and the even numbers the horsemen. This symmetry and conformity of subject render it probable that the whole front related to the warlike exploits of the Athenians².

Under each metope of the eastern front, are seen quadrangular holes in the architrave, which since their formation have been filled with pieces of marble. These holes were cut for the fastenings of shields, the places of which are marked by circles in the marble, where the red oxidation generally diffused over the building is less intense than on the surrounding parts of the stone. These shields, the diameter of which was nearly the same as the breadth of

¹ The following are the explanations of these metopes, by M. Brøndsted, p. 207—261. 13. Ceres and Triptolemus. 14. Epimetheus and Pandora. 15. Erechtheus Ἐρεχθεύς. 16. Erechtheus victorious over Eumolpus. 17. Erechtheus having instructed a canephora. 18. Herse, Agraulus, and Pandrosus. 19. Themis or Telete instructing Pandrosus. 20. Priestesses of Ceres with the sacred volumes, preparing for the festival of the Thesmophoria. 21. The statue of Diana Brauronia or of Eileuthia: to her right a priestess, on the other side a λειψάνη, dedicating her head ornaments and garment.

² The long dress of the vanquished pedestrian in No. 1, and his shield in No. 5, are barbaric and apparently oriental.

the triglyphs, formed a beautiful enrichment to the frieze. Similar though larger excavations are seen on the western front, but over each column only; and smaller on the northern and southern sides, all intended probably for similar decorations. We are informed by Pausanias that the temple of Jupiter at Olympia was adorned with gilded shields¹, and that of Delphi with golden shields², and that the tyrant Lachares, when he fled from Athens before Demetrius Poliorcetes, carried away with him, together with a part of the gold of the statue of Minerva, the golden shields of the Acropolis³.

3. Of the composition in low relief which crowns on the outside the wall of the *Σηκός* or cella of the Parthenon.

The frieze which crowned the exterior of the cella and its two vestibules, represented the procession to the Parthenon on the grand quadrennial festival of the greater Panathenaea. Although this subject has been treated by Phidias in a manner which in many respects is ideal and poetical, there can be little doubt that, as well in general design as in detail, the composition is correctly descriptive of the procession which actually took place. The only part of the work now attached to the temple, is that above the western vesti-

¹ τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κίωνων περιθειούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι, μία καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἀριθμὸν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου. Pausan. *Eliac.* prior, 10, 2.

Twenty-one would be the exact number on the front of a hexastyle temple, supposing a shield under each triglyph and metope: the words of Pausanias seem indeed to refer to the whole peristyle; but in this case it would be difficult to dispose of the twenty-first shield.

² ὅπλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων χρυσᾶ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἀνέθισαν. Pausan. *Phocic.* 19, 3.

Arms captured from the enemy were a common dedication. Alexander the Great, after the battle of Granicus, sent 300 suits of Persian armour to the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens. Arrian *de Exp. Alex.* 1, 16.

³ Λαχάρης ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀεροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον, &c. Pausan. *Attic.* 25, 5.

bule; but from the drawings of Carrey, taken before the explosion which ruined the building, added to the designs and casts of those still extant, and to the originals which have been saved from the ruins, and which are now in the British Museum¹, we derive (although about two-fifths are still wanting) a tolerably correct idea of the entire work. The procession is represented as advancing in two parallel columns from west to east, one along the northern, and the other along the southern side of the temple, as facing inwards after turning the two angles of the eastern front, and as meeting towards the centre of that front. Hence the figures of the southern frieze are represented as moving to the spectator's right, and those of the northern side to the spectator's left, those of the eastern frieze towards the southern end to the spectator's right, and those towards the northern end to the spectator's left.

Near the centre of the eastern side² are twelve deities, known to be such from their superior stature, and from their being seated upon chairs³. Six of these deities face to the south, opposite to the head of the southern column of the procession: the other six face to the north, and are opposed therefore to the head of the northern column. The former six are separated from the latter by five standing figures, which occupy the centre of the eastern frieze, and which are consequently the central figures of the whole composition. The middle figure is the priestess of Minerva, who is in the act of taking from the head of one of the Arrhephoræ, the unknown burden, which she has brought from the temple of Venus at Cepi. Behind her is the other Arrhephora, with a similar burden on her

¹ Of originals the British Museum possesses 249 feet, and of casts 76 feet.

² The eastern frieze, which is to the left in entering the Elgin room, is numbered from 17 to 25 inclusive.

³ In like manner, on the interior frieze of the pronaos of the Theseium, the seated gods are as high as the other figures when standing.

head¹. The youth of the Arrhephoræ, whose age never exceeded eleven years², is well described by the shortness of their stature, compared with that of the priestess. Next to the latter stands the archon βασιλεύς, or king of the divine rites, facing in the opposite direction, and receiving the peplos from the hands of a boy³.

There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the intention of the Athenian artist as to several of the twelve seated figures. This arises from two circumstances, which apply not only to these but to several other figures, as well in the frieze as in the metopes and pediments. First, the symbols and attributes which indicated the different deities among the later Greeks and Romans, appear from the sculptures of the Parthenon to have not been much in use in the Pericleian age. To a people so learned in their religion as the Athenians, each deity was sufficiently described by the general expression of his countenance, form, and attitude; whereas to us, who are ignorant of many particulars of the Attic mythology and superstitions, such indications are not always sufficient, especially as the heads of many of the figures have been purposely defaced by the Turks; so that of almost all of them the features are obliterated. Secondly, many of the attributes and minute details of the figures were indicated by metallic ornaments, assisted by painting: of the former we see vestiges in numerous round holes visible in many parts of the marbles, and in the remains of bronze fastenings existing in some of those holes. These metallic appendages were, of course, the first things to suffer by the effects of time and spoliation.

¹ Visconti supposes a torch in the left hand of the first Arrhephora, and an unrolled volumen in that of the second: but both are doubtful: the former perhaps was nothing more than a staff to keep the burthen steady, and which the priestess is about to take in her left hand.

² See above, p. 155, n. 5.

³ I cannot discover the name of the office of this youth, in any ancient author.

As seven of the deities of the frieze are male, and five of them female, it is evident that they did not represent the twelve gods, commonly so called, of whom there was an equal number of either sex. Of the six deities facing to the south or to the spectator's left, we can hardly hesitate in believing that the first was Jupiter, seated on a chair adorned with a sphynx, and bearing a sceptre; 2. Juno, raising her veil, looking at Jupiter, and having her daughter Hebe standing beside her¹; 3. Mars in repose, the end of his spear appearing at his heel²; 4. Ceres holding a torch; 5. This figure I believe to have been intended for Dionysus, resting his elevated left hand on his thyrsus as a sceptre, and seated between Demeter and Hermes, with whom he is associated as one of the terrene deities; for there can be no doubt that 6 was intended for Mercury bearing the petasus in his hand³: the posture

¹ Instead of Juno and Hebe, Visconti has named these figures Minerva and the winged Victory. It is easy to believe, however, that Minerva, in whose honour the ceremony was celebrated, and upon whose temple it was represented, was not among these deities. The veil, moreover, is the usual attribute of Juno, seldom or never of Minerva; which taken together with the situation of the goddess by the side of Jupiter, leaves little doubt of this figure being intended for Juno. Among other examples of the association of Hebe with Juno may be mentioned that of the Heræum, near Mycenæ, the most celebrated temple of Juno in Greece, where Pausanias (Corinth. 17, 5) describes a statue of Hebe as standing by the sitting statue of Juno. Visconti seems to have been misled by mistaking the veil of Hebe, which she holds up with her left arm, for a wing: when supposing that a winged figure could be no other than Victory, he concluded that the sitting figure near it must be Minerva. If there was a wing, what was the left arm doing! it cannot be supposed that the arm was either resting upon the wing or supporting it.

² Visconti supposed this to be Triptolemus, though he has recognised the exact posture of the figure in a Mars of the Villa Ludovisi: the remains of the spear he seems not to have observed. *Mémoire*, p. 54. Mars, like Hercules, was often represented in repose after his labours: the attitude of this figure, therefore, is in favour of its having been intended for Mars.

³ The fifth and sixth figures were supposed by Visconti to be the Dioscuri; but independently of the petasus of Mercury, the two figures are obviously of different ages, which would not have been the case with the twin brothers. Enough of the head of the fifth figure remains to distinguish that it was bearded, and the body is broader and more muscular than that of the sixth.

of the fingers, and a hole between the finger and thumb, seem strongly to show that formerly there was also a caduceus of bronze in Mercury's hand.

Of the six deities who face to the north, or to the spectator's right, two only are in the British Museum; of these the male is leaning on a knotted staff in the manner in which Æsculapius is generally represented; to the right arm of the female some large appendage was attached¹. Of the other four it is difficult to judge, as we possess only the designs of them by Carrey, and a cast of the last, procured by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier. I am unable, therefore, to substitute any more plausible conjecture to that of Visconti, who supposed that they represent Neptune, his son Theseus, Agraulus, and Pandrosus, and that the boy standing by the last is the young Erechtheus.

Before the six deities facing to the south stand six magistrates, conversing with one another, and some of them leaning upon staves, which are probably official emblems². The procession is opened by eleven young women; some of whom bear instruments shaped like trumpets, others vases of the kind called *Hydrizæ*, which mark these figures for daughters of metœci: the trumpet-shaped object may therefore be a folded umbrella, the *σκιάδειον*, which it was also one of the duties of the daughters of metœci to bear in this procession.

¹ Visconti, who first suggested these figures to have been intended for Æsculapius and Hygieia, adduces, as a proof, something upon the left arm of the female figure, which he supposes to have been a serpent; but it was too diminutive for that accompaniment of Hygieia, which is generally of large dimensions; and it is evident, from three holes drilled on the right arm and side, and on the seat, that the distinguishing adjunct of metal was on that side.

² The magistrates employed upon this occasion were the *Archons*, the *νομοφύλακες*, *φυλοβασιλεῖς* and *ἐφημερες περι τὰς πομπάς*. The first, according to J. Pollux (8, 94), were crowned with a white fillet (*στροφίῳ λευκῷ*), and some of the magistrates on the frieze are represented as crowned. For the names here assigned see J. Pollux (3, 55. 8, 103. 111. 10, 191). Philochorus ap. Harpocrat. in *Κανηφόροι*. Hesych. in *Κανηφόροι*, *Ἰστριανίδες*. Harpocr., Hesych., Suid. in *Σκαφηφόροι*. Suid., Hesych., Etym. M. in *Δίφρος*, *Διφροφόροι*. Hesych., Etym. M. in *Θαλλοφόροι*. Aristoph. Vesp. 452. Suid. in *Νομοφύλακες*, *Ἀσκὸς Κρησιφώντος*, Hesych. in *Φυλοβασιλεῖς*: and for the various authorities on the whole subject, Meursii *Panathensea*, 20—25, and Visconti, *Mémoire*, p. 48, seq.

The five last of them appear, from Carrey's drawings, to have borne large circular pateræ. They extended to the south-eastern angle, with the exception of the last figure, which was a magistrate¹, looking round on the part of the procession which followed him. He is interposed between the end of the procession of females and the sacrificial oxen, with which the southern frieze commenced². Some of these victims are proceeding quietly, others are struggling against the utmost efforts of the men on foot, clothed in disordered pallia, who accompany them³. Next to these were females⁴, as appears from the drawings of Carrey, and among them four women bearing square instruments, perhaps the *διφροφόροι* or bearers of folding-chairs, who were daughters of metœci; then followed a procession of citizens, the most aged of whom were perhaps the *θαλλοφόροι*⁵; though no indication of branches in their hands, from which that name was derived, can be perceived. Next came quadrigæ⁶, of which eight were designed by Carrey, and fragments of five are in the Elgin collection⁷. The cars were followed by horsemen⁸, who extended, as it appears from the drawings of Carrey, as far as the south-western angle, where the last horseman is accompanied by a man on foot. With the exception of a few, who are covered with a cuirass

¹ This forms a single figure at the end of No. 90, and is on the return of the same stone, on the southern face of which begin the victims.

² According to the Scholiast of Aristophanes (Nub. 386) the colonial cities sent oxen for sacrifice on this occasion.

³ Nos. 85 to 90 of the Elgin collection.

⁴ No. 83 of the Elgin collection is a fragment of this part of the procession.

⁵ Even these, as Xenophon tells us (Sympos. 4), were chosen on this occasion for their beauty; a remarkable instance of the attention paid by the Athenians to that principle which led them to such wonderful results in art.

⁶ There were Hippodromiæ, or races of cars and horses, on the third day of the Panathenaic festival. Aristoph. Pa. 899. Xenoph. Sympos. 1. Diogen. Babyl. ap. Athen. 4, 19 (67). Hegesandrus ap. Athen. 4, 19 (64). J. Poll. 8, 93.

⁷ Nos. 78 to 82 of the Elgin collection.

⁸ Of this part of the procession there are about seventy feet in the Elgin Collection, from No. 62 to No. 77 inclusive.

sitting close to the body, all the horsemen are more or less clothed with a loose drapery; some of them have a close helmet, but the greater part are bareheaded. Some are booted, others have the legs and feet bare. In Carrey's drawings some of them are represented with the broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat, called the Arcadian pilus¹; but none of these are in the Elgin collection.

Before the six deities facing to the north stand six magistrates in varied postures; and some of them leaning upon staves, as on the other side. A seventh magistrate bears something in both hands, perhaps the *ἱερὸν κανοῦν*, containing the requisites for sacrifice², which he is about to deliver to two Canephoræ, whom he faces, and appears to instruct. Between them and the next pair of females is an eighth magistrate, facing and employed like the seventh, but without any thing apparent in his hands³. The women then walk singly: the fifth has a vase resembling a large ornamented patera in her hand⁴; the sixth and seventh hold between them a large candelabrum, or some instrument resembling it; then follow two singly with vases, and two singly with pateræ⁵; beyond these two others, walking singly, the last bearing a patera, terminated the eastern end of the frieze at the north-eastern angle⁶. This I take to have been the procession of the daughters of noble citizens.

¹ According to Visconti it was a Thessalian pileus; but the Athenians seem to have called it Arcadian; *ἐπίσση δ' Ἡρωίδης Ἀρκάδι πῶλε τὴν κεφαλὴν σκιδζων, ὡς ἐν ὄρεσσι θέρους εἰσθῆναι Ἀθηναίων*. Philostr. Sophist. 2, 5. It is found on some of the most ancient vases of Etruria and Magna Græcia, as well as of Greece; and was derived perhaps from the Pelasgi, from whom both Arcadians and Thessalians derived their origin, and the Italians many of their customs.

² *Τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν*. Philochor. ap. Harpoer. in *Κανηφόροι*. *Τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστ' ὅλας ἔχον καὶ στέμμα καὶ μάχαιραν*. Aristoph. Pa. 948.

Τὸ κανοῦν πῇ μάχαιρ' ἔνι. Plato Com. ap. Schol. Arist. ibid.

³ The Neptune, Theseus, Agraulus, Pandrosus, and Erechtheus, are only to be seen in Carrey's drawings: the eight magistrates are in Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, of the Elgin Collection; the last of which is a cast from an original in the Musée at Paris.

⁴ From Carrey's drawings.

⁵ No. 24 of the Elgin collection.

⁶ Stuart's and Carrey's drawings.

The northern side, like the southern, began with victims¹, which are followed by *σκαφηφόροι* or metœci, bearing trays filled with loaves of bread and other offerings²: after these came three *ascophori*, or men, bearing skins of wine on their shoulders; four³ players on the flute, four men bearing large *diotæ*, the last of whom is stooping down to lift the vase⁴: then four players on the lyre, after whom was a crowd of men on foot; these were perhaps a chorus who sang, among other poetry, that of Homer⁵. Next followed *quadrigæ* similar to those on the southern side⁶. From hence to the extremity of the northern side is a procession of *ephebi* on horseback⁷, with the same admirable variety of action, costume, and drapery displayed in the horsemen of the southern frieze. Among the last figures are two dismounted horsemen, the last of whom is followed by a boy on foot, who is the last figure at the north-western angle. The procession of the horsemen at the western extremity of the southern side ended in like manner with the figure of a man on foot.

On the western frieze the figures face to the north, or spectator's left, so that this part must be considered as a continuation of the northern column of the procession. Like the adjoining end of the northern side, it is formed in part of dismounted horsemen, and seems intended to represent the rear of the procession, where the individuals had

¹ Carrey's drawings.

² One of these and part of a second are in No. 25 of the Elgin collection.

³ Visconti says three; but Carrey's drawings, which are now the only authority, clearly indicate four.

⁴ This portion of the frieze has been recently discovered: Carrey in his drawing of it had caused the last figure to have the appearance of a boy leading a hog.

⁵ Carrey's drawings, where the men appear of different ages.

⁶ Nos. 26 to 31 of the Elgin collection. Visconti was mistaken in describing some of the cars as drawn by two, and others by three horses. On both sides of the temple the cars appear to have been *quadrigæ*, each mounted by a charioteer and attended by a man on foot, as well as by a *hoplita*, who is either mounted in the chariot or walks on one side of it.

⁷ Nos. 32 to 45 of the Elgin collection.

not yet fallen into their ranks. Some are represented as drawing on their buskins, others as adjusting their bridles ; others are just about to mount their horses, while some are contending with their horses, which are endeavouring to escape. A magistrate ¹ at the north-western angle appears to superintend this part of the procession, which terminates at the south-western angle, with a man on foot holding up his chlamys. The western frieze differs from the others, in having the figures in general more detached from one another.

II. *Some further Questions relating to the Parthenon.*

THERE are some enquiries concerning the Parthenon, not without interest to Athenian history, as well as the arts, upon which opinions are still more or less divided.

Qu. 1. Was there an earlier Parthenon ?

Against this supposition can only be adduced the silence of all antiquity, and the words, or rather a single word, of Herodotus, who relates that when the Persians entered the Acropolis the first time, they set fire to the Acropolis after having plundered the temple (τὸ ἱερόν), as if there had been only one. Some strong reasons, however, may be adduced for believing that there was at that time a second temple of Minerva.

In the Parthenon, the goddess was worshipped in her capacity of Ἀθηνᾶ Παρθένος or Νίκη, the invincible goddess of war ; and as Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰππεία, who subdued the horse and yoked him to the chariot, one of the chief implements of ancient warfare ². As Minerva Polias she was victorious over Neptune in the contest for the ἀρχηγεία of Attica,

¹ This figure, being on the return face of the extreme marble of the northern side, has been preserved with that part of the frieze, and is in No. 46 of the Elgin collection.

² ἄρμα δὲ πρῶτην κατασυνάσασαν, διὰ τοῦτο Ἰππείαν ἐληθῆναι. Suid. in Ἰππεία Ἀθηνᾶ. Hence she was sometimes represented as starting from the head of Jupiter, accompanied by the horse. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I, p. 350.

the planter of the olive, the teacher of agriculture, and other arts of peace, the personation of divine wisdom, and the protectress of the city. These two distinct characters furnish at once a presumption that there were two temples of Minerva even in early times: nor is it likely that when Corinth, Sparta, Argos, Ægina, Syracuse, and many other cities had large temples of Minerva, Athens should have been satisfied with that of Polias, which was only part of a building sacred to other deities.

I have already adverted to some portions of columns, of very ancient date, which are inserted in the northern wall of the Acropolis, and were probably placed there at the time of the repairs which followed the Persian war¹. They belonged apparently to some ruined edifice of large dimensions on the summit of the hill, since it is scarcely to be believed that they were raised to that height, from below, for such a purpose. It is not unlikely, therefore, that they were the columns of the more ancient Parthenon, built perhaps in the seventh century, (for their workmanship can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date,) at which time the Cecropian hill having long ceased to be a polis, which was its state when the Erechtheium was founded, there was a space on the highest part of the citadel and sacred inclosure, applicable to a large temple. The columns in the northern wall were partially fluted, and not very different in diameter from those of the existing Parthenon². A grammarian asserts that the *ἑκατόμπεδος Παρθενῶν* was fifty feet greater than the temple which was burnt by the Persians³;

¹ See above, p. 312.

² Having climbed up to the wall with difficulty, I measured one of the flutings, and found it 11·3 inches. We may assume that there were twenty flutings, as the exceptions to that number in the Doric order are rare, and twenty is the number, as well in the Parthenon as in the older temples of Corinth, Syracuse, and Ægina. The columns therefore, in the walls of the Acropolis, were probably more than six feet in diameter.

³ *ἑκατόμπεδος* νῶς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παρθενῶν, κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μείζων τοῦ ἱμνησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Πέρσων πόσι πεντήκοντα. Hesych. in ν.

where it would seem that one of the measures of the building burnt by the Persians was fifty feet. Now if we apply this remark to the Erechtheium, which is reasonable, considering the notoriety given to the burning of it, by the fable of the olive-tree as related by Herodotus and others, it is manifestly erroneous, no dimension of the Erechtheium being fifty feet. It is almost equally inapplicable to the *length* of an earlier Parthenon, as that would make the temple too small. Those words of Hesychius, therefore, could only have been true of the *breadth* of an earlier Parthenon; and we shall find that a hexastyle with thirteen columns on the side, of the same diameter as those of the existing Parthenon, with an intercolumniation of the same proportions, would be very nearly fifty feet shorter on the side than that temple¹. That the elder Parthenon, if there was such a building, was a hexastyle, can scarcely admit of a doubt; the new Parthenon being the only known example of an octastyle Doric, except that of Selinus, which was still later in date².

Qu. 2. On the divisions of the Σηκός or Cella.

THE epithet *ἑκατόμπεδος*, applied to the Parthenon³, indicates that one of its principal dimensions was a hundred

¹ Although thirteen columns are here supposed, because the Theseium, Parthenon, and Olympieum, have in the flanks twice the number of columns in front *plus* one, an even number in the sides was more common in the colonial, which resembled the more ancient, or true Doric. But, as the intercolumniation of the latter was generally smaller than in the Athenian temples, the same result might be produced by supposing fourteen columns in the sides of the elder Parthenon.

² An excavation made on the southern side of the Parthenon, in the year 1836, to a depth of more than twenty feet below the surface, brought to light the squared blocks of a former building which stood on the same site, a horse's head in a style intermediate between those of Ægina and the Parthenon, fragments of columns, triglyphs, capitals, and reliefs, and numerous remains of works in bronze, pottery, and marble. The Cimonian wall was found to be from eighteen to twenty-eight feet in thickness.

³ τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἑκατόμπεδον Παρθενῶνα Καλλιεράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἰερῖνος. Plutarch. Pericl. 13. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος οἰκοδομῶν τὸν

Greek feet. That this dimension was the breadth, we might presume, without the evidence of the temple itself, from the consideration that Greek temples were classified by the number of columns in front, and not on the sides. From the breadth of the Parthenon, Stuart deduced the length of the Attic foot. Having compared the length of the lower step of the stylobate in front, with its length on the side, he found them incommensurable : neither were the front and side lengths of the step above it commensurate with each other. But the third step, on which the columns of the peristyle stand, measured one hundred and one feet one inch and seven-tenths English in breadth, and two hundred and twenty-seven feet seven inches and one-twentieth in length, numbers which are so nearly in the proportion of one hundred to two hundred and twenty-five, that, had the greater measure been a quarter of an inch less, it would have been deficient of that proportion. The front measure gives an Attic foot of 12·137 London inches ; the side measure, one of 12·138, medium 12·1375. The Roman foot, according to Pliny, was to the Attic in the proportion of six hundred to six hundred and twenty-five¹, or twenty-four to twenty-five, giving a length of 11·652 English inches, according to the preceding measure of the Attic foot. In a paper in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1760, the author Matthew Raper, who had compared the ancient authorities on the length of the Roman foot, with all the existing Roman monuments which throw any light upon this question, arrived at the conclusion that before the reign of Titus, the Roman foot was equal to $\frac{910}{1000}$ + of the London foot, or

ἑκατόμπεδον (sc. *ναόν*). Plutarch. Cat. Maj. 5. *Παρθενῶνες ἑκατόμπεδοι, νότια τείχη, νεῶν οἶκοι, Προπύλαια*. Plutarch. de Glor. Athen. 7.

¹ Plin. H. N. 2, 21 (23). Pliny, by employing the number 600, shows that he derived his proportion from the length of the Greek stade in Roman feet, which gives exactly eight stades to the Roman mile of 5000 feet ; and this, according to Strabo (p. 322), was the ordinary computation (*ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ λογίζονται*). For some further remarks on this subject, see the Journal of the R. Geographical Society, ix. p. 1.

11·64 inches, and that it was equal to $\frac{965}{1000}$ — or 11·58 inches in the reigns of Severus and Diocletian. Although Stuart's observations on the Parthenon were made before the year 1760, his volume relating to that temple was not published until 1788, and Raper appears to have had no knowledge of his discovery.

Such remarkable coincidences sufficiently prove the intentions of the builders of the Parthenon, in regard to the breadth of the upper stylobate, which became the scale of the whole building; and render it scarcely necessary to advert to an interpretation, which according to an ancient antiquary was sometimes given to the word *Ἐκατόμπεδος*, namely, that the Parthenon received that epithet, not from its dimensions, but the harmony of its proportions¹. If *Ἐκατόμπεδος* ever had the force of *εὐρυθμος*, *σύμμετρος*, it arose probably from one hundred feet having been a favourite measure among the Greeks in their temples, constructions, and works of every kind².

¹ *Ἐκατόμπεδον*. *Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀπολογισμῷ ὧν κεπολίτευται*. Ὁ Παρθενῶν ὑπὸ τινων Ἐκατόμπεδος ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ κάλλος καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, οὐ διὰ μέγεθος ὡς Μενελάῳς ἢ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηνῶν. Harpocrat. in v. Suidas in v. repeats this remark of Menecles. The *ὑπὸ τινων* shows however that this was not the ordinary import of the word. In two other Lexica, we find it applied to the Parthenon according to its natural meaning, though the authors of them absurdly make the Parthenon a square building, *Ἐκατόμπεδον νεώς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποδῶν ἑκατὸν ἐκ πάσης πλευρᾶς διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὠνομάσθη*· καλοῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν τινες Παρθενῶνα. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 247. Etymol. M. in *Ἐκατόμπεδον*. Nor can any other sense than that of a hundred feet in length or breadth be attached to *ἑκατόμπεδος* in the historical writers. When the Thebans destroyed Plataea in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 427), they made use of the materials of the city to construct two buildings: one of which was two hundred feet square, having apartments all around, both above and below (*καταγῶγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν πανταχῇ, κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν*. *Καταγῶγιον*—*ξενοδοχεῖον, πανδοχεῖον*. Etym. M. in *ἐκάλυμα, πάλη*. It seems to have resembled a modern Khan): the other was a temple of Juno, constructed of stone, of a hundred feet (*νεῶν ἑκατόμπεδον λίθινον*). Thucyd. 3, 68.

² To the examples in the preceding note may be added the following. *ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἑκατόμπεδον*. Homer Il. X. 164. *ὁδῷ ἑκατομπίδῃ τέρμονα*. in a Thessalian inscription. See Travels in Northern Greece, IV. p. 406.

In some official records of the treasurers of this temple inscribed on marble, which have been found among its ruins, mention is made of three distinct divisions of it besides the Opisthodomus, namely, the Προνήϊον, the Ἐκατόμπεδον, and the Παρθενών¹. That the western apartment of the Cella was the Opisthodomus, or celebrated treasury of the Athenians, there cannot remain a doubt upon comparing some of the ancient authorities which allude to it². Here was deposited the produce of the public revenue in coin, bullion, or other valuables, here were kept the written securities of those who were indebted to the Athenian treasury, and here probably were registers inscribed on marble, of the property deposited; similar to those which have been discovered relating to the

¹ Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 137—142.

² Ὁ οἶκος ὃ δπισθεν τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἀπειρίθηντο τὰ χρήματα. Harpocr. in Ὀπισθόδομος.

ὁπίσω τοῦ νεῷ διπλοῦς τοῖχος τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, ἔχων θύραν, δπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπίσκοντο· μίσην δὲ ἴσθι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Ἔνθα ἦν ταμεῖον, ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1193.

τὸ δπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸ ταμεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ἐπεὶ ἦν δπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Etymol. Mag. in Ὀπισθόδομος. V. et Suid. in v. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I. p. 286.

One of these authorities attaches the Opisthodomus to the temple of Polias; the others leave us in doubt on the question: but Plutarch is decisive in showing that it was a portion of the Parthenon. He tells us that the Athenians, by an excess of flattery towards Demetrius Poliorcetes, lodged him in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon as a guest of the goddess, and that such was the irregularity of his life, that he was by no means a creditable guest for a virgin (τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπίδειξαν αὐτῷ καταλυσιν· ἐκεῖ δῖαιταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδύχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, οὐ πάνν κόσμον ξινόν οὐδ' ὡς παρθένῳ πρῶς ἱστοταθμύοντα.) Plutarch, Demetr. 23

Correcting the Πολιάδος of the Scholiast of Aristophanes, his description of the Opisthodomus, although oddly expressed, was correct; this apartment having been formed out of the Cella by two parallel transverse walls, and having a θύρα or single great door. For the relative positions of the Sanctuary of Jupiter Polieus and the ὀπισθόδομος τῆς θεοῦ, as indicated by Aristophanes, Plut. 1192, see above, p. 347, n. 3.

offerings made to the goddess herself, who had a personal treasury, distinct from her public treasury in the Opisthodomus¹. Combining this circumstance with the importance of the Opisthodomus as the public treasury, and with the words of the Scholiast, which describe it as a διπλοῦς τοῖχος ἔχων θύραν, we are led to the belief that there was no direct communication between the two great divisions of the cella of the Parthenon.

The three subdivisions of the anterior part of the cella appear to have been thus formed. 1. A railing along the stylobate of the columns of the Prothyraeum of the eastern door, separated it from the ambulatory of the Pronaus, and formed the προνήϊον, sometimes called the Πρόδομος in contradistinction to the Ὀπισθόδομος.

2. A similar barrier, within the eastern or great chamber of the cella, divided it into the Ἐκατόμπεδον and Παρθενών; for these names, although each of them applicable to the eastern apartment of the cella, (the former, because it was about one hundred feet in length, the latter because it was the apartment of the goddess,) appear to have been employed specifically to designate two portions of the chamber; the Parthenon having been that in which stood the statue, and the Hecatompedium the remainder or eastern portion of the apartment. Thus the word Παρθενών appears to have had a triple signification, namely, the whole temple, the eastern division of the cella, and the western portion of the eastern apartment of the cella. It would be difficult, on any other supposition, to explain some of the inscriptions which have been found on the spot. As there is no reference to the posticum as a separate apartment, although there are vestiges proving that it was divided by a railing from the ambulatory, we are to suppose that it was no more than a prothyraeum of the treasury, serving as a part of it.

¹ See Boeckh, *Economy of Athens*, I. p. 215. C. Ins. Gr. I. p. 176, seq. Some of the articles mentioned in these inscriptions were perhaps unredeemed pledges for money borrowed.

The Prodomus and Hecatompedium were adorned with paintings, but concerning them we have no knowledge, in consequence of the loss of the works of Polemo and Heliodorus, except that the Prodomus was partly painted by Protogenes of Caunus¹, and that in the Hecatompedium were pictures of Themistocles and Heliodorus². In the Pronaus and Posticum there was sufficient space for dedications such as statues, and of these probably there were many in Roman times.

Qu. 3. Was any part of the roof of the Parthenon, between the statue and the eastern door, hypæthral, or pierced with an opening to the sky?

Stuart arrived at a conclusion in the affirmative, and has been generally followed; but Mr. Wilkins adhered to the opinion that all but decastyle temples were entirely closed, receiving light only from the door³. It seems, indeed, to have been for this purpose that the doors of ancient temples were in general constructed of large dimensions; and there is some difficulty in conceiving that the Greeks, without the strongest necessity, could have been willing to injure the external appearance of their temples, which, it can hardly be denied, would be the consequence of an opening in the

¹ Quidam (et Protogenem) naves pinxisse usque ad annum quinquagesimum: argumentum esse, quod, cum Athenis celeberrimo loco Minervæ delubri propylæon pingeret, ubi fecit nobilem Paralum et Ammoniada quam quidam Nausicaam vocant, adjecerit parvulas naves longas in iis quas pictores *parenga* appellant, ut appareret a quibus initiis ad arcem ostentationis opera sua pervenissent. Plin. H. N. 35, 10 (36. § 20). The Ammonias was one of the five sacred triremes, so called because it carried offerings to Jupiter Ammon. This trireme was dedicated subsequently to the time of Alexander, as were the Antigonis and Ptolemais; there having been anciently only two sacred triremes, the Salaminia or Delia, and the Paralus. (Demosth. c. Meid. p. 570, Reiske. Etym. M. in Πάραλος.) Another subject of the paintings in the Prodomus of the Parthenon, according to Philostratus in the life of Apollonius of Tyana, (2, 10.) was the rock Aornus and the *ρήγμα* or fissure which was said to attract the birds flying over it.

² See above, p. 150. n. 2.

³ *Prolusiones Architectonicæ*, p. 85, seq.

roof. On the other hand, there are some strong reasons for believing that the Parthenon and some other temples of similar dimensions were so constructed. Vitruvius instances, as an example of the Hypæthros, an octastyle at Athens; where the Parthenon was the only octastyle of which we have any knowledge, and had moreover one of the distinguishing characteristics of his hypæthros, namely, an upper row of interior columns; between which and the walls there was an ambulation like that of a peristyle¹.

The only valid objection to this testimony of Vitruvius is the apparent absurdity of limiting the Hypæthros to decastyles, and then giving an octastyle as an example. But such anomalies sometimes occur in technical terms employed for classification. These theoretical speculations of Vitruvius, moreover, are seldom found applicable to the architecture of the Greeks, who never allowed themselves to be fettered by such generalization. We find similar definitions of the Peripteros and Dipteros; the former of which he describes as having six columns in the front and posticum, and the latter eight; thus, in both instances, postponing to the second place in the definition that which constituted the chief characteristic of either class, and by which temples were vulgarly classified.

That the hexastyle of Delphi was hypæthral is rendered almost certain by a circumstance related by Justin², nor is

¹ Hypæthros vero decastylus est in pronao et postico: reliqua omnia eadem habet quæ dipteros, sed interiore parte columnas in altitudine duplices remotas a parietibus ad circuitiorem ut porticus peristylorum: medium autem sub divo est sine tecto, aditusque valvarum ex utraque parte in pronao et postico. Hujus autem exemplar Romæ non est, sed Athenis octastylus et in templo Olympio. Vitruv. 3, 1.

There is some doubt whether Vitruvius by the last words intended the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens or at Olympia; the words are more favourable to the latter interpretation; on the other hand, the Athenian Olympium was a complete example of his hypæthros. Some of the editors of Vitruvius have settled this question by changing Olympio into Jovis Olympii, but without sufficient authority. See Wilkins, *Prol. Arch.* p. 96.

² When Brennus was about to plunder the temple of Delphi, the priests encouraged the people to resistance, by asserting that they had seen Apollo

it easy to attach any other meaning to the *ὄραϊον* of the mystic temple of Eleusis¹. It seems, in fact, to have been a common practice among the Greeks and Romans to make a part of the interior of buildings hypæthral, as may be inferred from the impluvia of private houses. We may perhaps regard the Pantheon at Rome, and even the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; both which were open to the sky at the summit, as having derived that mode of construction from a custom not uncommon in ancient temples. As to the use of lamps, upon which Mr. Wilkins founds a strong argument in support of the ordinary darkness of temples: it arose probably from a construction general in temples of early times, and which continued to render lamps necessary in all the smaller class of temples. If they were employed in temples lighted by natural means, it could only have been by the effect of a religious custom, which continues to this day in the instance of the lamps burnt by night and day before images of saints, among the Christians of the Greek and Roman churches.

Supposing a hypæthrum to have existed in the Parthenon, there is but one situation in which it can be placed. In the Olympian temple, which we may presume to have resembled the Parthenon in its interior arrangement, having been contemporary, similar in its general construction, and inclosing a chryselephantine statue, made by the same great artist,—the statue was under cover². It is inconceivable, indeed, that such exquisite works, as these of Phidias, should

himself enter his temple through the open part of the roof: *advenisse deum clamant, eumque se vidisse desilientem in templum per culminis aperta fastigia*. Justin. 24, 8.

¹ Three architects were successively employed in building this temple. Corcebus constructed the lower columns and their epistylia: Metagenes the gallery (*διάζωμα*) and upper columns; and Xenocles completed the roof with an opening which was over the Anactorum. τὸ δὲ ὄραϊον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε. Plutarch. Pericl. 13.

² He was so large, says Strabo, in proportion to his temple, that he gave the impression to the spectators, that if he were to rise from his throne he would displace the roof (*ὅταν ὀρθὸς γίνηται διαναστὰς, ἀποστεγάσειν τὸν νεών*). Strabo, p. 353.

have been left open to the sky, or defended only by a horizontal awning. The hypæthrum, therefore, could only have been about the middle space between the statue and the door, or precisely where a close examination of the pavement of the Parthenon has discovered a depressed portion of it¹, intended perhaps for a compluvium, in which the rain water, falling through the hypæthrum, was collected for a purpose alluded to by Pausanias, who describes, in the corresponding part of the pavement of the Olympian temple, a receptacle of oil, formed of black stone, surrounded by a raised rim of Parian marble. At Olympia oil was required for the preservation of the ivory, on account of the marshy nature of the Altis. In the Acropolis of Athens, for an opposite reason, water, and its exhalation, were found useful². The depressed portion of the pavement of the Parthenon thus appears to have been made for the reception of water³.

Qu. 4. Connected with the preceding question, is the inquiry as to the nature and use of the Peplus of Minerva.

It was customary among the Greeks to clothe with drapery the rude wooden images, which, with the exception of mere pillars of stone, were the earliest forms of their idols. As all the ancient figures of Minerva, as well in her peaceful as in her warlike character, represent the goddess in the

¹ Kinnaird's Ed. of Stuart's Ant. of Ath. II. p. 39, note a.

² "Ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἰδάφους ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῶ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκευάσται τῷ λίθῳ. περιθεὶ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθον Παρίου κρητὶς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἑλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον, καὶ ἑλαιὸν ἔστι τὸ ἀπείργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἑλίφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἐλῶδες τῆς ἁλτews. ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον, οὐκ ἔλαιον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἑλίφαντα ὥμελοῦν ἔστιν· ἅτε γὰρ αὐχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὕσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαν ὑψηλὸν, τὸ ἀγαλμα ἑλίφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ. Pausan. El. pr. 11, 6.

³ The exact position of the great statue was in like manner determined by Mr. Cockerell, by observing a square portion of the pavement, formed of a stone different from the rest of the pavement, and marking the exact dimensions of the base of the statue. Brøndsted V. et R. dans la Grèce, II. p. 290.

usual feminine garments of a πέπλος covering the bust, and a χιτῶν ποδήρης or long full robe below it, which reaches to the feet, we cannot hesitate in presuming that such was the drapery of the wooden statue of Minerva Polias; and that it was the original model of that drapery which adorned the statues of the goddess in ivory, brass, and marble. The annual washing of these garments gave rise to the Plynteria, a festival celebrated on the 24th of Thargelion, when the statue having been stript, was concealed from view by a covering; the temple was surrounded by a barrier of ropes, and the day was considered among the dies infausti¹. It is very possible that the garments of the Polias may have been more frequently renewed in later than in earlier times, and that the washing may at length have been a mere ceremony, which however could not have formed any part of the lesser Panathenæa, as it occurred four days after that festival².

The peplus, which was exhibited in procession in the greater Panathenæa, was not a feminine vestment of any kind, but a large woollen cloth, upon which had been embroidered or interwoven figures, representing the Gigantomachia of the gods, or the warlike actions of Minerva, or chariot races, often intermixed with the figures of illustrious men³. One cannot conceive that it was customary to wrap

¹ Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Ἀλειβιάδου λαμπρῶς εὐημεροῦντος, ὑπὲρραπτεν ἐνίους ὅμως ὁ τοῦ καθόδου καιρὸς· ἧ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν, ἰδρᾶτο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ Θεῇ. Δρῶσι καὶ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαρρηλιῶνος ἑκτη φθίνοντος, ἀποφύματα τὸν τε κόσμον καθελόντες, καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες· ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀπρακτον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι. Plutarch. Alcib. 34.

περισχοίνισαι τὰ ἱερὰ ἔλεγον ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσι καὶ τὸ περιφράζαι· οἷον Πλυντηρίους καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις. J. Poll. 8, 141.

See also Xenoph. Hellen. 1, 4. Hesych. in Πραξιεργίδαι, Ἑγητηρία, Πλυντήρια. Phot. Lex. in Ἑγητηρία.

² Procl. in Timæum Plat. 1. Aristot. Rhod. ibid. Schol. in Plat. Polit. 1. See Meursius Panath. 61. Clinton. F. Hellen. I. p. 324. 332.

³ Eurip. Hecub. 461. Aristoph. Eq. 563. Schol. ibid. Plato Euthyph. 6. Virgil. Cir. 21. Plaut. Mercat. 66. Id. ap. Serv. ad Æneid. 1. Suid. in Πέπλος. Procl. in Timæum Plat. 1.

The representation of illustrious Athenians on the peplus appears to have been of early date, from the line of Aristophanes just cited,

ἄνδρες ἦσαν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἄξιοι καὶ τοῦ Πέπλου.

such a piece of tapestry round the wooden statue of Minerva Polias, as the figure would have been a shapeless mass, while the embroidery would have been concealed or most imperfectly seen, and the honours conferred upon individuals reduced to the recollection of a momentary exhibition. Nor is it possible that the Plynteria could have originated in the annual washing of such a tapestry, particularly as it was renewed at the end of every fourth year. Considering, therefore, that the greater Panathenæa occurred on the 23rd of Hecatombæon, or nearly two months later in the year than the lesser; and consequently that there could not have been any immediate connexion between them, except that some of the offices relating to them may have been common to both celebrations¹, we may conclude that the peplos of the greater Panathenæa was distinct from the peplos of Minerva Polias.

There is no certain information as to the ceremonies of the lesser Panathenæa. There was a yearly procession of a

Hence an author, named Aristoteles, wrote a biographical work called the Πέπλος (Eustath. in Il. B. 557. Tzetz. in Hesiod).

That the peplos was in honour of the inventress of chariots, in which capacity Minerva was worshipped in the Parthenon, appears from Euripides (I. l.)

Ἡ Παλλάδος ἐν πόλει
 Τᾶς καλλιῖδροι' Ἀθαναίας
 ἐν προκίῳ πέπλῳ
 Ζεύσομαι ἄρματι πύλους,
 Ἐν δαυδαλίαισι ποικίλους
 ἀνθοκρόκοισι πῆναις,
 Ἡ Τιτάνων γενεάν,
 Τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρρῳ
 Κομίζει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας;

¹ Thus in the frieze, which represented the procession to that temple in the greater Panathenæa, the priestesses, as well as the Arrhephoræ, bearing burthens on their heads, which they are about to deliver to the priestesses, were officers of Minerva Polias, and the Arrhephoræ, during their training, were lodged in the sacred inclosure of Polias. In an inscription, published by Stuart, the statue of an Arrhephora is dedicated to Minerva Polias by the senate and people (Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀπολλοδώραν Ἀπολλοδώρου Γαργητρίου θυγατέρα, ἑρφηφορήσασαν Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι. Boeckh C. Ins. Gr. No. 341).

Peplus¹, but we cannot suppose that the new upper and under garments of the goddess were displayed on this occasion. It would appear from the Scholiast of Plato that the ceremonies occurred chiefly at Peiræus, and that a peplus was there exhibited similar to that of the greater Panathenæa; for, he adds, that it was adorned with representations of the victories of the Athenians over the Atlantini². The celebration immediately followed the Bendideia, or festival of Bendis, whose temple was in the maritime city³. Stephanus, in describing Echelidæ as the place where the gymnastic contests of the Panathenæa were held⁴, agrees in some measure with the Scholiast, for Echelidæ was one of the demi nearest to Peiræus; so that it would seem that the Peiraic theatre served for the *music*, and some place at Echelidæ (perhaps a stadium) for the *gymnic*, contests of the lesser Panathenæa.

In endeavouring to ascertain the use or purpose to which the peplus of the greater Panathenæa was applied, we must again refer to the description which Pausanias has left us of the temple of Olympia; as there appears to have been a great similarity of interior arrangement between these cotemporary edifices. At Olympia a *παραπίεσμα ἐρεῖον*, or woollen curtain, was drawn up to the ceiling⁵. Pausanias does not positively say for what purpose; but as it was something connected with the statue, we cannot but suppose that it was suspended before the statue as a preservation from the dust or moisture or animals which might enter the temple through the hypæthrum, as well as to add to the

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 563.

² τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Παναθήναια κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐτίλουν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πῖπλος ἄλλος ἀνέιτο τῇ θεῇ, καθ' ἣν ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τροφίμους ὄντας αὐτῆς νεκῶντας τὸν πρὸς Ἀτλαντίνους πόλεμον, ἃ δὴ τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις καλουμένοις εἶπετο ταῦτα δὲ ἐτελείτο Θαρρηλιῶνος ἑννάτῃ καὶ δέκα. Sch. in Plat. Polit. 1.

³ See above, p. 396.

⁴ Ἐχελίδαί· δῆμος ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμνακοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐτίθεισαν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις. Stephan. in v.

⁵ See the next page, n. 1. Euripides (L. I.) describes it as κρόκεος (saffron), but the colour probably was not always the same.

sanctity of the statue, by preventing it from being seen when the great door was open, unless when purposely exhibited.

At Ephesus there was a similar curtain, differing only from that of Olympia by its having been let down from the roof instead of having been drawn up from the floor¹. It would seem, therefore, that such curtains were usual in large hypæthral temples, and it becomes probable that the *πέπλος* of the Parthenon was an embroidered piece of tapestry, which, having been previously displayed in the procession of the greater Panathenæa, was suspended until the next occurrence of the festival as a curtain before the statue of Minerva Parthenus. In fact, the object presented by a boy to the priest on the frieze of the Parthenon, has precisely the appearance of such a tapestry in a folded form, and has no resemblance whatever to the drapery of a female figure². Although *παραπέτασμα* was the ordinary word for a tapestry,

¹ 'Εν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἱεροῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνίθηκιν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγίς ἢ χρυσῇ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γόργω ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτίμιδος τῆς Ἐρεσίας, ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες καθάσιν ἐς τὸ ἰδαφος. Pausan. Eliac. pr. 12, 2.

² The only testimony which has been adduced as adverse to this conclusion (see Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 125) is in the scene of the Birds of Aristophanes, in which play the customs of Athens are constantly alluded to. In reply to Euelpides, enquiring who is to be the guardian deity of the aereal city, and for whom they are to weave a peplus, Peisthetærus replies by asking, "why Minerva Polias should be forgotten."

ΕΥ. τίς δαὶ θεός

Πολιοῦχος ἵσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;

ΠΕΙ. Τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἰῶμεν Πολιάδα;

Minerva, however, had a peplus in both capacities, and it was obviously as Πολιάς of Athens that she would become Πολιοῦχος of Nephelococcygia. The Scholiast, indeed, supposes the poet to have referred to the *πέπλος παμποιέλος*, which was exhibited in the Panathenaic procession; but late writers often confounded the Parthenon and the temple of Polias. Even Clemens of Alexandria, who had considerable knowledge of the topography and monuments of Athens, describes the chryselephantine statue by Phidias as τὴν Ἀθήνησι Πολιάδα. Protrept. 13, 14, Sylburg.

whether employed as a curtain or as a horizontal covering¹, *πέπλος* may have been the term applied at Athens to this particular *παραπίεσμα*, in consequence of its having been a dedication to Minerva Parthenon, analogous to that of the more ancient offering to Minerva Polias, which was a *πέπλος*, according to the original and ordinary meaning of the word. And thus we should have an explanation of the passage of Julius Pollux, in which he states that the word *πέπλος* had a double meaning; that of a garment, and that of a covering, or of something interposed². At Athens it appears to have had this double signification.

According to Pausanias, the curtain of the Olympian temple was made of wool, adorned with Assyrian embroidery, and dyed with Phœnician purple, and it was the gift of the same Antiochus who had presented a golden *Ægis* and Gorgon, placed above the theatre at Athens. In referring to Ephesus for an example of an ascending curtain, Pausanias renders it likely that the *peplus* of the Parthenon was a descending curtain, like that of Olympia³.

¹ *Παραπίεσματα Μηδικά* are mentioned by Aristophanes (*Ran.* 936), showing, as well as the *ὑπόσματα Ἀσσύρια* of Pausanias (*l. l.*) and the *Babylonica tapetia* of the Latins, the origin of that embroidered tapestry in which the Athenians far excelled their Asiatic masters in the ornamental, if not in the material part, though the skill of the latter nations has survived that of Athens; and even in these times retains a portion of its ancient fame. The custom of hanging curtains at the doors of churches was one of the enduring customs of the east, where it is still found in all buildings, and from the Greek temples it descended to those of the Christians. For *παραπίεσμα*, in the sense of a curtain suspended vertically, see Aristophanes *l. l.*, Diphilus ap. Athen. 6, 2, Synesius, *Ep.* 4; Suid. in v., who gives *βῆλον* (*velum*) as a synonym. In the sense of an awning to shade a theatre from the sun, see Dion Cassius (63, 6), who describes one on which the figure of Nero in a chariot was embroidered (*ἐνίστικτο*), surrounded with golden stars.

² *Πέπλος ὅ ἐστι διπλοῦν τὴν χρεῖαν, ὡς ἐνδύναι καὶ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐπιβλημὰ ἐστὶ τεκμήριον ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλων ὅτι δὲ καὶ χιτῶν, &c.* J. Poll. 7, 50.

³ On the supposition of a *hypæthrum*, we have an explanation of the *κατανίπτης*, whose office it was to cleanse the lower part of the *Peplus*, this being obviously that part which would suffer most from its exposure to the *hypæthrum*; *ὑποσύνη Ἀθήνησιν ὁ τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ῥυπαινόμενα ἀποπλύνων*. *Etym. M.* in *κατανίπτης*.

Qu. 5. There are some doubts as to the manner in which this peplus was exhibited in the Panathenaic procession, and as to the length of time during which the custom of exhibiting it was continued.

The frieze of the Parthenon preserves no evidence of that exhibition of the peplus which is attested by writers of later time¹. The earliest allusion to it is by Plato in the Euthyphron, where Socrates, after mentioning the contests of the gods and giants, which often formed the subject of pictures in the Athenian temples, remarks that the peplus, which was carried in procession to the Acropolis, was covered with ornaments of the same kind². And Harpocration and Photius quote Isæus, as saying that the Peplus, which was carried in procession to Minerva in the great Panathenæa, had been noticed not only by orators but by comic poets³.

We may presume, from the manner in which it was adorned, that it was spread out in such a manner as to be well seen by all, who were present at the procession: and this is confirmed by Plutarch in the life of Demetrius, who relates that the peplus, in proceeding through the Cerameicus (πεμπόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ), in the great Panathenæa of the year B.C. 307, was torn by a sudden squall; an accident which was ascribed to the wrath of Jupiter and Minerva, because the figures of Demetrius and his father Antigonus had been embroidered upon the peplus, together with those of the two deities⁴. The manner in which it was displayed may be gathered from a fragment of Strattis, one of the κωμικοὶ alluded to by Isæus, who describes it as having been drawn up by ropes like a

¹ See above, p. 298.

² ὁ πίπλος μεστὸς τῶν τοιούτων ποικιλμάτων ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. § 6.

³ περὶ τοῦ πίπλου τοῦ ἀναγομένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοῖς μεγάλαις Παναθηναίοις, οὐ μόνον παρὰ ῥήτορσιν ἴσθι μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. Isæus ap. Harpocr., Phot. Lex. in Πίπλος.

⁴ Plutarch. Demet. 12.

sail to the top of a mast¹, where Photius shows that it was suspended to a yard, which, together with the mast, formed the figure T². Thus raised and displayed, the peplus, together with its machinery, was elevated, according to Virgil, upon a chariot³.

At what time a ship was substituted for a chariot, or rather when the chariot assumed the form of a ship⁴, and how long the ship continued in use, there are no means of discovering. Though it was still in existence in the time of Philostratus, as his *νῦν ὡρμίσται* testifies, the word *ἤκουον*, with which he introduces the notice of it, seems to show that it was no longer employed as a part of the procession⁵. Nor does Pausanias, who visited Athens in the time of Herodes, assert that the ship was even at that time employed

¹ Τὸν Πίπλον δὲ τοῦτον ἔλκουσιν, δονεῖντας τοπίοις
Ἄνδρες ἀναριθμητοὶ
Εἰς ἄκρον, ὥσπερ ἰστὶον, τὸν ἰστέον.

Strattis Μακεδόσι ap. Harpocr. in *τοπίον*, who interprets this word *σχολίον*. The last line of the fragment of Strattis, before unintelligible, has been restored by Mr. Wordsworth (Athens and Attica, p. 181, n. 3).

² Ὁ μὲν ἰστέος τὸ ἐπίμηκες ξύλον ἄνω τεταμένον, κεραία δὲ τὰ πλάγια, ὥστε γίνεσθαι γράμμα τὸ ταῦ διτείνετο δὲ πολλάκις ὁ τῆς Ἀθηναῆς πέπλος εἰς τοιοῦτο σχῆμα ξύλον καὶ ἐπόμεπυσεν (Phot. Lex. in *ιστέος καὶ κεραία*).

These words were equally applicable to a mast erected on the land, *ιστέος μὲν τὸ ἐπίμηκες ξύλον κεραία δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω τεταμένον, ὥς γίνεσθαι σχῆμα τοῦ T γράμματος*. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I. p. 267.

³ Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erechtheis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustris,
Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebuit Euro,
Et prono gravidum convexit pondere currum.

Virg. *Cir.* 21.

⁴ See above, p. 298.

⁵ Κάκεινα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τοῦτων ἤκουον πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆλθαι τοῦ τῆς νεώς, ἥδῃ γραφῆς, σὺν οὐρίῃ τῇ εὐλαφῇ δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν, σὺν ὑποζυγίῳ ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιγυίοις μηχαναῖς ὑπολισθαίνουσιν· ἐκ Κεραμικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χυλὴ κώπη, ἀφείναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμείψαι τὸ Πελασγικόν, κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον, ἰλθίῃν οἱ νῦν ὡρμίσται. Philostr. *Sophist.* 2, 1, § 5. V. et Himer. *Orat.* 3, 12. Heliodor. *Æthiop.* 1, 10. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 563, Pa. 418. Suid. in *Πέπλος*.

in the procession, but only that it had been constructed for that purpose¹. So that it may possibly have been an innovation, in the Panathenaic ceremony, which was not of long duration, though the ship may have continued to be one of the curiosities of Athens, recommended to the attention of strangers, as it appears to have been in the time of Pausanias: it may have been imitated perhaps from the ceremonies of Egypt, where many of the sculptured temples exhibit a ship as a conspicuous object among the sacred processions; and may have been introduced at Athens in the reign of Hadrian, when the religion of Egypt was much in fashion.

I am also inclined to deduce from the words of Philostratus, that, although the peplos itself was carried up to the Parthenon, the ship did not enter the Acropolis: for, instead of ascending to the Propylæa, after passing the Pelasgicum, he describes it as having proceeded to the Pythium, which, supposing that temple to have been the same as that of Apollo Patrous, was between the north-western end of the Areiopagus and the Stoa Basileius, being very nearly the situation which Pausanias indicates, as that of the ship. There may even be a question whether the Panathenaic procession, except during the time that the ship formed a part of it, made the long tour by the Eleusinium. Earlier authors are silent, both as to the Eleusinium and the ship; and mention only the Cerameicus as having been traversed, or the Hermæ of the Agora as having been passed², by the procession in its way to the Acropolis³. It would appear from the third Oration of the sophist Himerius, that, among other attempts made by the emperor Julian to revive paganism, was that of establishing the Panathenaic ceremony and the procession of the ship.

¹ See above, p. 162.

² Demetrius, a descendant of Demetrius of Phalerum, made a scaffold at the Hermæ, higher than the Hermæ, for his mistress Aristagore to view the Panathenaic procession. We have seen that one end of the street of Hermæ terminated at the Stoa Basileius, which was in the route as the procession passed through the interior Cerameicus. Hegesandrus ap. Athen. 4, 19 (64).

³ Thucyd. 6, 57.

Some curious discoveries, lately made on the construction of the Parthenon, tend to give us the highest opinion of the architectural science of the Athenians. The entasis of the columns, so remarkable in the true Doric of Corinth, and the Doric colonies of Italy and Sicily, and which is so much reduced in the Athenian Doric, that its existence was generally doubted, has now been proved to exist : and the singular fact has been ascertained that the pavement on which the columns stand is not level, but depressed at the four corners, so as to form an arch in the direction both of length and breadth. The columns of the peristyle are found not to be perpendicular, but to incline inwards, so that the external profile of the column is an inch and a half longer than the internal. We may conceive this inclination to have been given for the sake of obtaining a more effectual support to the weight of the roof, and a better security of the whole structure against earthquakes. This intention, however, could hardly have been connected with the curvature of the platform ; since, if the object had been to place the axes of the inclining columns perpendicular to the platform, the curvature should have been in the opposite direction or concave. The curvature of the pavement, therefore, had a different object in view ; probably the same as that produced by the entasis of the columns, which, as it did not strengthen the columns, we may conclude to have had reference only to external appearance. Mr. John Pennethorne, who, during his residence at Athens, directed his particular attention to the scientific principles upon which the Athenians proceeded, informs me that he found the upper step of the eastern front of the Parthenon to form a simple curve, rising three inches in the centre ; that higher in the front the curve changes its character ; that in the architrave it becomes a curve of double curvature, and the same in the cornice, with an increase of curve.

APPENDIX XVII.

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ON THE ERECHTHEIUM.

HERODOTUS relates that Xerxes, repenting of having set fire to the temple of Erechtheus, ordered two days afterwards, that the Athenian exiles who were in his camp, should ascend to the Acropolis, and perform their sacrifices in the temple, when they were said to have found that the sacred olive which had been burnt together with the temple, had made a new sprout of a cubit in length¹. It seems, therefore, that the temple was not entirely destroyed; that the foundations at least of the ancient Erechtheium had escaped the fury of the barbarians, and that as neither the salt-well nor olive-tree could have been moved², the new Erechtheium was built upon the ancient site, and of the same form as the old building, though with all the improvement in decoration which could be devised in that brilliant interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, when taste and invention were in the meridian among the Athenians, and when they were anxiously engaged in restoring

¹ Herodot. 8, 55. In the time of Pausanias the story had improved to a growth of two cubits in one day. Att. 27, 2.

² Herodotus and Pausanias, who wrote at an interval of six hundred years, and Apollodorus, who lived midway between them, all speak of the sacred olive as of the original tree planted by Minerva. Hence, at least, it is evident that an olive tree always grew upon the same spot in the Erechtheium.

all the temples destroyed by the Persians, with the exception of a few left in ruins as memorials of everlasting enmity¹. To that period, the design of the existing Erechtheium is certainly to be ascribed, although it may not have been finished until long afterwards; for none of the remaining antiquities of Athens, afford a more convincing proof of the ingenuity and resources of the Athenian architects, and of their power of converting difficulties into beauties. In choosing the Ionic order, they probably imitated the ancient building, for the Ionic was more national to the Athenians than the Doric: and they seem to have been ambitious of excelling their Asiatic kinsmen in their own peculiar order of architecture, by the addition of new and elaborate ornaments, imagined with the utmost ingenuity and elegance of taste, and executed with a sharpness and perfection which it could hardly have been supposed that marble was capable of receiving.

We may easily conceive, at the same time, that a new temple of Minerva of the largest dimensions and the greatest splendour, having been voted by the sovereign people, the task of renewing the old temple of Polias in a manner befitting its pre-eminent sanctity, and proportioned to the liberal expenditure bestowed upon other buildings, may have been deferred until the Parthenon was completed, when the public attention and the public means were occupied by another great undertaking, equally interesting to Pericles and the Athenians: so that in all probability it was not until the Propylæa were completed in the year preceding the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, that the Erechtheium was begun. The preparations for war, soon followed by the war itself, would naturally cause the works of the Erechtheium to proceed more tardily until they were at length entirely suspended: it is not surprising, therefore, that the temple should have still remained in the twenty-third year of that war (B.C. 409—8.) in the

¹ ἡ ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοῦ ἔχθους ὑπομνήματα. Pausan. Phocic. 35, 2.

state described by the inscription before referred to¹, and of which a copy is subjoined, that is to say, still imperfect, though not wanting much of being finished, as we may infer also from Herodotus, who wrote in the early years of the war, and who describes the temple as containing the olive-tree and salt-well, without making any allusion to the temple, as having been in an incomplete state. When the works were suspended, the first care of the architect would have been to cover in the temple of Polias, as containing the revered *βρέας* or *ξόανον* of the goddess, and some other highly esteemed monuments, which might suffer from exposure to the seasons: and, accordingly, we learn from the inscription that the deficiencies of this portion of the building were confined to the fluting of the columns and to some of the external decorations of the walls, while in the Pandroseium, much was still wanting in the upper parts, the execution of which may have been the more easily postponed, as in this temple two of the sacred objects admitted of exposure to the air, and one of them even required it.

The report of the commissioners appointed to examine the state of the temple in the twenty-second year of the war, we may suppose to have been speedily followed by an order for the completion of the work; but this had scarcely been executed, or perhaps was not yet finished, when the building was again left in a damaged state by the effects of a fire, which occurred only three years afterwards in the archonship of Callias². The injury, however, which it then

¹ See above, p. 341.

² Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔρει, ᾧ ἡ σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πίτιος μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἀρχόντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθηνησιν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἥδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρῳ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν] ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατῖδαν. Xenoph. Hellen. 1, 6, § 1.

This passage has been thought corrupt because, a temple so new as to be yet unfinished, could not have been denominated the old temple of Minerva. In fact, it was not in its renewed state so old as the Parthenon. The "old temple of Minerva," however, was a common designation of the Erechtheium. Strabo (p. 396) mentions it as ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὺς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος.

sustained, seems not to have been great, otherwise the report of the commission could not have agreed so well in details and measurements with the existing ruins : indeed the word employed by Xenophon (*ἐνεπρήσθη*) implies only a conflagration.

Upon the whole, it appears that this building, although designed by Phidias and his colleagues, was not terminated until towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, or even after its conclusion, perhaps about the year 393 B.C., when the Athenians had so far recovered from the effects of the war, as to re-establish under Conon, their Long Walls, and the walls of the Peiraic city.

One of the first remarks suggested by the inscription, is that the western wall and its extant frieze of Eleusinian stone ¹, in which are some remains of cramps for fixing the figures (*Ζῶα*) of the Zophorus being distinctly alluded to as in the wall before the Pandroseium (*πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου*) : the eastern prostasis by its aspect (*πρὸς ἑω*, to the east), and the southern by the *Κόραι* or Caryatides, there can scarcely remain any doubt that the northern portico was that which the same document entitles *ἡ πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος*, or the portico before the thyroma.

There has been a question whether the middle apartment

The inscription as an official document, is more cautious in its designation, and describes it simply as *ὁ νεὼς ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*. There is still, however, a difficulty in this passage of Xenophon, and of some importance as involving a question of chronology. The moon rose totally eclipsed at Athens on the evening of the 15th of April, A.C. 406, a fact which would perfectly explain the word *ἐστίρας*, if this was the eclipse alluded to by Xenophon. According to the received opinion, however, as to the commencement of the Attic year, the archonship of Callias did not begin until about midsummer. That eclipse, therefore, happened not in the archonship of Callias, but towards the end of the ninth month of his predecessor Antigeneas. There was indeed another eclipse, great but not total, on the 9th of October in the same year, or in the fourth month of Callias, but this eclipse happened not in the evening, but after midnight.

¹ In 1824, the frieze of Eleusinian stone above the engaged column of the western wall no longer existed, but a similar frieze still remains in the northern portico.

of the building was the adytum of the temple of Polias, or of that of Pandrosus, but this problem seems sufficiently solved by the existence of a remarkable difference of level between the eastern and western portions of the edifice, the eastern portico standing upon ground about eight feet higher than the northern, whence we may infer that the two temples themselves had the same difference of level, consequently that all that portion of the building, which is on the lower level, belonged to the Pandroseium and the eastern apartment only to the temple of Polias. The superior elevation of this portion of the Erechtheium, we may observe, is consistent with the importance of the guardian goddess of Athens, relatively to the daughter of Cecrops receiving divine honour under her favour and protection¹, while the greater space allotted to the Pandroseium, may be accounted for by its having contained the salt well and olive tree, together with the sanctuaries of Pandrosus, Thallo, and Cecrops. As Pausanias describes the altars and dedications of the temple of Polias in three different situations, namely, before the entrance (πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου); in the entrance (ἐσθλοῦσι), and in the temple (ἐν τῇ ναῷ), the most probable inference is, that the altar of Jupiter Hypatus was in front of the portico, eastward: that in the portico were the altars of Neptune-Erechtheus, of Butes², and of Vulcan: that on its wall were the pictures of the Butadæ: that in the cella, probably

¹ Those who favour the opinion that the central part of the building was the σηκός or adytum of Minerva Polias (Mueller de Min. Pol. p. 23. Boeckh C. Ins. Gr. No. 160.) are led into one consequence to which there is a strong objection: it would then be necessary to imagine a descent from the outer to the inner apartment of the temple, by not less than twelve steps, which would have formed a singularly awkward approach to the revered Palladium. This difficulty has indeed been obviated by the supposition of a floor which equalized, or nearly so, the level of the whole interior, leaving some dark crypts, in which the monuments of Erechtheus and Cecrops are supposed to have been placed (see the figures in Boeckh C. Ins. Gr. I. p. 265). But in this case an *ascent* of steps would have been required from the northern door, not less objectionable than the descending steps from the eastern apartment.

² Stuart found, among the ruins of the temple, an altar of Butes, inscribed Ἰερίως Βούρου. (Ant. of Ath. II. p. 16. 22.)

near the western wall, stood the Palladium or ancient wooden statue of Minerva, before which was the golden lamp; and that in other parts of the same chamber were the altar of Oblivion, the wooden statue of Hermes, the chair of Dædalus, and the Persian spoils ¹.

The difference of level between the floors of the two temples having been so great as eight feet, it is difficult to believe that there was any direct communication between them except by a door opening from a crypt below the temple of Polias, into the cella of the Pandroseium, remains of which door have been observed in the lowest part of the wall of separation ². The crypt had probably an access into the apartment above it, by means of a secret staircase. That there was at least some mode of communication through the temple of Polias into the Pandroseium, is shown by an occurrence which has been recorded by an Athenian writer of good authority, and which though trifling in itself, excited much attention at the time, having been considered an omen. In the third year of the 118th Olympiad (B.C. 306), a dog, in violation of the law which excluded these animals from the Acropolis, made her way into the temple of Polias, and having penetrated from thence into the Pandroseium, there lay down upon the altar of Jupiter Herceius, which was under the olive-tree ³.

¹ See above, p. 152.

² Wilkins, Prolus. Architect. p. 18.

³ Philochorus ap. Dionys. de Dinarch. 3. See above, p. 339, n. 3. About the same time a star was seen from the sanctuary of Polias for many days, when the sun was shining: *περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἡλίου τ' ἐξίχοντος καὶ ὀψης αἰθρίας, ἀστὴρ ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐφανής*. Philochorus was himself the *μάντις* or *ιερόσκοπος*, who explained that this *φάντασμα*, as well as the *σημεῖον* of the dog, portended a departure of exiles (*φυγάδων κάθοδον*) not in consequence of any revolution, but from political considerations (*ὅτι ἐκ μεταβολῆς πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ καθεστῶσιν πολιτείᾳ*). In fact, soon after the restoration of liberty to Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, many citizens expatriated themselves in consequence of the part which they had previously taken. By *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* we are to understand the external sanctuary.

Virgil represents the altar of Jupiter Herceius at which Priam was slain

Cecropium. The Cecropium we may presume to have been a portion of the temple, and not a separate building; because temples often had their origin in sepulchres, and because it is not likely that Erechtheus, when he founded this temple should have excluded the tomb of Cecrops, who had the reputation of having introduced the worship of Minerva into Attica.

That Cecrops was supposed to have been buried in some part of the temple of Minerva Polias, we learn from the testimony of Antiochus, a writer on Athenian antiquities of the fifth century, B.C. as cited by Clemens of Alexandria, as well as by two other Christian authors, one of whom quotes Antiochus as describing the tomb of Cecrops to have been in the Acropolis near the guardian goddess (*παρὰ τὴν Πολιούχον αὐτὴν*) which words Arnobius writing in Latin, interprets in *Minervio*¹.

There is reason to believe, however, that there were not in reality, any sepulchral monuments, either of Cecrops or of Erechtheus in the temple, Pausanias not having made any mention of them, but that, as in the instance of Theseus in the Theseium, the tradition of their interment in the temple was sufficiently preserved by the names Erechtheium and

by Neoptolemus (Eurip. Troad. 482. Quint. Cal. 13, 222. Pausan. Messen. 17, 3. Arcad. 46, 2.) as shaded by an ancient bay tree.

Ædibus in mediis nudoque sub ætheris axe
Ingens ara fuit, juxtaque veterrima laurus
Incumbens aræ atque umbra complexa Penates.

Æn. 2, 612.

The epithet *ἑρκείος* was from *ἑρκος*, the entrance court, or exterior αὐλή of the house, where it was customary to have an altar of Jupiter. Hom. Od. X. 335. Athen. 5, 3 (15).

¹ *Ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Δαρίσσῳ* (scil. arce Argivâ) *τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκροσίου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει Κίερος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐνδύτῳ τῶν ιστοριῶν.* Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 13. Sylburg.

Καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐνδύτῳ γέγραπεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἀνω γε ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Κίερος ἐστὶ τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιούχον αὐτὴν. Theodoret. Therap. 8. iv. p. 908, Schutze.

In *historiarum* Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terræ. Arnob. adv. Gent. 6. p. 66. Rome, 1542.

Clemens names eleven celebrated temples in which ancient heroes or heroines had been buried.

Cecropium, the former of which became a common appellation for the whole building, while the latter was applied to a portion of it. This portion could not have been the eastern apartment, because in that case the southern prosthesis or portico of Caryatides, not having touched the walls of that apartment nor commanded any direct access into it, could not have been described as *ἡ πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ*¹. Nor could the Cecropium have been the middle apartment of the entire building, because it seems clear from Plutarch and Pausanias, that the temple of Polias was separated from the temple of Pandrosus by a wall common to both²; this apartment, therefore, was the *σηκός*, or adytum of the Pandroseium. Nor was the Cecropium the western apartment, for this also was a part of the temple of Pandrosus, since the inscription describes the western wall as the wall before the Pandroseium, (*ὁ τοῖχος ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσίου*.) in the same manner as the northern prosthesis is described as before the thyroma (*πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος*). There can be little doubt, therefore, that the western wall, with its columns and pediment was the front, the western apartment the pronaus, and the middle apartment the adytum of the Pandroseium; and that the Cecropium was the space inclosed within the southern prosthesis, hence designated as *ἡ πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ*. The windows between the engaged columns of the western wall performed the office of intercolumniations, in admitting a direct light to the door of the adytum of Pandrosus; though a smaller quantity than usual was sufficient, as light entered abundantly through the thyroma, when it was open. It may have been for the sake of obtaining this auxiliary light, that the northern door was made

¹ It was probably not without intention that the *πρὸς* in this instance was made to govern a different case, from that which follows it in the instances of *γωνία πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου*, *πρόστασις πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος*, and *τοῖχος πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσίου*. The angle, portico, and wall stood before the objects, to which they respectively related. The Cecropium was included within the southern prosthesis, and was defined by it.

² See above, p. 155. 338. 340. n. 1.

unusually large, larger even than that of the apartment of the principal deity, and with a prosthesis in proportion. Another motive may have been its importance, as the common entrance both of the Pandroseium and Cecropium.

An interesting question arises as to the sacred objects in the lower or western temple. Pausanias, after having noticed the altars of Neptune, Butea, and Vulcan, in the portico of the eastern temple, and the pictures of the Butadae on its walls, all which were connected with the mythology of Erechtheus Poseidon, naturally proceeds, before he adverts to Minerva Polias herself, to make mention of two other objects which had reference to Neptune, though they were not in the same part of the building, but within (ἐνδον,) for as he adds parenthetically, the building is twofold (διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα)¹. He seems clearly, therefore, to indicate that the well with the mark of the trident on the rock, was in the lower temple. And two considerations favour the same opinion, 1. It is more probable, that the salt spring should be in the lower than in the higher level, the vein of water having apparently been the same as that of the Clepsydra, which issues near the grotto of Pan. Indeed, as the source was in a well (ἐν φρέατι), that is to say, below the surface of the ground, the water may have been at a level, not very different from that where the Clepsydra issues from the side of the hill, about its middle height. Secondly, as there was no separate shrine or apartment sacred to Neptune, nor any statue of that deity, the probability is that the well was near the olive-tree, and that the two symbols of the renowned contest were placed in juxta position, as the deities themselves, accompanied by those symbols, were usually represented in Athenian art.

On this supposition both the well and the olive-tree were probably in the Cecropium, or southern prosthesis²;

¹ See above, p. 153.

² Mr. Wilkins supports this opinion as to the well by his interpretation

for as before remarked ¹, this apartment, by its peculiar plan and construction, seems to have been intended expressly for the Olive, a wall fifteen feet high, having protected the trunk from injury, while the air was freely admitted to its foliage, between the six statues which supported the roof. The position of the well and olive tree in the Cecropium seems also to accord with the tradition which represented Cecrops as having been a witness of the contest between Neptune and Minerva ². Nor is it any objection to this conclusion, that the olive is described as having been in the Pandroseium: for undoubtedly this was the common appellation of the whole of the lower building, though it is also evident from the inscription, compared with the building itself, that it was subdivided into the Pandroseium proper and the Cecropium.

The same document makes mention of a stoa, from which it appears that certain blocks of stone had been removed: it is difficult at least to give any other interpretation to the preposition ἀπὸ which precedes the word. The stoa was probably, therefore, some separate building, perhaps in ruins, from which wrought stones had been taken for the purpose of being adapted to the Erechtheium ³.

of line 71 of the inscription, which stands as follows on the marble, the latter part being obliterated :

ΤΟΕΝΤΟΙΗΡΟΣΤΟΜΙΑΙ

This Mr. Wilkins proposes to read τοῦ ἐν τῇ προστομιαίῃ τοίχῳ, and considers that προστομιαίος, which is not found in any lexicon, referred to the στόμιν or mouth of the well. If his further opinion is correct, that the Caryatides were intended for hydriaphoræ, and that each figure bore a water-jar in one hand, this would be a further confirmation as to the well. Unfortunately, the lower arms of all the figures are wanting, so that it is a conjecture only.

¹ See above, p. 344.

² Apollod. 3, 14. v. sup. p. 538, n. 3.

³ The following are the two instances in which the Stoa is mentioned :

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς μῆκος τετραποδα, lin. 142.

αἰεταῖοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, μῆκος lin. 166.

The former blocks were quadrangular, suited to a part of the entablature,

In each of the two great porticos, there appears to have been an altar for fumigation, styled ὁ βωμὸς τοῦ Θνηχοῦ¹.

Pausanias has not expressly described any objects as being in the temple of Pandrosus, but we may presume that the adytum contained altars and statues of Pandrosus and of Thallo, one of the Horæ, for he informs us that Thallo received divine honours from the Athenians jointly with Pandrosus².

The Pandroseium although standing, as we have seen, on a level several feet lower than the rocky summit of the eastern portion of the Cecropian hill, from which rose the two temples of Minerva, was considerably higher than the platform adjacent to the Propylæa. This intermediate level was inclosed on the eastern side by a wall still in part extant, which united the cella of Minerva Polias with the wall of the Acropolis. Its southern boundary is defined by the wall which forms the southern support of the steps which ascend from the same intermediate level to that of Minerva Polias on the outside of the southern prothesis. To the north it was bounded by the wall of the Acropolis, through which there was a descent from it into the Agraulium, probably through both the caverns³. This communication gives ample reason to believe that the entire intermediate level was comprehended in the ἱερὸν τέμενος, or sanctuary of Minerva

and wanted not much of being finished, having been *λεία ἐπεποιημένα ἀνευ καταρμῆς*. The latter were stones prepared for the tympanum of a pediment, and are described as *ἡμίεργοι*. The stoa has generally been supposed the same as the northern portico: but Mr. Wordsworth identifies it with the western apartment of the building. As to the former opinion, which I once entertained, the objection is that it is difficult to conceive that in a technical document there should have been two names for the same object. Nor could it well have been the western apartment, none of the apartments being named in the inscription, evidently because exterior decorations and ornamental roofing alone remained to be executed at the time of the report of the commission.

¹ V. lin. 79, 188.

² τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν Ὁρῶν νύμνουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῃ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, θάλλω τὴν θεὸν ἐπονομάζοντες. Bæot. 35, 1.

³ See above, p. 266.

Polias, attached to the Erechtheium. It contained besides the lodging of the arrhephoræ and their sphærestra, or place where they exercised themselves in playing at ball¹, several statues described by Pausanias, namely, that of the priestess Lysimacha one cubit high, the colossal figures of Erechtheus and Eumolpus preparing to engage in combat, some ancient wooden statues of Minerva in the half burnt state in which they had been left by the Persians, the representation of the hunting of a wild boar, Cycnus fighting with Hercules, Theseus finding the slipper and sword of Ægeus under the rock, Theseus and the Marathonian bull, and Cylon who attempted to obtain the tyranny at Athens.

That all these were within the sacred inclosure of Polias, will follow from the great probability that the two last-mentioned were so situated: the Theseus and Minotaur, because Theseus was represented as dragging the bull to be sacrificed to Minerva Polias²: the Cylon because he was put to death in violation of the protection of the goddess under which he had placed himself³. And this accords with the order of the narrative of Pausanias, who from his notice of the Cylon, proceeds to that of the Minerva Promachus, which, situated as has been already stated, could not have been far from the south western angle of the temenos of Polias, and then to that of the quadriga, dedicated from the spoils of Chalcis, which was on the left hand, in entering the Acropolis, after having passed through the Propylæa.

As customary with Pausanias, he has not noticed all the

¹ This place of amusement or exercise for the two young ladies who dwelt here for a whole year in seclusion, is mentioned only in the life of Isocrates (Vit. X. Rhet.) whose statue was in the sphærestra. We cannot doubt that the dwelling of the arrhephoræ was within the sacred inclosure of Polias, and that the sphærestra was adjacent to it.

² See above, p. 157.

³ Herodot. 5, 71. Thucyd. 1, 126.

dedications in the sanctuary of Polias. We learn from another authority that wooden images of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and of Abron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, the three sons of Lycurgus, were here placed, doubtless among others of the Butadæ¹.

The length of the temenos of Polias from east to west, cannot be ascertained until this part of the Acropolis shall be excavated; but considering the situation of the steps, which descended into the cavern of Agraulus, it could hardly have been less than two hundred and fifty feet. It is likely that the Agraulium was co-extensive on the side of the hill with the sanctuary of Polias on the summit, and that through one of the two caverns, the arrhephoræ on the approach of the greater Panathenæa, descended with their unknown burthen to another cavern near the temple of Venus in the gardens.

In the following document, there is a deviation from the orthography of the original, inasmuch as the general use of the four Ionic letters not having become official until seven years later, those four letters are not found in the original.

§ 1.
Boeckh.

Ἐπιστάται τοῦ νεὸ τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα,
 Βρωσυν(τ)
 ης Κηφισιεύς, Χαριάδης Ἀγρυλῆθεν, Διώδης Κηφισιεύς,
 ἀρχιτέκτων
 Φιλοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς, γραμματεὺς Ἐτέαρχος Κυδαθηναεύς,

¹ Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. It is very possible that a portico may have surrounded, or at least have occupied some portion of the inclosure of Polias; and that this may have been the Stoa from which the wrought stones were taken for the use of the Pandroseium.

(τάδ)ε ἀνέγραψαν ἔργα τοῦ νεῶ ὡς κατέλαβον ἔχοντα, κατὰ
τὸ ψή-

(φισ)μα τοῦ δήμου, δ' Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν, ἐξειργασμένα καὶ
ἡμέτερα, ἐπὶ Διο- 5

κλέους ἄρχοντος, Κεκροπίδος πρωτανευούσης πρώτης ἐπὶ
τῆς βουλῆς

ἢ Νικοφάνης Μαραθώνιος πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσεν.

§ 2. B.

Τοῦ νεῶ τάδε κατελάβομεν ἡμέτερα·

ἐπὶ τῇ γωνίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου·

πλίνθους ἀθέτους μῆκος τετρά-

10

III ποδας, πλάτος δίποδας, πάχος
τριημιποδίου·

μασχαλιαίαν μῆκος τετράποδα,

I πλάτος τρίποδα, πάχος τριῶν
ἡμιποδίων·

15

ἐπικρανίτιδας μῆκος τετράπο-

II δας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος
τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.

γωνιαίαν μῆκος ἐπτάποδα,

I πλάτος τετράποδα, πάχος
τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.

20

γόγγυλος λίθος ἄθετος ἀντίμο-

I ρος ταῖς ἐπικρανίτισιν, μῆκος
δεκάπους, ὕψος τριῶν

ἡμιποδίων.

25

ἀντιμόρῳ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις,

II μῆκος τετράποδε, πλ(άτος πε)ν-
τεπαλάστῳ.

κιοκράνον ἄθετον (ἐπὶ τὸ)

I μέτωπον τὸ ἔσω, μῆ(κος δίπουν),
πλάτος τριῶν ἡμιπο(δίων, πάχ)ος
τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.

30

ἐπιστύλια ἄθετα μ(ῆκος ὀκτ)ώ-

II ποδα, πλάτος δυοῖν (ποδοῖν)
καὶ παλαστῆς, πάχος (δίποδα).

35

ἐπιστύλια ἄνω ὄντα (ἔδει)

- ἐπεργάσασθαι, μῆκος ὀκτώπο-
 IIII δα, πλάτος δυοῖν ποδοῖν καὶ πα-
 λαστῆς, πάχος δίποδα.
- § 3. B. Τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ ἔργου ἅπαντος 40
 ἐγ κύκλῳ ἄρχει ὁ Ἑλευσινιακὸς
 λίθος, πρὸς ᾧ τὰ ζῶα καὶ ἐτέθη
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τούτων·
- § 4. B. τῶν κίωνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου 45
 τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου·
- IIIII κειμένων κίωνων
 αἵματα ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς, ἀνθε-
 μίου ἐκάστου τοῦ κίονος τρία
 ἡμιπόδια·
- § 5. B. ἐπιστυλίου ὀκτώποδος 50
 ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς νότον
 κυμάτιον ἐς τὸ ἔσω ἔδει
 ἐπιθεῖναι.
- § 6. B. Τάδε ἀκατάξεστα καὶ 55
 ἀράβδωτα.
- τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς νότον
 ἀνέμου ἀκατάξεστον,
 πλὴν τοῦ ἐν τῇ προστάσει
 τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ·
 τοὺς ὀρθοστάτας ἀκατα- 60
 ξέστους ἐκ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἐγ κύκλῳ,
 πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ προστά-
 σει τῇ ἐν τῷ Κεκροπίῳ·
 τὰς σπείρας ἀπάσας
 ἀρῥάβδωτους τὰ ἄνωθεν· 65
 τοὺς κίονας ἀραβδώτους ἅπαντας,
 πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου· τὴν κρηπίδα ἐγ
 κύκλῳ ἅπασαν ἀκατάξεστον.
 τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ἐκτὸς ἀκατάξεστα,
 τοῦ γαυλοῦ λίθον τετραποδίας Π IIII 70
 τοῦ ἐν τῷ προστομιαί(ῳ)
 τετραποδίας δ(ύο),

	τῆς παραστάδος	
	τετραποδίας . . .	
	τοῦ πρὸς τῷ γάλατος	75
	τετραποδίας	
	Ἐν τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς	§ 7. B.
	τοῦ θυρώματος	
	τὸν βωμόν τοῦ (θυ)ηχοῦ	
	ἄθετον	80
	τῆς ἐπωροφίας σφηκίσκους	
	καὶ ἱμάντας ἀθέτους.	
	Ἐπὶ τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς τῷ	§ 8. B.
	Κεκροπίῳ ἔδει	
	τοὺς λίθους ὀροφίους τοὺς	85
	ἐπὶ τῶν Κόρων ἐπεργάσα-	
III	σθαι ἄνωθεν, μῆκος τριῶν	
	καὶ δέκα ποδῶν, πλάτος πέντε	
	ποδῶν	
	τὰς κάλχας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπι-	90
	στυλίοις ἐξεργάσασθαι	
	ἔδει(.	
	λίθινα παντελῶς ἐξεργασμένα,	
	ἃ χαμαί	§ 9. B.
	πλίνθοι τετράποδες μῆκος,	95
	πλάτος δίποδες, πάχος	
ΔΙ	τριῶν ἡμιποδίων, ἄρυθμοι	
	μασχαλιαία μῆκος τετρά-	
I	πους, πλάτος τρίπους, πάχος	
	τριῶν ἡμιποδίων ¹ .	100
	
	§ 10. B.
	τούτων ἑκάστου οὐκ ἐξείργα-	
	σται ὁ ἀρμός ὁ ἕτερος οὐδὲ	

¹ This line is the last on the left hand column, and as the marble is incomplete at the bottom, there may have been one or two lines more. Boeckh supposes two, and that the first was

Λίθινα ἡμίεργα, ἃ χαμαί.

- οἱ ὀπισθεν ἄρμοι.
 μῆκος ἑκποδες, πλάτος δίπο-
- ΔII δεσ, πάχος ποδιαῖοι' 105
 τούτων ἐκάστου οὐκ ἐξείργα-
 σται ὁ ἄρμος ὁ ἕτερος οὐδε
 οἱ ὀπισθεν ἄρμοι.
 τετράποδες μῆκος, πλάτος δίπο-
- Π δεσ, πάχος ποδιαῖοι' 110
 τούτων ἐκάστου οὐκ ἐξείργα-
 σται ὁ ἄρμος ὁ ἕτερος, οὐδὲ
 οἱ ὀπισθεν ἄρμοι.
 πεντέπους μῆκος, πλάτος δίπους,
- I πάχος ποδιαῖος' 115
 τούτου ἀργὸς ὁ ἄρμος ὁ ἕτε-
 ρος καὶ οἱ ὀπισθεν ἄρμοι.
- § 11. B. γείσα μῆκος τετράποδα, πλάτος
 τρίποδα, πάχος πεντεπάλαστα'
- ΠII λεία ἐκπεποιημένα ἄνευ κατα- 120
 τομῆς.
 Π ἐτέρων, μέγεθος τοαυτὸν,
 κυματίου καὶ ἀστραγάλου ἐκατέρου
 ἄτμητο(ι) ἦσαν τέτταρες πόδες
 ἐκάστου. 125
- II ἐτέροιον
 ἄτμητοι ἦσαν τοῦ κυματίου τέτταρες
 πόδες, τοῦ δὲ ἀστραγάλου ὀκτὼ πόδες.
- I ἐτέρου 130
 τοῦ κυματίου τρία ἡμιπόδια ἄτμητα,
 ἀστραγάλου τέτταρες πόδες.
- I ἕτερον
 τὴν μὲν λείαν ἐργασίαν εἰργαστο,
- III τοῦ δὲ κυματίου ἀργοὶ πόδες ἦσαν ἕξ 135
 καὶ ἡμιπόδιον, ἀστραγάλου ἀργοὶ
 πόδες ὀκτὼ.
 ἐτέρου
 κυματίου ἕξ πόδες ἀργοὶ,
 ἀστραγάλου ὀκτὼ πόδες.

- I ἕτερον 140
 ἡμέτερον τῆς λείας ἐργασίας.
 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, μῆκος τετράπο-
- III δα, πλάτος τρίποδα, πάχος πεντε-
 πάλαστα, λεία ἐκπεποιημένα
 ἀνεὺ κατατομῆς. 145
 γωνιαῖα ἐπὶ τῇμ πρόστασιν τῇμ
 πρὸς ἔω, μῆκος ἔκποδε, πλάτος
- II τετάρτου ἡμιποδίου, πάχος
 πεντεπάλαστα,
 τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου ἢ λεία μὲν ἐργα- 150
 σία ἐνείργαστο, τὸ δὲ κυμάτιον
 ἀργὸν ὄλον καὶ ὁ ἀστράγαλος·
 τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου ἀργὸν κυματίου τρεῖς
 πόδες καὶ ἡμιπόδιον, τοῦ δὲ ἀστρα-
 γάλου ἀργοὶ πόδες πέντε. 155
 Ἐπὶ τὸν τοίχον τὸν πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσε(ίου)·
 μῆκος ἐπτὰ ποδῶν καὶ ἡμιποδίου,
 πλάτος τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ ἡμιποδίου,
 ἡμέτερον τῆς λείας ἐργασίας·
 μῆκος ἕκ ποδῶν, πλάτος τριῶν 160
 ποδῶν καὶ παλαστῆς, πάχος πεντε-
- I πάλαστον καὶ ¹ τὸν τοίχον τὸν πρὸς
 τοῦ Πανδροσείου·
 τούτου ἀστραγάλου ἄτμητοι πόδες
 πέντε. 165
 αἰετιαῖοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, μῆκος
- III ἐπτάποδες, πλάτος τριῶν ποδῶν
 καὶ ἡμιποδίου, πάχος ποδιαῖοι·
 οὗτοι ἡμέτεροι.
 ἑτέρω, μῆκος πεντέποδε, πλάτος 170
- II τριῶν ποδῶν, καὶ ἡμιποδίου, πάχος
 ποδιαῖοι, ἡμέτεροι.
 γεῖσα ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς, πλάτος
 πέντε ἡμιποδίων, μῆκος τεττά-
 ρων ποδῶν καὶ ἡμιποδίου, πάχος 175

¹ Sic in lrp. ἐπί?

	ποδιαῖα τὴν λείαν ἐργασίαν	
I	ἐκπεποιημένον.	
	ἕτερον ἡμίεργον τῆς	
II	λείας ἐργασίας.	
§ 12. B.	θύραι λίθιναι, μῆκος ὀκτὼ ποδῶν	180
	καὶ παλαστῆς, πλάτος πέντε	
III	ἡμιποδίων·	
	τούτων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξεπεποίητο,	
	ἐς τὰ ζυγὰ δὲ ἔδει τοὺς λίθους	
	τοὺς μέλανας ἐνθεῖναι.	185
	οὓς τῷ ὑπερθύρῳ τῷ πρὸς ἔω,	
I	ἡμίεργον·	
	τῷ βωμῷ τῷ τοῦ θυηχοῦ λίθοι πεν-	
	τέλεικοι μῆκος τετράποδες,	
III	ὕψος δυοῖν ποδοῖν καὶ παλαστῆς,	190
	πάχος ποδιαῖοι·	
I	ἕτερος τρίπ(ους)	192

APPENDIX XVIII.

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ON THE OUTER CERAMEICUS AND ACADEMY.

THERE were few objects at Athens more interesting, as illustrations of Athenian history, than those memorials of her distinguished citizens, which were preserved in the sepulchral monuments of the Outer Cerameicus. In the absence of the lost work of Heliodorus *περὶ τῶν μνημάτων*¹, the brief description of this celebrated suburb in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Attica of Pausanias remains almost alone, to give us an idea of this compendious display of the past glory of Athens, which still gratified the traveller in the second century of our era, but of which nothing is now to be seen except a few fragments and foundations scattered over an open plain.

The first monument which presented itself on issuing from the gate², was that of Anthemocritus, the herald whom the Athenians accused the Megarenses of having slain in the year B.C. 445. As it is in treating of the Sacred Way, that Pausanias mentions this monument³, and in a different place, that he describes those in the road

¹ See above, p. 36, n. 2.

² It was *πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν* according to Philip in his letter to the Athenians. Demosth. de Phil. Ep. p. 159, Reiske.

³ Attic. 36, 3.

which commencing at the same gate (Dipylum) led to the Academy¹, we may infer that the latter road branched from the Sacred Way, not far beyond the gate, but so far that the tomb of Anthemocritus, standing near the gate, occurred before the roads divided. Near the gate, also, were sepulchres of the Spartan polemarchs, Chæron and Thibrachus, of Lacretas an Olympic victor, and of other Lacedæmonians, who had fallen in Peiræus in battle with Thrasybulus, in the year B. C. 403². The first monument noticed by Pausanias on the road to the Academy, was that of Thrasybulus: next to it were those of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio. That of Pericles was a little to the right of the road³. Then followed the tombs of those Athenians who had been slain in battle against the enemy by land or sea, with the exception of those who fell at Marathon, and who were interred on the spot. Στήλαι or pillars were erected on the monuments⁴, and inscribed on them were the name and demus of every citizen who had fallen, not omitting even those of the servile class⁵.

First occurred the sepulchre of those who, under Leagrus and Sophanes, fell in action against the Edoni of Thrace, when having advanced as far as Drabescus, the latter fell upon them unexpectedly⁶. Facing this sepulchre

¹ Attic. 29, 2.

² Xenoph. Hell. 2, 4, § 33.

³ Paullum ad dextram de via declinavi ut ad Periclis sepulchrum accederem. Cic. de fin. 5, 2.

⁴ Cicero in adverting (de leg. 2, 26) to a law of Demetrius of Phalerum, which restricted the height of all sepulchral monuments to three cubits, mentions three kinds of monuments as customary at Athens; the *columella* or short column, which was terminated with a moulding or other ornament above; the *mensa*, or slab, which was similarly terminated, frequently with an *ἀνδρὺς* or representation of a gable roof, and the *labellum* or stele in the shape of a vase. All these are common among the antiquities of Athens.

⁵ The following description of these tombs by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Av. 394) appears to be from Menecles: βαδίζουσι δὲ ἐνθην καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσι στήλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις τεθαμμένοις· εἰσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου πεμφθέντες, οἳ τε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τετελευτήκασι. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ στήλαι ἐπιγραφὰς ποῦ ἕκαστος ἀπέθανεν.

⁶ In the year B. C. 453. Herodot. 9, 75. Thucyd. 1, 100, 4, 102.

was a pillar upon which were represented two horsemen fighting: these were Melanopus and Macartatus, who died in opposing the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians on the confines of the Eleusinian district towards that of the Tanagræi¹. Next was a monument of the Thessalian horsemen, and another of the Cretan bowmen, who aided the Athenians when Attica was invaded for the first time by the Spartans under Archidamus, in the Peloponnesian war. Here also were the tombs of Cleisthenes, who arranged the Attic tribes as they still remained in the time of Pausanias²; of the Athenian horsemen, who fell together with the Thessalians on the occasion just mentioned; of the Cleonæi who came with the Argives to the assistance of the Athenians (at Tanagra); and of the Athenians who fell in battle with the Æginetæ, before the Persian war³; of others who were slain in different places⁴; of the most distinguished of those who fell in the expedition to Olynthus⁵; of Melesandrus, who commanded a naval expedi-

¹ This was probably an action in the passes of Cithæron prior to the battle of Tanagra: the passes leading to the Isthmus were at that time in the hands of the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians were returning from Phocis. Herodot. 9, 35. Thucyd. 1, 107. Diodor. 11, 80.

² After the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, in the year B. C. 510, Cleisthenes, leader of the popular party, having obtained the banishment of his rival Isagoras, increased the Attic tribes, which were then four in number, to ten. (Herodot. 5, 69.) In the time of Pausanias, his arrangement had lasted near 700 years.

³ Herodot. 6, 92.

⁴ Ἰστί δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀνόματα ἄλλων, διάφορα δὲ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγῶνων. Pausanias here alludes probably to the stele of which a portion is still extant, (Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 165.) and which recorded the names of the men who fell in the year B. C. 458—457, in Cyprus, Egypt, Phœnicia, Halicæ, Ægina, and Megara (Thucyd. 1, 104. 105).

⁵ Two expeditions were sent to assist the Olynthii against Philip, in 349 B. C. and the following year. Philochor. ap. Dionys. ad Amm. 1, 9, § 16. Diodor. 16, 53. But there was a greater and more ancient expedition to the same country, of which the principal action was fought in the Isthmus between Olynthus and Potidæa in the year preceding the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 432—431, when Callias, one of the commanders, together with a hundred and fifty Athenians, were slain (Thucyd. 1, 62). A

tion upon the river Mæander against Upper Caria¹; of the Athenians who fell in the war with Cassander²; of the Argives, who, in alliance with the Athenians, fought against the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians at Tanagra, with good success, until the Thessalians having betrayed the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians were successful³; of Apollodorus the Athenian, who, at the head of a foreign force sent by Arsites the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, defended Perinthus against Philip⁴; of Eubulus, son of Spintharus⁵; of those put to death for conspiring against the tyrant Lachares; and of those who having formed a design to eject the Macedonian garrison of the Peirææus, were betrayed by confederates: here also were interred the Athenians who fell at Corinth, and "whose fate, like that of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, where they were beaten by the Bœotians alone, shows that courage without fortune is of little avail⁶."

A single stele showed, by the elegies inscribed upon it, that it was erected over those who fell (in the Peloponnesian war) in Eubœa, in Chios, on the frontiers of Asia, and in Sicily: the names of the Plataeenses were inscribed together with those of the Athenian soldiers; and of the

fragment of the stele, erected in their honour, which was found near the site of the Academy, is now in the Elgin collection in the British Museum. It retains only the remains of twelve elegiac verses which preceded or followed the names. Boeckh, *C. Ins. Gr.* No. 170. As the object of the latter expedition was Potidæa, Pausanias alluded undoubtedly to the former, and has omitted to notice the latter monument.

¹ For this unsuccessful expedition in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, see Thucydides, 2, 69.

² Pausan. *Attic.* 25, 5; 26, 3. For a victory in this war, there was a trophy in the Agora: see above, p. 121.

³ The battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

⁴ B. C. 340. Diodor. 16, 75; 17, 19. Arrian. *Ex. Al.* 1, 12; 2, 14.

⁵ Archon in the year B. C. 345—344, and a leading man in the party opposed to Demosthenes.

⁶ He alludes to the battle fought A. C. 394, at Epieikia, a place between Corinth and Sicyon (Xenoph. *Hellen.* 4, 2, § 9—23); and which he balances against the defeat at Leuctra, in comparing the glory of Sparta with that of Athens.

leaders, Nicias alone was omitted¹. Upon another stele were recorded the names of those who fell (in the same war) in Thrace and at Megara; of those who fought under Alcibiades, when at his persuasion the Mantinenses and Eleians quitted the alliance of the Lacedæmonians, and of those who were victorious over the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily². Here also were the sepulchres of those who fell in the naval action at the Hellespont (Ægospotami)³; in the battle against the Macedonians at Chæroneia⁴; in the expedition under Cleon against Amphipolis⁵; and at Delium in the Tanagræa⁶; in Thessaly under Leosthenes⁷; of those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus⁸; and of thirteen of the men who, under Olympiodorus, ejected the (Macedonian) garrison (from the Museum)⁹. Here also was a monument of the seamen of five triremes which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Romans against the Carthaginians; in the same road was the sepulchre of Tolmides and of the men who fell with him¹⁰; of those who were slain in the great exploit under Cimon at the

¹ Pausanias follows the historian Philistus in giving as a reason for this omission, that Nicias had surrendered himself to the enemy; whereas his colleague Demosthenes in his capitulation excepted himself, and attempted his own life.

² Of the two monuments last mentioned, the latter stele related to the earlier date, having recorded the names of those who had been slain during some years prior to the disaster of Sicily; the former was the monument of those who fell in the latter part of the Sicilian expedition, and after its termination during the revolt of the Athenian allies, and until the battle of Arginusæ inclusive. It appears that as the war was protracted, and many of the Athenians died at a distance from home, the honours of public sepulture became less frequent than they were at the beginning of the war (see Thucyd. 2, 34); and each monument comprehended a greater number of names.

³ B. C. 405.

⁴ B. C. 338.

⁵ B. C. 422.

⁶ B. C. 424.

⁷ In the Lamiac war, terminated by the battle of Crannon, in which Leosthenes was slain, B. C. 322.

⁸ B. C. 449.

⁹ About B. C. 282.

¹⁰ B. C. 447. Thucyd. 1. 108. 113. Pausan. Attic. 27. See above, p. 157.

Eurymedon, when he was victorious on the same day both by sea and land¹; of Conon and Timotheus, "a father and son, whose illustrious actions are exceeded only by those of Miltiades and Cimon;" of (the philosophers) Zeno, son of Mnaseias, and Chrysippus of Soli; of Nicias, son of Nicomedes, the most skilful painter of his time²; of Harmodius and Aristogeiton who slew Hipparchus son of Peisistratus; and of the orators Ephialtes and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron; "the former of whom reformed the laws of the Areiopagus, and the latter of whom collected in the public treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than had been collected by Pericles³."

Lucian (Scyth. 1) describes, to the left of the road from

¹ B. C. 466.

² He refused an offer of sixty talents from Attalus for his picture of the Necromanteia of Homer, and made a present of it to the city. He was celebrated for his *circumlitio*, or colouring of marble statues. Plin. H. N. 35, 11 (40).

³ Pausanias concludes this chapter by enumerating the works of Lycurgus, in which he seems to have consulted the best authority, namely, the decree of Stratocles, in honour of Lycurgus, passed in the archonship of Anaxicrates (B. C. 307), which is still extant at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators. From this testimony it appears that Diomedes and Lycurgus, ancestors of Lycurgus, had been honoured with monuments in the Cerameicus (these Pausanias has left unnoticed, as well probably as many others): that Lycurgus, during the twelve years he was treasurer (*ραμίης τῇ πόλει*) issued (*δίδειμι*) near nineteen thousand talents of the public revenue (*ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου*)^a; that he was entrusted with six hundred and fifty^b talents of the money of private individuals, which he fully accounted for; and that he collected large sums of money in the Aeropolis. For the religious worship of Minerva, he furnished vases

^a In the *Life* of Lycurgus, the sum is said to have been fourteen thousand; but adds the author, "some persons, and among them Stratocles ὁ ῥήτωρ who moved the psephisma estimated the sum at eighteen thousand six hundred and fifty." He afterwards remarks that Lycurgus raised the *πρόσοδος τῇ πόλει* from six hundred to twelve hundred talents annually. The latter sum, in twelve years producing fourteen thousand four hundred, seems to have furnished the author of the life with the grounds of his calculation.

^b Two hundred and fifty, according to the *Life*.

Dipylum to the Academy, a fallen stele, which retained the remains of a figure holding in the right hand a book and in the left a bow: this he tells us was the tomb of the Scythian Toxaris, styled ὁ ξένος ἱατρός¹. Toxaris received heroic honours for having anciently arrested a plague by his counsels, and his stele was constantly crowned with garlands placed upon it by those who had invoked his assistance when afflicted with fever.

The Academy was surrounded with a wall built at a great expense by Hipparchus², and was planted, divided into walks, and furnished with fountains of water by Cimon³. Pausanias is very brief in his description of it. He says, "Before the entrance is an altar of Love, with an epigram on it, which signifies that Charmus was the first Athenian who made a dedication to Love. In the Academy there is an altar of Prometheus, from whence those who run with

(πομπεία) of gold and silver, golden victories (νίκας ὀλοχρύσευς); and golden decorations (κόσμον χρυσοῦν) for the dresses of a hundred Canephoræ. For war he provided a great quantity of armour (ὄπλα πολλὰ), and conveyed fifty-thousand missiles (βέλη) to the Acropolis. By building new ships or repairing the old, he increased the navy of Athens to four hundred triremes; he completed the docks and armoury (of the Peiræus), and the Dionysiac theatre in the Asty, all which he had found half-finished (ἡμίεργα ἐξεργάσατο), perfected (ὑπετέλει) the Panathenaic stadium, made and planted a gymnasium, and constructed a palæstra in the Lyceium^c, and adorned the city with many other constructions (κατασκευαίς). Pausanias finishes his statement with *ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας, τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι ἦν*. When Lachares carried off the golden shields of the citadel, and plundered the statue of Minerva itself, he did not spare the plate in the Pompeium.

¹ He was thus distinguished from ὁ ἱατρός (Aristomachus). See above, p. 489.

² Suid. in τὸ Ἰππάρχου τεῖχον.

³ Plut. Cimon, 13.

^c τὸ ἐν Λυκίῳ γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ ἐφύτευσε, καὶ τὴν παλαίστραν φιλοδόμησε. Vit. Lycurg.

καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ Λύκειον κατασκεύασιν. Psephism.

ἀ φιλοδόμησιν ἐν Πειραιεὶ νεῶς εἰσιν οἶκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ Λυκίῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον. Pausan. Attic. 29, 16.



lighted torches start for the city. There is likewise an altar of the Muses, and another of Hermes, and within are those of Minerva and of Hercules : and there is an olive-tree, said to have been the second which appeared in Attica¹."

Pausanias mentions an altar only of Love ; but from Cleidemus², Athenæus³, and Plutarch⁴, there appears to have been a statue also. The following lines were upon its base :

Ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.

Of which the last words sufficiently agree with the *πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου* of Pausanias, to show that the statue and altar were in the same place. Here also was the altar of Prometheus ; for Plutarch mentions the statue of Love, and Pausanias the altar of Prometheus, as the starting-place of the runners in the *Lampadephoria*, which terminated probably at the *Hephæsteium* in the *Agora*, which was a little beyond the inner *Cerameicus*⁵. We learn from the Scholiast of Sophocles that the altar of Prometheus stood at the entrance of the *τέμενος* of Minerva, within which Prometheus had a temple ; and that on the altar Prometheus and Vulcan were represented in relief ; the former as the elder, and holding a sceptre in his hand⁶ ; the latter as the younger, and follow-

¹ Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν ἰστί βωμὸς Ἐρωτος, ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἐρωτι ἀναθείη . . . Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἰστί Προμηθεὺς βωμὸς, καὶ θίουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας . . . ἰστί δὲ καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς, καὶ ἕτερος Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἔνδον Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλίους ἐποίησαν. καὶ φυτόν ἐστιν Ἰλαίας, δεύτερον τοῦτο λεγόμενον φανῆναι. Attic. 30, 1.

² Ap. Athen. 13, 9 (89).

³ Athen. 13, 1 (12).

⁴ Solon, 1.

⁵ Concerning the *Lampadephoria*, or *Lampadodromia*, which occurred in three different festivals, see Harpocration, Suidas, Hesychius, Photius, Phavorinus in *Λαμπαδηφορία*, and Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 277, all of whom derived their information from Polemon and Istrus ; see also the *Græcia feriatæ* of Moursius, and his *Cerameicus Geminus*, c. 25.

⁶ Συντιμᾶται δὲ (Τῆδαν Προμηθεὺς) καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἡφαιστος· καὶ ἰστί αὐτῷ πάλαιον ἵδρυμα καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς

ing him. From the authors cited by the Scholiast, there is reason to suspect that the words of Pausanias just cited are corrupt or defective; for it appears from other evidence that the sanctuary of Minerva, to whom the whole Academy was sacred, was of considerable dimensions, and contained within it a temple of Prometheus¹, and perhaps a temple of Vulcan, as well as a temple of Minerva.

There was likewise in the Academy a temple of the Muses, built by Xenophon, which contained statues of the Graces, dedicated by his disciple and nephew Speusippus, and a statue of Plato by Silanion, presented by Mithradates, a Persian². Near the temple of Minerva were the Moriaë, or sacred olives³, originally twelve in number, derived from the Paneyphus, or sacred stock in the Erechtheium. This was said to have been the first olive-tree planted in Attica⁴: one of the trees of the Academy was shown to Pausanias as the second⁵. The Moriaë supplied the oil which was the prize in the gymnastic contests of the Panathenaic festival⁶, and were under the guardianship of Jupiter Morius, or Catæbates, whose altar was in the

θεοῦ. Δείκνυνται δὲ καὶ βάσεις ἀρχαία κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐν ᾗ τοῦ τε Προμηθεὺς ἑστὶ ῥύπος καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου πεποιήται δὲ, ὡς καὶ Λυσιστρατίδης φησὶν, ὁ μὲν Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἐν δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ Ἡφαίστος νῖος καὶ δεύτερος. Καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν κοινός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ βάσει ἀποστεννωμένος. Apollodorus ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 57.

² Diogen. Laërt. 4, 1.

³ Ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν καρῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς Μορίαις ἀποθρίβεις. Aristoph. Nub. 1001. Archidamus, king of Sparta, in his invasion of Attica, spared the sacred olives, moved either, διὰ τὰς ἀράς, by the maledictions against those who should injure the trees, or by the example of Halirrhothius, son of Neptune, who had inflicted a mortal wound on his own foot, or for the same reason that he favoured Aphidna, and some neighbouring demi; namely, because Ecademus, the hero from whom the Academy was named, had assisted the sons of Tyndareus in finding their sister Helene. Plutarch. Thes. 32. Philochorus, Istrus, Androtrion, ap. Sch. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 730 Sch. Aristoph. l. l.

⁴ Euripid. Ion. 1434.

⁵ Noticed also as the second by Istrus ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 730.

⁶ Aristoteles ap. Sch. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 730. Suid. in Μορία.

same place¹. The Academy contained likewise the garden of Attalus, where the sophist Lacydes had his school², a βόθρος or tank³, and was shaded with plane-trees of luxuriant growth⁴. Between the Academy and the hill of Colonus were the tomb of Plato and the tower of Timon⁵.

¹ Apollodorus ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 737.

² Diogen. Laërt. 4, 60.

³ Heliod. Æthiop. 1, 17.

⁴ See above, p. 197.

⁵ Pausan. Att. 30, 4. As Pausanias introduces his description of Colonus with the words, δέκνυνται δὲ καὶ χώρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς Ἰππείου, having just before stated that the tower of Timon was on the same side of the Academy as the tomb of Plato (κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας), we may infer that both these monuments were on the northern side of the Academy, and that the tomb stood in the "hortuli illi propinqui," mentioned by Cicero (de fin. 5, 1). Diogenes Laërtius indeed asserts (3, 39) that Plato was buried in the Academy (ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ), but his testimony can hardly be opposed to the Ἀκαδημίας οὐ πάρῳ of the ἀντίπτνης Pausanias.

APPENDIX XIX.

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ON THE DATE OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PEIRAIC FORTIFICATIONS.

THERE has been some difficulty in assigning an exact date to the commencement of the Peiraic fortifications; arising chiefly from the name of Themistocles being found as that of Archon Eponymus, in Ol. 71, 1 (493-2 B. C.). But this was three years before the battle of Marathon, when Themistocles was too young to have been archon, as appears from Plutarch¹. Themistocles, indeed, had only recently arrived at distinction as a statesman at the time of the second Persian invasion²; whence it seems evident, not only that the great Themistocles, son of Neocles, was not the archon of 493 B. C.; but that his archonship occurred in one of the latter years of that interval of ten years between the battles of Marathon and Salamis, during which the measure of fortifying the Peiræus was first entertained. Mr. F. Clinton, therefore³, seems to have rightly followed the scholiast of Thucydides, in placing the archonship of Themistocles, son of Neocles, in the year 481 B. C. In the preceding year the archon seems to have been Cebrius. The

¹ Themist. 3, 31.

² ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών. Herod. 7, 143.

³ F. Hell. I. p. xv. xvi. 28. Mueller de Munimentis Athenarum, p. 7, n. 15.

following are the authorities upon which chiefly depends this question in the chronology of Athenian antiquities. Ἐπεισε τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς (an. 479, 478) οἰκοδομεῖν (ὕπηρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξε,) νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυνεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς, ναυτικούς γεγεννημένους, μέγα προσφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. Thucyd. 1, 93.

Πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα. Schol. ibid.

Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἤρξεν, ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δὲ, ταύτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε (τοῖς τε γὰρ πλείουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετο οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ) τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο. Pausan. Attic. 1, 2.

Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ Ἀθηναίων φησὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμοῦ ὡς ἀρξάμενοι τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ, οἱ ἐννέα ἀρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ὑπέγραψαν·

Ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν οἷδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι.

(Harpocr. in Πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς.)
Vide et Suid. et Phot. Lex. in v.

To which lines undoubtedly the names of the nine archons were appended.

Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς· οὕτως ἐλέγετο ὄντως, καὶ ἀφίδρυτο Κεβρίδος ἀρξαντος, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τρίτῃ (Ἀτθίδος). Hesych. et Phavor. in v. Φιλόχορος ἐν πέμπτῃ Ἀτθίδος φησὶν, ὡς οἱ ἐννέα ἀρχοντες ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἑρμῆν παρὰ τὸν πυλῶνα τὸν Ἀττικόν (lege Ἀστικόν). Harpocr. in Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι. Vide et Suid. et Phot. Lex. in v.

It is easy to conceive, that, although the walls of Peiræus may have been begun towards the end of the archonship of Cebrius, and that the nine archons of that year may have

been anxious to secure the honor of having been in office on such a memorable occasion by means of an inscribed dedication in the Agora ; the commencement of the walls may have been more commonly attributed in subsequent times to the archonship of the illustrious author of the undertaking. That the walls were merely commenced when the archonship of Cebriſ had expired, may be inferred from a comparison of the ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι of the distich with the ἄρξαντος of Philochorus. There is some reason to believe, from Andocides de Pace cum Lac. p. 23, 24, Reiske, that the fortification of Peiræus was not *completed* until long afterwards, about 449 B.C. ; whence it is termed a Περίκλειον ἔργον by Appian, in relating its destruction by Sylla (de B. Mithrid. 30).

APPENDIX XX

Pages 418, 424.

ON AN INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE LONG WALLS.

THE subjoined inscription, discovered a few years since in a church at Athens, was published at Göttingen in 1836 by Professor K. O. Mueller, in a work entitled "De Munitis Athenarum" (4to, 79 pp.), which contained a detailed explanation of the inscription, preceded by an historical commentary on the fortifications of Athens. The whole being treated with the accustomed learning, judgment, and research of the author, little remains to be added upon the present occasion.

It happens, unfortunately, that the beginning of the inscription is deficient: we are deprived therefore of the name of the archon, with which all similar Athenian documents commenced. Mr. Mueller, however, by the happy restoration of a few letters, has left little or no doubt that Habron, son of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, was at that time treasurer of the administration (*ταμίης τῆς διοικήσεως*, more commonly *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*). As history has preserved the fact of a great repair of the Athenian walls at the period of the battle of Chæroneia, being about the same time that Lycurgus and Habron flourished, we are led immediately to the presumption that the inscription relates to that repair; for it is not likely that a

second could have been required within the lifetime of Habron; at least, such a repair as the inscription shows to have been undertaken, extending over all the defences of the Asty, Long Walls, and maritime city¹. During the fifty-four years which had elapsed since their restoration by Conon, we know only of an expenditure of ten talents upon the repair of the walls. Cornelius Nepos states that the Athenians, repenting of their treatment of Timotheus, which had forced him into exile at Chalcis, remitted after his death nine-tenths of his fine, on condition that his son Conon should expend ten talents on a part of the same walls which had been restored by his grandfather².

In the year 339 B. C. the Athenians took down the pillar which recorded their state of amity with the king of Macedonia; and soon afterwards, among other preparations for war, caused each tribe to elect a superintendent (*τειχοποιδῆς*) and treasurer (*ταμίης*) for the repair of their walls. Upon this occasion, Demosthenes was chosen for the former office, by his tribe, the Pandionis. After the defeat at Chæroneia, in the month of August B. C. 338, the same care was renewed. Demosthenes was chief director of the operation, and, in addition to the ten talents which he received from the public treasury for his tribe, expended three talents of his own³. It is evident, that this operation, which was defrayed by means of a direct issue of money from the treasury to the superintending officers, was of a different kind from that to which the inscription refers; this document being the register of a contract entered into for the

¹ The mode even of repairing the foundations is prescribed.

² Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis. Ille odio ingratae civitatis coactus Chalcidem se contulit. Hujus post mortem quum populus judicii sui poeniteret, multas novem partes detraxit, et decem talenta Cononem, filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam jussit dare. In quo fortunæ varietas, &c. Cornel. Nep. Timoth. 3, 4.

³ Demosth. Olynth. 3, p. 36, Reiske. De Contrib. p. 175. Adv. Aristocr. p. 689. De Cor. p. 243. 266. 325. Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 57 (420). Vit. X. Orat. in Demosth. Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. p. 153 (172). Dionys. Ep. 1. in Am. 11. et Philochor. ibid. Clinton, F. Hell. I. p. 146, 363. Mueller de Mur. Ath. p. 25.

repair of the walls, by the treasurer of the state; conjointly with the *πωληται*, or ten officers who had the charge of all public sales, leases, and contracts¹. A chief architect and ten subordinates were appointed by the government; the required repairs were exactly described; the work was divided into ten parts, and the contractor named by whom each part was to be executed. We find, also, that a term of not less than five years was contemplated as the duration of the work; a delay, which seems incompatible with that apprehension of immediate danger which caused the measures of the year 339-8. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe, that the repair recorded in the inscription occurred very soon after that in which Demosthenes was employed, and was, in fact, a continuation of it. Lycurgus was at the head of the financial administration of Athens during twelve years, and this period appears to have begun at the time of the alarm excited by Philip²; but as, according to a law

¹ Hyperid. et Aristot. ap. Harpoc. in *Πωληται*. V. et Suid., Phot. Lex., Hesych. in v. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 291. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. I. p. 209.

² Lycurgus is stated to have restored, on an alarm of war, many of the defences of the city, which were in a ruinous state, simultaneously with the additions which he made to the navy (*ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως κατεβόηκόντα ἐπανέλαβε, καὶ τριήρεις τῷ δήμῳ τετρακοσίας παρασκεύασε*. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 268, p. 1483.) This operation could only have occurred when the Athenians were preparing to defend themselves against Philip, and when we know that Lycurgus was in office (Vit. X. orat. in Hyperid.), or when they were preparing to oppose Alexander, in the year 336: but the latter could not have been the first year of the financial administration of Lycurgus, because he governed twelve years in that capacity, and died about 325; having, a year or two before his death, been displaced by his adversary Menesæchmus (Phot. Bibl. l. l. Dionys. de Dinarch. 11. Epist. Demosth. 3. Clinton, F. Hell. I. p. 169, 163): his administration commenced therefore before the year 336. On the other hand, it could not have been long before the battle of Chæroneia; because, until the preparations for war against Philip suspended those works of the Peirææus, which Lycurgus completed, and caused the naval expenditure to be diverted to the former object, the distribution of the public funds had been in the hands of Eubulus of Anaphlystus. Philochor. ap. Dionys. Ep. 1. ad Amm. 11. Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 57 (417). Dinarch. cont. Demosth. p. 102. Plutarch. Præcept. Polit. 15. It becomes highly probable, there

introduced by himself, he could not hold that office for more than one penteteris, or interval of four complete years, he governed under the name of a friend¹ in the two subsequent intervals. The presumption immediately follows, that his eldest son Habron, who is stated by the author of the life of Lycurgus to have held some high official situa-

fore, that the armament against Philip was the period at which the financial administration of Lycurgus commenced, as well as the penteteris, during which he governed in his own name. The circumstance alone of Callias, son of Habron of Bate, his brother-in-law, having been treasurer of war (*ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*) in the year of the battle of Chaeroneia, renders it probable that Lycurgus was then in office. (See, on the date of the administration of Lycurgus, Boeckh's *Economy of Athens*, II. p. 184. C. Ins. Gr. No. 157. Mueller de Mur. Ath. p. 28.) If we knew exactly the age of Lycurgus at the time of his administration, we might form some judgment as to that of Habron; but this is doubtful. Taylor (*præf. ad Lycurg. ap. Or. Gr. IV. p. 105*, Reiske) supposes Lycurgus to have been born about Ol. 93 (408-407 B. C.), which would make him seventy at the time of the battle of Chaeroneia; but it seems very unlikely that he should have begun his long administration at so advanced an age, or that he should have been so much as twenty or thirty years older than his colleagues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, pupils of Plato and Isocrates as well as himself, and who, without his advantages of birth, arrived at distinction as statesmen about the same time, and who, together with him, were the objects of the resentment of Alexander (Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg., Demosth., Hyper. Arrian. de Exp. Alex. I, 10. Plutarch. Demosth. 23. Diodor. 17, 15.) Taylor rests his opinion entirely on the words of the biographer of the Ten Orators (*Λυκούργος πατρὸς ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου, δὲν οἱ τριάκοντα τέτταρτοι ἀπέκτειναν*); and those of Photius (p. 1484—*υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου, δὲν ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα τυραννίδος ἀντίστα*): which he supposes to mean, that Lycophron was put to death by the Thirty; but it was more probably Lycurgus the elder; for the naming of a grandfather was unusual, and seems to have been here introduced for the express purpose of showing, that the orator was the grandson of that Lycurgus (noted also as the Ibis of Aristophanes, Av. 1296) who had been destroyed by the Thirty. This question, although of minor importance, is interesting, as relating to one of the most able, liberal, and honest statesmen Athens ever possessed, and to whom, next to Pericles, she was indebted for her superiority over all other cities in the beauty and magnificence of her public buildings.

¹ *ἔπειτα τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραφάμενός τινα.* Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. The psephisma, however, states plainly that Lycurgus was treasurer for the whole time, *γενόμενος τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταμίης τῇ ὥλει ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας.*

tion (πολιτευσάμενος ἐπιφανῶς¹), was one of these substitutes, in the second or third penteteris; and the second, which began probably with the archonship of Evænetus, B. C. 335, appears preferable, because the threatened danger had then ceased; Philip had been assassinated; the vengeance of Alexander had fallen upon Thebes; Athens had escaped; and Alexander was on his march into Asia. Nothing seems more likely, than that the Athenians, relieved from their apprehensions, but still resolved upon completing their defences, should have then preferred to spread the expense over several years, and to complete the work by contract.

There is no reason to believe, that the fortifications of Athens suffered any damage from the fortune of war until the occupation of Athens by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, in the year B. C. 307. This event may indeed have happened in the lifetime of Habron; but, as the damage done by the Poliorcetes was confined to Munychia, such a repair as that recorded by the inscription could not have been required in consequence of it. Habron, moreover, would rather seem, from the words of the biographer of Lycurgus, to have died at no very advanced age¹.

There may perhaps be some difficulty in understanding how the decree in honour of Lycurgus, when enumerating his works, omitted to mention the repair of the walls. It was possibly because the whole credit of it was given to Demosthenes, as having been *τειχοποιὸς* at the commencement.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς δος πρυ-
τανείας ἔδο]ξεν τῷ δήμῳ..... [εἶπεν 1

..... τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ
ἄσ]τεως καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὰ μα- 2

¹ κατέλιπε (Lycurgus) δὲ παῖδας Ἀβρωνά, Λυκούργον, Λυκόφρονα· ὧν ὁ Ἀβρων καὶ ὁ Λυκούργος ἀπαίδες μετέλλαξαν· ἀλλ' ὅγε Ἀβρων καὶ πολιτευσάμενος ἐπιφανῶς μετέλλαξε, Λυκόφρων δὲ γῆμας, &c.

κρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν τ.....	3
Ἄ]θηναίων εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα (?) χρόνον κ.	
.....	
ὅσα καὶ συντελεσθῇ καὶ	4
..... διαλ]είπον-	
τες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τρία μ.....	5
..... τὸν ἀρχιτέκ]ονα	
τὸν κεχειροτονημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ δη-	6
μου τῶν τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν μα]	
κρῶν τειχῶν δέκα μέρη καὶ δ[ιοδ]ον? .	7
.....	
παρέ]χειν?	8
.....	
μὴ ἔ]λαττον?... ὁ ἀρχι]τέκτων καὶ .	9
.....	
.....	10
.....	
..... τα ἔξω..	11
.....	
.....	12
.....	
..... ἐπὶ τὰ πό-	13
δας	
..... τ]ῷ ἔτ[ε-	14
ι	
.....	15
.....	
.....	16
.....	
.....	17
..... μισθωσ]άμεν-	
[οι.....	18
.....	
.....	19
.....	
.....	20

.....	21
..... ἀρχιτέκτονα.....	21
..... ὧσιν	
οἱ μισθωσάμενοι.....	22
..... δ[ρκω πι]σ[τῶ]-	
σαι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ..	23
..... τῷ ὑπὸ] τῷδε τῷ	
ψηφίσματι γεγραμμένῳ	24
..... οὗς ἂν	
κολ..... μὴ πε[ριέ]ρχο[ι]ν[το].	25
..... τὶς τῶν [μεμισθ]ωμένων	
παραλάβῃ ἐ[ν] τ[ῷ] μέρ[ε]ι [τ]ῷ νειμ[ηθέ]-	26
ντι αὐτῷ]..... καὶ	
τάλλ' ὅσ' ἂν ᾗ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ..	27
..... ἐπὶ τοῦ τεί[χους] καὶ	
εἰς τὸ μητρῶον πρὸς τὸν δῆμον	28
..... τοῦ με-	
μισθωμένου καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσ[ον]	29
ἂν αὐτοὶ εἰσενέγκωσιν τῇ οἰκο]δομ[ήσει τῶ]ν [ἐργ]ων,	
καὶ ἐ[ξε]τ[ά]ζ[οι]ν[το] περὶ τὰ τ ..	30
..... ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε	
τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεία-	31
ν γραμματεῖα καὶ τὰ μισθώσιμα ἔργα καὶ ὅσ' ἂν [εἰς]ενέ-	
γκωσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες, εἰς στήλην λ-	32
ιβίνην, καὶ τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῇ]ς στήλης δοῦναι	
τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμο[υ ν' δ]ρα[χμὰς ἐ-	33
κ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκο]μένων τῷ δήμῳ.	34
Ἐπὶ..... κλέους ἐκ Κηδῶν: καὶ	
Αὐτολύκου	35
..... οἱ πωληταὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει	
Ἄβρων Λυκούργου Βουτάδης.	36
Τάδε τὰ ἔργα τῶν τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ τοῦ] Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν	
μακρῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν τ ..	37
..... ἐπισκευ-	
άσωσιν ? Ὅσα.....	38

.....τὰς κρηπίδα]ς λιθολογήσει ὕψος ποιῶν ὑπὲρ γῆς μὴ ἑλάττον ἢ διπο-	39
διαίας] καὶ τοὺς ἀρμούς ὑπὸ ξοίδος τιθεῖς πρὸς μετώπου	40
.....ἀνο]ρθῶν λίθοις χρώ- μενος μὴ ἑλάττωσιν ἢ τριημιποδι-	41
αίοιςπαρὰ πλευρὰν ὀρ]θὰ καὶ κατὰ κεφα- λὴν, ἐξυπάγων πηλῷ ἡχυρωμένῳ.	42
.....μὴ ἔ]λαττον πλίνθου, ἐὰν δέ που δείηται τριημιπλινθί-	43
ο παρὰ πλ]ευρὰν καὶ κατὰ κε- φαλὴν, καὶ σφηνώσει σφησὶν ἐλαϊνοῖ	44
ς καὶ τὸν στοῖχον? ἐπάνω? τ]ῶν λιθο- λογημάτων ἀμαξιαίοις οἰκοδομήσει καὶ	45
..... ἐπισκευ- άσει δὲ καὶ τῶν κλιμάκων τὰ δεό-	46
μενα πε]ριόντων. Ἐὰν δέ τι πτωματίσῃ μέχρι τοῦ λιθολογήματ-	47
ος]..... παρῆξει καὶ ἐξοικοδο- μήσει, ἐὰν δὲ πλεύνων προσδείη-	48
ται.....τῶ]ν [μ]εταπυ[ρ]γί[ων] καθελὼν τὴν ἀρόδον ἢ αἱ ἀντηρίδε-	49
ς ἐνδείσμονες ἐνβα- λὼν. Ἐὰν δέ τινος πύργου ἡ ὀροφὴ δειο-	50
μένη ᾗ]..... θράνος ἢ γεισήπους ἢ γείσον λίθινον ἢ κεράμεον ..	51
.....ἐῖπερ ἐπισκευάσαι. Κα- ταστεγάσει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρόδον	52
τοῦ κύκλ]ου τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστν ἀνευ τοῦ διατειχίσματος καὶ τοῦ διπύλου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν	53
ἐπὶ! τὰ μα]κρὰ τείχη, ἐπ[ι]β[α]λὼν τοῦ περιδρόμου τὰ γεῖσα. Καὶ τῶν ἐπαλξίων πάντα ὅσα ἂν ᾗ ἄ-	54
φεστη]κότα? πλέον ἐξ δακτύλων πλινθοβολήσει διαλείπων θυρίδας διπλίνθους, ὕψος ποιῶ-	55
ν τοῦ μ]έν ἐπαλξίου τρεῖς πύδας, τῆς δὲ θυρίδος δέκα στοίχους καὶ ἐπιθήσει ὑπερτόναια ξύλ·	56

ινα γο]μφώσας διάτοιχα πάχος στοιχιαῖα μῆκος ὀκτώποδα·
 ὑποθήσει δὲ καὶ κύβους τοῖς ὑπ- 57
 ερτο]νοίοις· καὶ ἐπιπλινθοβολήσει ὕψος ἕξ στοίχους·
 οἰκοδομήσει δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔνδοθεν 58
 στ]όχους, οὐ μὴ εἰσιν οἰκοδομημένοι, διπλίνθους διαλεί-
 ποντας ἑπτὰ πόδας· καὶ ἐγκατοικ- 59
 υδ]ομήσει στρωτήρας δύο διαλείποντας τρεῖς ἡμιπόδια, ὕψος
 ποιῶν τοῦ στόχου ὥστε ἀνόρθο- 60
 υς] εἶναι εἰς τὸ εἶσω· καὶ ἐπιθήσει δοκοὺς εἰς τοὺς στό-
 χους. Οὐ μὴ κατεστέγασται, στεγάσει δόκι- 61
 σιν καὶ ἐπιβλήσιν τιθεὶς ἐναλλάξ, ἥ στρωτήρσιν περιεν-
 κεντρίσει διαλείπων τρεῖς παλ- 62
 αστὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπάνωθεν· καὶ διοικοδομήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου
 ἀνατεμεῖ τὸ γεισηπόδισμα ὀρθ- 63
 ὄν παρὰ πλευρὰν ὑπερέχον μὴ ἔλαττον τρεῖς ἡμιπόδια· καὶ
 ἐπικρούσει ἀκρογείσιον ποιῶν ὁ- 64
 ρθὸν κατὰ κεφαλὴν πλάτος ἑπτὰ δακτύλων πάχος παλα-
 στῆς παρατεμνὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἔνδοθεν πάχο- 65
 ς ἱμάντος καὶ τὸ μέτωπον ποιήσας πρὸς τὴν καταφοράν.
 Ἐπικρούσει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἱμά- 66
 ντας διαλείποντας τρεῖς παλαστὰς πάχος δακτύλου πλά-
 τος πέντε δακτύλων ἥλοις σιδηρ- 67
 οῖς· καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν κάλαμον λελαμμένον, ὑποβαλὼν λοβὸν
 ἢ κάλαμον λοβώσει πηλῷ ἡχυρωμέ- 68
 νῳ πύχος τριδακτύλῳ· καὶ κεραμώσει Λακωνικῷ κεράμῳ
 τοῦ μὲν κύκλου πᾶσαν τὴν πάρο- 69
 δον, τῶν δὲ μακρῶν τειχῶν τὰς ἡγεμόνας, οὐ μὴ εἰσιν κεί-
 μεναι, τιθεὶς ὅλας ἐν πηλῷ ὀρθὰ πα- 70
 ρὰ πλευράν· καὶ καλυπτηριεῖ τιθεὶς τοὺς καλυπτῆρας ὅλους
 ἐν πηλῷ. Καὶ ἀπογειώσσει ἐκ 71
 τοῦ ἔξωθεν γείσοις Κορινθίοις ἀναξῶν τοὺς κριοὺς ἀρμότ-
 τοντας καὶ τιθεὶς ὀρθὰ παρὰ π- 72
 λευράν καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν. Καὶ ποιήσας κανθήλιον ἐκλο-
 βώσει! πηλῷ ἡχυρωμένῳ [διάζωμα ἰθ- 73
 υτρεχὲς ὕψος τεττάρων στοίχων· καὶ τὰ ἔξω χρειαζόμενα
 τοῦ τείχους ἀνα]σκευάσει πλίνθ- 74

οις καὶ ἡμιπλινθίοις, καὶ ὅσα κατέρῳρωνεν τοῦ τείχους ἐνδῆσαι θράνο[ις ξυλίνοις. Ποιήσ-	75
ει δὲ καὶ θυρίδας τοῦ ἄστεως τῷ κύκλῳ κα[τ]αρά[κτ]ους κατ' ἔπαλξιν [ἐ-	76
παλξίου στροφέα προσβαλὼν καὶ συργομφώσας ὑποτρυν- πήσει ἢ ἐς	77
ιδε. πάχος ἕκαστον διδακτύλους, καὶ ἀντιζυγώσει δυεῖν ἀντιζυγοῖν κα-	78
ὶ καθηλώσει ἥλοις σιδηροῖς πλατέσιν πέντε εἰς τὸ ἀντίζυ- γον	79
δας ἐναλλάξ παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ὕψος ποδιαίας πλάτος διπ[αλαστιαίας?	80
ην ἐναλλάξ παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν καὶ περιαλείψει καὶ κατὰ	81
ας καὶ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὴν πάροδον ῥαχώσας καὶ ὁσ- τρακώ[σας πηλῷ ἡχυρ-	82
ωμένῳ πάχος διδακτύλῳ, γῆς δὲ ὠπτημένης ἦν ἂν δοκι- μάσῃ εἶναι? [ὅ ἐπὶ	83
τῇ διοικήσει, προσέχων τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ἀποργάζων ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ? [τ-	84
ὴν ἀλοιφήν ἀποσκάψει, ὅσα δ' ἀφεστηκότα ἢ τοῦ ἀλοιμοῦ τὸν πε-	85
ρίδρομον καὶ τὴν ἔπαλξιν καὶ τὸ θωρακεῖον καὶ τὸ γείσον καὶ	86
ἔπε[ξ]ε[ργά]σεται λε καὶ ἀνατρίψας ἀπο- σκάψει	87
. ἐπισκευάσας ὅτου ἂν δέηται.	88
. . . τὰς θυρίδας καὶ τὴν ὀροφήν τῶν πύργων καὶ τῆς παρόδου	89
καὶ . . . τε . καὶ καὶ ὥς ἕκαστα ἀρμό- σει	90
. παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν μὴ ἔλαιτον	91
τριημιποδία	92

..... τάφρου? ὑποφορήσει τὸν χοῦν οὗ ἂν γ[ι]γ[νηται]	93
..... ἑκατὸν χάρακος?	94
..... παραλαβεῖν τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς	95
..... ἐκάστων καὶ ἂν μισθώσῃ[ται]	96
..... πρὸς πάντα ὅσα? τὸν χάρακα τὸν πε[ρι]	97
..... τείχη ταῦτα ἐξεργασάμενον	98
ωμένοις κέραμον ὅσον παρέλαβον	99
.....	100
δὲ αὐτὸν εἴ τις	101
..... ἔργα	102
.....	103
αὐτὸν ἔρεβιν	104
..... τῷ δὲ δευτέ[ρῳ] ἔτει	105
..... τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει τὸν	106
τὴν κο τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ ἔτει παρέξει	107
τὰς συγγ	108
τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀνευρίσκειν? τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν	109
..... μεριεῖται πρὸς τὰ ἕξω?	110

.. οἷς ἅπαντα ὅσων ἂν δέωνται εἰς τὰ ἔργα πα[ρεχ....	111
.. πόλεμον κινήθῃ, ἐγγυητὰς δὲ καταστήσαι	112
.. τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ὅσα τούτων παραδώ[σιν]	113
λιθίνῳ γεισηποδίσματι ὑποικοδομήσει	114
... πλάτος πενθημιποδίους διαλείποντας	115
... ἔσται δὲ καὶ ... λείας [ἐργασ]ίας τοί[χων]!	116
..... κατὰ τὰδε ἔνειμαν οἱ ἀρχιτέκ[τονες]	117
τείχους.	118

Κατὰ τὰδε μεμίσθωται τὰ ἔργα	119
Τοῦ βορείου τείχους πρῶ- τη μερὶς	Τοῦ νοτίου τείχους πέμπτη μερὶς ἀπὸ
ἀπὸ τοῦ διατειχίσματος μέχρι τῶν	τοῦ διατειχίσματος τ[οῦ Πειραιέως]
.... ν πυλῶν καὶ τὰς διδδους	μέχρι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ.
— — Η Η Η Η	122
— — — ης	123
— — — ης Χίλωνος Κορυ- δαλλεύς	Ἔκτη μερὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κ[ηφισοῦ].
	125

APPENDIX XXI.

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ON THE POPULATION OF ATTICA AND ATHENS.

All Athenians more than twenty years of age, and born of parents who were Attic citizens, enjoyed the right of voting in the general assembly, and the other honours of citizenship¹. Such being the only requisites, the number of citizens was likely to increase during the flourishing ages of the republic: and this we find to have been the case. Some intimation of the number of citizens in the sixth century, B. C. may be found in the fact that there were 360 families in the four tribes, into which the people was divided prior to the time of Cleisthenes, and that a family was called a *τριακὰς*², as containing thirty citizens. When this name therefore first prevailed, there were 10,800 citizens. In the middle of the fifth century B. C. (445—4) a scrutiny of citizens took place on the occasion of a present of corn from a king of Egypt, when the number of *νόθοι* was found to be 4750, and that of the *γνήσιοι* born

¹ See S. Petit. Comm. in leg. Attic. 1. 2. tit. 4.

² J. Poll. 8, 111.

of two Athenians 14,240¹, (according to Plutarch, 14,040 were acknowledged, and 5000 rejected².) Soon afterwards they appear to have increased to 20,000³, and this was precisely the number at which they were estimated a century later by Demosthenes, in an oration pronounced in the year B.C. 330⁴. Although obviously a rough estimate, it was probably not far from the truth; for although the division of the property of Diphilus, made about the same time by Lycurgus, gave a result of not more than 19,200⁵, the census of Demetrius Phalereus, taken about the year 317 B.C., produced an amount of 21,000 citizens⁶.

It is from this census alone, that we derive the means of estimating correctly the Attic population. We are informed, that according to the same statistical enquiry there were in Attica, besides citizens, 10,000 metœci, and 400,000 slaves. According to the population returns of England, the proportion of males above the age of twenty is 2430 in 10,000. The families therefore of the 21,000 citizens amounted to 86,420 souls, and the totality of the metœci

¹ Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 718.

² Plutarch. Pericl. 37.

³ δύο μυριάδες τῶν δημοτικῶν. Aristoph. Vesp. 709. It appears nevertheless, that 30,000 was for many years the vulgar estimate of the number of Attic citizens. Aristophanes himself (Eccles. 1124) says πολιτῶν πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος. The words of Plato in the Symposium have already been adverted to (see above, p. 520). In like manner in the Axiochus (12) the assembly in which the generals were condemned after the battle of Arginusæ, is said to have been attended by more than 30,000. Very possibly that number really exercised the rights of citizenship until the census of Pericles: and Aristogoras of Miletus may not have exceeded the truth, when he asserted that 30,000 Athenians voted in the public assembly. (Herodot. 5, 97.)

⁴ C. Aristog. l. p. 785, Reiske.

⁵ Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg.

⁶ Plutarch. Phocion. 28. Ctesicles ap. Athen. 6, 20 (103).

may be computed nearly in the same proportion; for although the exclusion of all males below twenty is not applicable to a computation of the metœci, a deduction of the aged would be necessary, if the 10,000 metœci were those capable of bearing arms. It is evident, however, that such a round number could not have been a precise calculation. Taking, therefore, the total of the metœci at 40,000, the aggregate of the free population of Attica was about 127,000.

The number of slaves (400,000) has been thought excessive; but it does not appear disproportioned to that of the Athenian freemen, when we consider that the greater part of the agricultural, mining, and menial labour of Attica was performed by slaves, as well as that of the public works, and that slaves were employed in great numbers in the military and commercial shipping, as well as in trades and manufactures. Although we may be allowed to doubt that the little republic of Ægina ever had 470,000¹ slaves, or the Corinthians 460,000², some *myriads* were probably employed in the silver mines of Attica, for they once seized the castle of Sunium, in imitation of a general insurrection in Sicily, in which the slaves destroyed were innumerable³. Nicias let 1000 slaves to a person who undertook the working of a mine in Laurium⁴, and it appears from Plato that there were many Athenians who possessed fifty slaves each⁵. There is no good reason therefore to suppose, that the slaves of Attica are much overrated at 400,000, which number bears nearly the same proportion to the free inhabitants of Attica, as the slaves bore to the free people in the British colonies of the West Indies.

¹ Aristot. ap. Athen. l. i. Schol. Pindar. Ol. 8, 30.

² Epitimaëus ap. Athen. l. i.

³ Posidonius ap. Athen. 6, 20 (104).

⁴ Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

⁵ Polit. 9. 5.

Demosthenes observes that 400,000 medimni of bread-corn were brought from Pontus, and about as much more from other *ἐμπόρια* ¹. The total was equal to about 1,150,000 bushels, the medimnus being to the bushel as eighty-six to sixty². Adding this to the produce of Attica, which we may reckon at about twenty-five bushels per acre, upon one-fourth of 700 square miles, or about 112,000 acres, the total will be 3,950,000 bushels, or about 2,750,000 medimni. This would give per caput to a population of half a million, near eight bushels per annum, or five medimni and a half, equal to a daily rate of twenty ounces and $\frac{7}{8}$ avoirdupois, to both sexes and to every age and condition³. The ordinary full ration of corn was a choenix, or the forty-eighth part of a medimnus, or about twenty-eight ounces and a half⁴.

There is great difficulty in forming any precise opinion as to the proportion between the urban and the rustic population. The partiality of the Athenians for a country life is expressly noticed by Thucydides⁵. And it might be inferred from the importance of many of the country towns⁶; from the arrangement of all the citizens in demi, of which not a third were in the city or its immediate vicinity; and from the laws of Solon, which classed the Attic citizens by the number of medimni of corn produced upon their estates⁷, showing that a large proportion of them were landed proprietors. These considerations tend to augment the estimate of the rural population beyond its ordinary proportion to the urban. The only facts imme-

¹ Adv. Leptin. p. 467, Reiske.

² See above, p. 473. n. 7.

³ On this question, see the Museum Criticum, II. p. 215, and Clinton Fasti Hellen. I. p. 392.

⁴ Herodot. 7, 187. Diogen. Laert. 8, 17. Alexarchus ap. Athen. 3. 20 (54). Plutarch. Sympos. 1, 10. Hesych. in *Χοίνυκες*.

⁵ Thucyd. 2, 14.

⁶ Liv. 31, 26. Pausan. Attic. 31.

⁷ Plutarch. Solon. 18. See Boeckh's Economy of Athens, II. p. 259.

diately bearing upon this question, are the number of houses in Athens, which, according to Xenophon, were more than 10,000¹, and the law which required two-thirds of the corn imported into Attica by sea, to be carried into the city². This seems to imply that two-thirds of the free inhabitants of Attica dwelt in the Asty and that suburban demi; for it is probable that the imported grain was chiefly consumed by that part of the population, and that the grain of Attica, which was barley, or wheat inferior to the imported, was chiefly consumed by the slaves. This would give a free population to the city and suburbs of about 85,000.

Allowing 12,000 houses for the Asty and suburban demi, a rate of sixteen inhabitants for each house, taken from a medium between London (seven and a half) and Paris (twenty-four and a half), the former being one of the lowest, the latter one of the highest known, would give a population of 192,000, and consequently require the supposition of more than 100,000 slaves in the city and suburbs. But this seems not improbable on considering the great number of this class employed in manufactures, together with those belonging to every free family; and still more perhaps on referring to a remark found in the fragment of an oration pronounced by Hypereides about twenty years before the census of Demetrius, from which it would seem that the

¹ ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐκ πλείωνων ἢ μυρίων οἰκίων συνίστηκεν. Xenoph. Mem. 3. 6. § 14.

ἴσμεν ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἄπαντα ἔχει ἡ πᾶσα πόλις. Id. (Econ. 8, 22.

Dion Chrysostom, referring to Athens in the time of Alexander, says that the whole space included within the Astic, Peiraic, and Long Walls, was inhabited (οἰκεῖσθαι ταῦτα ξέμπαντα) Or. 6. I. p. 199, Reiske. Xenophon however (de Vectig. 2) says there were many empty spaces within the walls, which he proposed to bestow upon the most deserving strangers, to encourage building.

² Harpocr. in Ἑπιμελητής Ἐμπορίου. Suid. in Ἑπιμελητής.

slaves employed in the mines and agriculture did not exceed 150,000¹; and consequently that domestic labour, and the various employments of the city and ports of Athens, occupied five-eighths of the entire number of slaves.

¹ Hyperid. ap. Suid. in ἀπεψηφίσαιτο.

THE END.

ADDENDA.

P. 14.—On the plantation of the Agora with Planes, *see* Plutarch Cimon. 13, Polit. Præcept. 24.

P. 18, note 1, *add.*—Pausan. Attic. 29, 16.

P. 30, note 5, *add.*—Pausan. Attic. 33, 6.

P. 46.—Among the works of art for which Athens was renowned, and which were such as Pausanias (we may presume) would have noticed had they remained until his time, may be mentioned the heifer in brass by Myron, an Iacchus in marble (Cicero Verrin. Act. 2. 4, 60,) the mares in brass by Cimon, in memory of those which had gained for him a victory at Olympia (Ælian. Var. Hist. 9, 32,) a congregation of Satyrs by Lysippus (Plin. 34, 8. (19, § 6), and the painting of a flute-player dedicated by Thrasippus (Aristot. Polit. 8, 6).

P. 60.—Concerning Dionysius the first bishop of Athens, *see* J. Malala (Chronog. p. 106,) and on the early Athenian church, Meursius de fortunâ Athenarum 9.

P. 87, line 14.—In support of the opinion, that the demolition of the temple of Victory is to be attributed to the

fire of the Venetian batteries, the following considerations may be adduced : 1. The temple, (as already observed in p. 87), was a powder-magazine no more than eleven years before the siege, and nothing was seen of it after the siege : 2. The first of the two explosions mentioned in the " Journal of the Venetian Campaigne," evidently happened when the fire of the Venetian batteries was directed principally upon the western front of the Acropolis. On the other hand it is argued that the recent discovery which has been made of the columns and epistylia of the temple, as well as of its foundation, in removing the upper Turkish battery, has not shown any marks of fire upon the marbles. Hence it is supposed that about the year 1685, when the Venetians began to make Greece the chief seat of their war with Turkey, the temple was taken down, in order to make room for the battery which was then erected, the materials of the temple having served in the construction of the battery (Acropolis von Athen. p. 3). But we see no marks of fire on the Parthenon : and it seems very unlikely, supposing this battery to have been erected prior to the siege, that it should have been left uninjured after the siege, when Morosini not only carried away all the guns of the Acropolis, but destroyed its defences. Less than this can scarcely have been intended by the "*Maurocenus post eversas funditus Athenas Eubœam ire pergit*" of Graziani, (p. 340) or the "*ut Athenæ diruerentur* denique placuit" of Arrighi (p. 353.)

The Erechtheium, although it became in its turn a powder magazine, escaped from the casualties of 140 years with little damage : for in 1729 all the Caryatides of the southern portico still remained, if we may trust to a drawing of the younger Fourmont in the Royal Library of Paris. Between that time and the year 1751 one of them had fallen : a recent excavation has led to its discovery very near its original position. In 1802 another of the Caryatides was removed by Lord Elgin. In 1823 the Greek insurrection again placed the buildings of Athens in imminent danger, and in the course of this war the Erechtheium has suffered more than any other of the Athe-

nian edifices. The bombardment of 1827 caused the fall of three columns with the ceiling of the northern portico of the Erechtheium, and of a part of the western wall with two of its semi-columns. In 1832 the southern column of the eastern portico had fallen, and all the southern wall of the cella: no more than three of the Caryatides remained standing; no more than two of the engaged columns of the western wall, and three of the six columns of the northern portico, with that part of the roof which they support.—Note of 1839.

P. 97.—The benefits which have been derived from the society of *Dilettanti*, although not much acknowledged in England, have been duly appreciated in that country, which now takes the lead in archæological science. Professor Kruse, of Halle, in his work entitled *Hellas*, when dividing into periods our modern acquisitions in the knowledge of Grecian arts and literature, has fixed the commencement of the last period at the establishment of the *Dilettanti* in the year 1734. He bears witness that by means of this society, not only the geography, topography, and monumental history of Greece have been greatly advanced, but that Grecian architecture may be said to have been discovered by it and made known to the world. In the year 1755, the society was mainly instrumental in establishing the Royal Academy.

P. 111, note 4.—Pliny (35, 12 (45), Photius and Suidas attest the derivation of the name of this place from its manufactory of pottery.

P. 114, line 1.—The statue of the mother of the gods by Phidias was undoubtedly the same, concerning which Pliny (36, 5 (4, § 3), says, “*Est in matris magnæ delubro in eadem civitate (Athenis) Agoracriti opus.*” In like manner the statue of the Rhamnusian Nemesis, the joint production of Phidias and his favourite scholar Agoracritus, was attri-

buted sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other of these two artists. See *Demi of Attica*, p. 110.

P. 115, line 15.—This was probably the statue of Erechtheus by Myron, which Pausanias (*Boeot.* 30, 1,) asserts to have been the finest of his works; for Pausanias notices no other statue of Erechtheus at Athens, except that which represented him as fighting with Immaradus in the temenos of Minerva Polias. See p. 157.

P. 117, note 1.—Lucian (*Demosth. Encom.* 10,) and Plutarch (*de gloriâ Atheniensium* 7) allude to this fragment of Pindar, and the Scholiast of Aristophanes (*Nub.* 300,) adds the word *κλεινὰ*, which improves its efficiency—*αἱ τε λιπαρὰ καὶ αἰοίδιμοι Ἑλλάδος ἔρισμα κλεινὰ Ἀθῆναι.*

P. 122, note 4.—According to Lucian (*Demonax* 53) there was a statue of Cynægeirus without hands in the *Pœcile*. In the picture of the battle of Marathon, Miltiades was represented as stretching out his arm, pointing to the barbarians, and ordering the Athenians to advance against them (*ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὑποδεικνύς τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοὺς βαρβάρους, λέγων ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν*). Schol. *Aristid.* p. 216. Frömmel.

P. 137, note 5.—The *ancient* temple of Bacchus in the *Lenæum* (*τὸ ἀρχαῖότατον ἱερὸν*) was opened only once a year. *Demosth. c. Neær.* p. 1370. Reiske.

P. 139. There were statues in the theatre of Bacchus, of Miltiades and Themistocles, each accompanied by a Persian captive. Miltiades was on the left fronting the entrance, Themistocles on the right. Sch. *Aristid.* p. 202. Frömmel.

P. 141, note 5. According to Nicandrus of Colophon,

Solon was the first who built a temple to Venus Pandemus at Athens (ap. Athen. 13, 3, p. 569).

P. 143, note 5.—Harpocration in Αἰγιῶν, may be cited as a testimony to the existence of a heroum and oracle of Ægeus at Athens. The latter rested on the authority of Dinarchus.

P. 145, line 7. For the altar of Minerva Hygieia at Athens, see Aristides Orat. in Minerv. p. 25. Steph.

P. 163, line 5.—Plutarch mentions the temple of Diana Aristobula in the life of Themistocles (22,) and de Malign. Herodot. (36.)

P. 163, note 7.—Add to the testimony as to the statue of Hercules by Ageladas, that of Suidas in Γελάδας.

P. 180, note 3.—Plutarch also refers to the bema of the Pnyx as the rock of the Agora (ἐν Ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῇ λίθῳ. Solon. 25).

P. 193, note 1.—The “levelling of the torrent bed” at the Panathenaic stadium mentioned by the biographer of Lycurgus (Vit. X. Rhet.) compared with the words of the Psephisma of Stratocles in honour of the same statesman, shows that, although the valley may have been used as a stadium before his time, there was no *construction* until then. Lycurgus completed the unfinished theatre and arsenal (ἡμίεργα ἐξειργάσατο), he entirely constructed the stadium (ἐπετίλεσε τὸ στάδιον), and he erected a gymnasium and other buildings at the Lyceium, (τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ Λύκειον κατεσκεύασεν).

P. 232. line 25.—The mythus of the Amazones having been much connected with that of the actions of Theseus, the Amazoneium was probably not far from the Theseium.

P. 235, line 3.—In addition to the arguments showing that the ordinary route from the Peiræus passed to the northward of the northern Long Wall, may be mentioned an allusion made by Demosthenes (c. Nicostr. p. 1252, Reiske), to some quarries on the road from Athens to Peiræus, which could not have been between the Long Walls, and in fact are still to be seen to the northward of the position of the northern wall.

P. 255, note 1.—mention is made likewise by Pansanias (Attic. 35, 2,) of an altar of Eurysaces in Athens.

P. 257, note 1.—Diogenes Laërtius, in stating (7, 3) that under the tyranny of the thirty, 1400 Attic citizens were slain in the Pœcile, supports the opinion given in this note. Zeno, he says, ἀνακάμπτων δὲ ἐν τῇ Πουκίλῃ στοᾷ διέθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν Τριάκοντα, τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς τετρακοσίους χιλίους ἀνῆρτοντο ἐν αὐτῇ.

P. 281.—An inscription lately discovered (see 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 4^o Athens, 1837. No. 80,) furnishes undoubted proof that upper and lower Agryle were separate demi, and correct therefore the supposition in the text of this page, line 16.

P. 282, note 1.—See also Bekker, Anecdota Græca, p. 334, in Ἀγραι.

P. 316, line 5.—Note omitted. The date of the commencement of the Propylæa, as well as the time consumed in its construction, rests on the authority of Philochorus and Heliodorus (ap. Harpocrat. Suid. Phot. &c. in Προπύλαια ταῦτα.) For further remarks on the Propylæa, see appendix xiv.

P. 345, line 18.—The circular basis of a statue of Mi-

nerva Hygieia has lately been discovered at the foot of the southern angular column of the Propylæa, inscribed as follows :

ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙΤΕΙΥΓΙΕΙΑΙ
ΠΥΡΡΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ.

See *Bullettino della Società Archeol. di Roma*, an. 1840, p. 68.

It is by no means impossible that this may be the basis of the statue dedicated by Pericles, although his name does not appear in the inscription. In this case it is curious, as proving that the H was sometimes employed for *ἥρα* at Athens near forty years before the archonship of Eucleides. The situation of the basis shows likewise that the Venus *Lesena* and the *Diitrephes*, as well as the *Graces* and *Mercury* of *Socrates*, stood very near the western colonnade of the Propylæa, and not in the interior part of the great vestibule.

P. 350, line 13. See also p. 158.—The words of Pausanias here alluded to (ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλεύουσιν ἔστιν ἡδὲ σύνοπτα) have generally been translated “a Sunio usque adnavigantibus conspicua est.” But this seems not to have been exactly the meaning of Pausanias. He intended probably to state, in his usual manner, a fact which he had himself witnessed. In sailing along the Attic shore from Sunium towards Peiræus, the Acropolis first comes into view near Cape Zoster : and precisely in this situation the western end of the Parthenon may have concealed the statue of *Minerva Promachus*, leaving the upper extremities of the helmet and spear visible above the temple. It is obvious that the same appearance would have been presented to any ship sailing up the gulf on a course of N. 20 W. true, which is about the bearing of the Parthenon from the supposed point near Zoster. But this point was the nearest at which the appearance could be seen from a ship sailing along the coast from Sunium, and it was at the same time the most distant, or nearly so, at which it was possible for the ancients, without the aid of

telescopes, to distinguish such objects as the crest of a helmet and the point of a spear, notwithstanding their having been ten times the common magnitude. The passage therefore in Pausanias ought rather to be translated thus. "The head of the spear and the crest of the helmet are visible even to those who are sailing onwards from Sunium" (towards Athens). The silence of Pausanias as to the statue when stating that its upper extremities were visible, and as to the cause of the singularity which he notices, is quite in his manner: and it is inexplicable without some knowledge of places and relative positions.

P. 364, line 9.—The words of Strabo, p. 395, (πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντη, ὁμώνυμος τῇ περὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Λοκρούς· καὶ ἄλλο νησίον, ὁμοίον τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ καὶ τοῦτο· εἶθ' ὁ Πειραιεύς, &c.) are probably faulty, for there is but one island besides Pyttaleia, and this answers to Atalante.

P. 382, line 15.—Two grammarians (Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 385, Eustath. in Il. A. 630,) assert that there was a picture of Helena by Zeuxis in the στοὰ τῶν ἀλφίτων. The most celebrated picture of Helena by Zeuxis was at Crotona (Dionys. Hal. de Vet. Script. cens. 1. Cicero de Invent. 2, 1.) But he may have painted another for the Athenians. Eustathius describes the stoa to which he alludes as having been ἐν Ἀθήναις; an expression applicable either to Peiræus or to the Asty, and the more ambiguous, as most probably there was a stoa τῶν ἀλφίτων in the city, as well as at the Emporium.

P. 402, note 2.—The important discovery of inscriptions here alluded to, and in p. 374, note 1, was made in excavating for the foundations of a building which the Greek government intended to erect on the point which projects from the southern side of port Dhrako. These inscriptions, having been copied by Professor Ross of Athens, were found to be registers of ships and naval stores, in charge of suc-

cessive annual superintendants of the naval yards (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*), and were probably deposited in an office in the principal *σκευοθήκη*; which we may suppose therefore to have occupied the promontory on which the inscriptions were found, together with the adjoining ground to some distance along the shore. We learn from these documents that in the reign of Alexander the Great there were 378 *νεώσοικοι*, or ship houses; of which 196 were in port Zea, 94 in Cantharus, and 82 in Munychia. The comparative importance of Zea, thus indicated, leads one to suspect that all the southern part of port Dhrako, westward of the promontory above-mentioned, was comprehended under the denomination of Zea: and it is a curious fact, in reference to this supposition, that in the middle of the southern *χηλῇ*, or mole, at the entrance of port Dhrako, there was an opening which formed a communication between the outer bay and the southern branch of the great harbour, and which is indicated by a depth of thirty-one feet; the water on no other part of the two ruined *chelæ* being more than eleven in depth, except in a corresponding opening in the northern *chele*, where is a depth of fifteen feet.

In one of the inscriptions (xiv. 6; Boeckh, *Urkunden*. &c., p. 472 seq.) it is stated that some of the naval stores were lodged in the Acropolis: doubtless the Acropolis of Munychia, which occupied probably the height rising immediately above the place where the inscriptions were found. It has been supposed that these inscriptions mark the site of the celebrated work of Philo: but this building, by all the authors who notice it, namely, Strabo (p. 395), Pliny (H. N. 7, 37 (38), Vitruvius (7 in præf.), Cicero (de Orat. 1, 14), and Appian (Mithridat. 41), is designated as an armoury (*ὀπλοθήκη*, *armamentarium*), and not as a *σκευοθήκη*, or naval storehouse, as the edifice appears clearly to have been, on the site of which the inscriptions were found. Pliny relates that the building of Philo contained arms for 1000 ships, which is

incredible if we suppose him to have meant naval stores: but may be credited in reference to arms, as many modern armouries prove. We may still therefore be allowed to conjecture that the armoury of Philo stood within the triangular inclosure; of which the round towers and adjacent walls are in a style of architecture, such as was in use when Philo flourished. It is most probable, however, that at the date of these inscriptions the armoury of Philo was not yet built, for the latest of them is of the year in which Alexander died (B. C. 324); and the portico which Philo added to the mystic temple of Eleusis was not constructed until twelve or fourteen years later, under the administration of Demetrius Phalereus.

P. 440.—We may deduce from Thucydides and Photius (*Lex. in Κώμην*) that the κῶμαι of Athens were originally separate villages round the base of the πόλις, and that these places preserved their names as quarters, when having become united, they formed the Asty or lower town. Κώμη was commonly used to mean a street or neighbourhood. *Κωμήτης· γείτων· κῶμαι γὰρ τὰ ἄμφοδα*, Phot. in *Κωμήτης*.

P. 443, note 1.—This note refers to p. 221, note 2, and to p. 442, note 1.

P. 444.—That the Scambonidæ were in the city or its suburbs is evident from some inscriptions lately discovered (*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 9, 10, 11), where this name is connected with those of other demi, well known to have been so situated, namely, Melite, Cydathenæum, Collytus, Cœle, Agryle, Alopece. Another inscription, which is of the early part of the fifth century B. C., makes mention of the Agora of the Scambonidæ (Boeckh. *C. Ins. Gr.* No. 70); this marble having been found near the temple of Theseus, may be taken as supporting the opinion that Scambonidæ bordered upon Melite. And hence it must be

admitted, that although in the plan of Athens I have placed Scambonidæ on the southern side of the town, the accuracy of this position is questionable.

P. 452, lin. penult.—In reference to the Greek, or Pelasgic origin, of many of the Etrurian cities, the names of Pisa and Volaterræ may particularly be noticed, as being those of neighbouring cities of Etruria, which may both be traced to the district of Elis in the Peloponnesus. Volaterræ, written FEAAΘPI in Etruscan characters on its coins, was in Hellenic Ἐλαρπία, the name of a city in Thesprotia, which had been founded by Pelasgi from the Eleia (Strabo, p. 324. Demosth. p. 84, Reiske). Pisa was the chief city of all the country lying westward of Arcadia, when Pelops migrated into the peninsula, which afterwards bore his name; it was in a declining state at the beginning of the 8th century B.C., and extinct soon after the beginning of the 6th, we may safely attribute therefore a date of several centuries before the Trojan war to the colonization which introduced the name of Pisa into Etruria.

P. 489.—Among the buildings of Athens the Poleterium, or place of meeting of the ten Poletæ, ought not to have been omitted. Isæus. ap. Harpocr. in Πολῆται καὶ πολητήριον. Concerning the Poletæ, see p. 608.

P. 492.—We learn from Apollodorus (1, 5, § 1) that the Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα was near the well Callichorus at Eleusis (v. Pausan. Attic. 38, 6.) But there was another ἀγέλαστος πέτρα, according to the Scholiast of Aristophanes (Eq. 785), upon which Theseus sat before he descended to hell (Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα καλουμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπου καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς Ἄδου· ὅθεν καὶ τούνομα τῇ πέτρῃ). This ἀγέλαστος πέτρα seems therefore to have marked the χωρίον, or place in Athens, where, according to Pausanias, Theseus and Pei-

rithous came to an agreement to proceed to Sparta and Thesprotia; and which, as we have seen above (p. 129. 272), was in the Asty between the Prytaneium and Olympieium, near the temples of Sarapis and Lucina. Compare Pausanias Attic. 18, 5. Apollodorus, 2, 5, § 12. Plutarch. Thes. 31.

P. 508, note 3.—V. et Suid. in Νίσυρος.

P. 530, l. ult.—'Αθηνᾶ Νίκη. Sophoc. Philoct. 134. Eurip. Ion. 1529.

P. 567.—On the last day of Pyanepsion, or feast of the Chalceia, the peplus was taken off the loom by the priestesses and Arrhephoræ. "Ἔστι δὲ ἔνη καὶ νέα Πυανεψίωνος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἱέρειαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀρρήφορων τὸν Πέπλον διέζωνται (διάζονται?) Etymol. M. in Χάλκεια. For διάζομαι, διάσμα, διασις, see Pollux. 7, 32. 33, and Stephani Lexicon. A yearly exhibition of the peplus is attested by Diodorus (20, 46), as well as by the Scholiast of Aristophanes (Eq. 566).

Fig. I

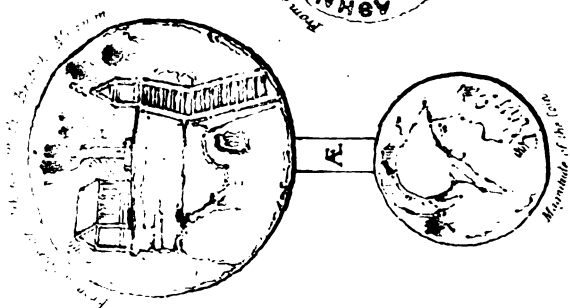
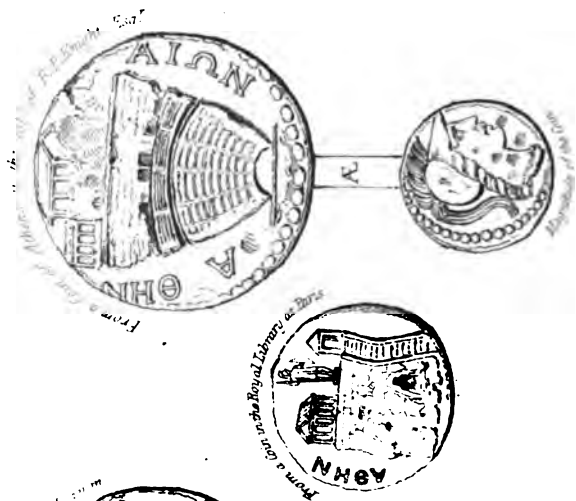
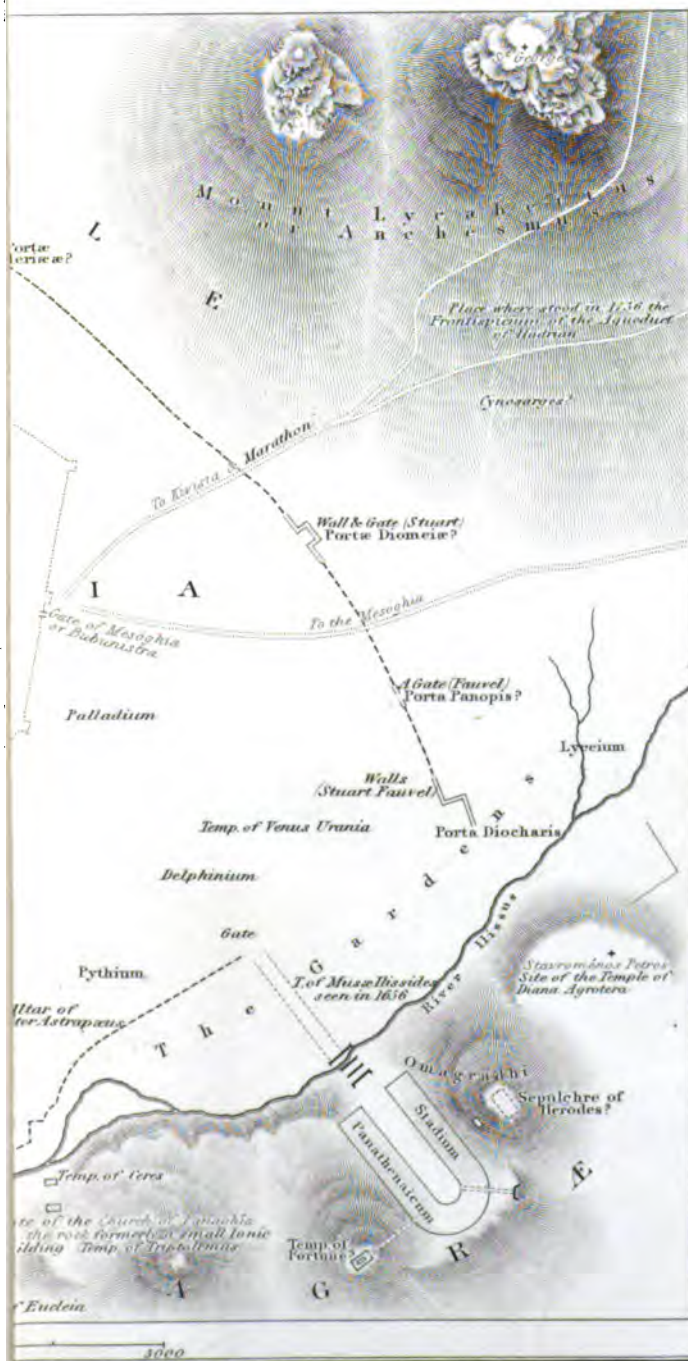


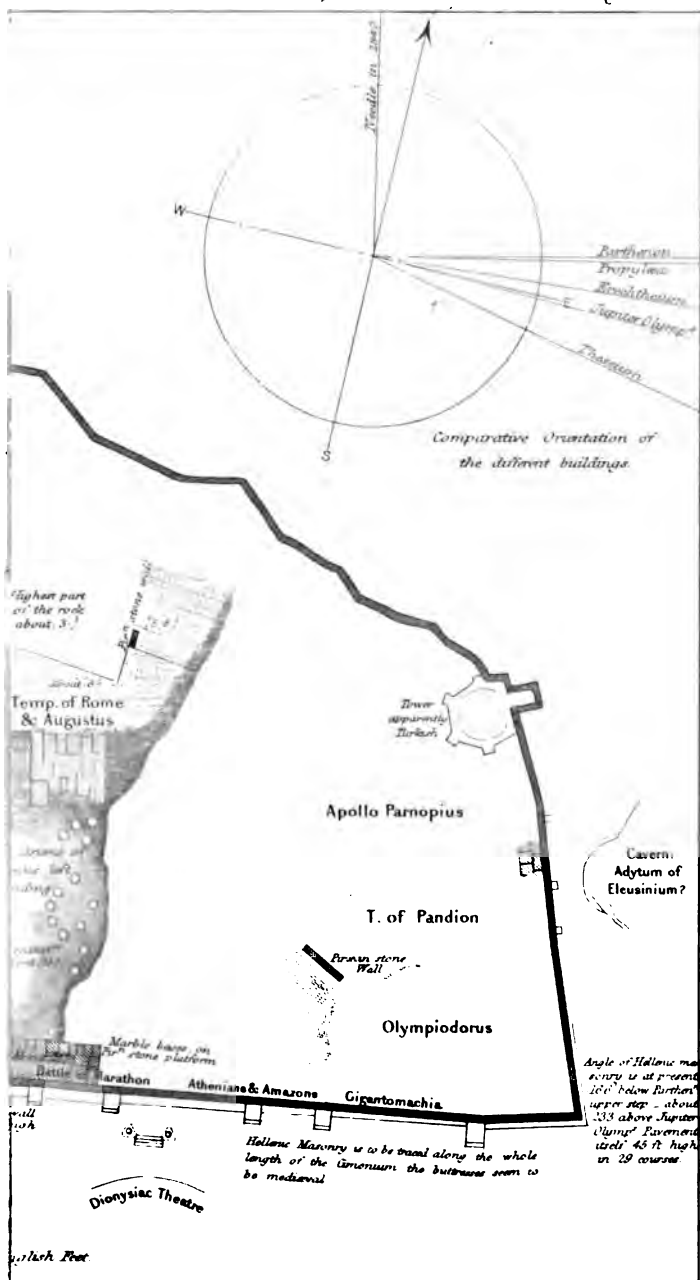
Fig. II



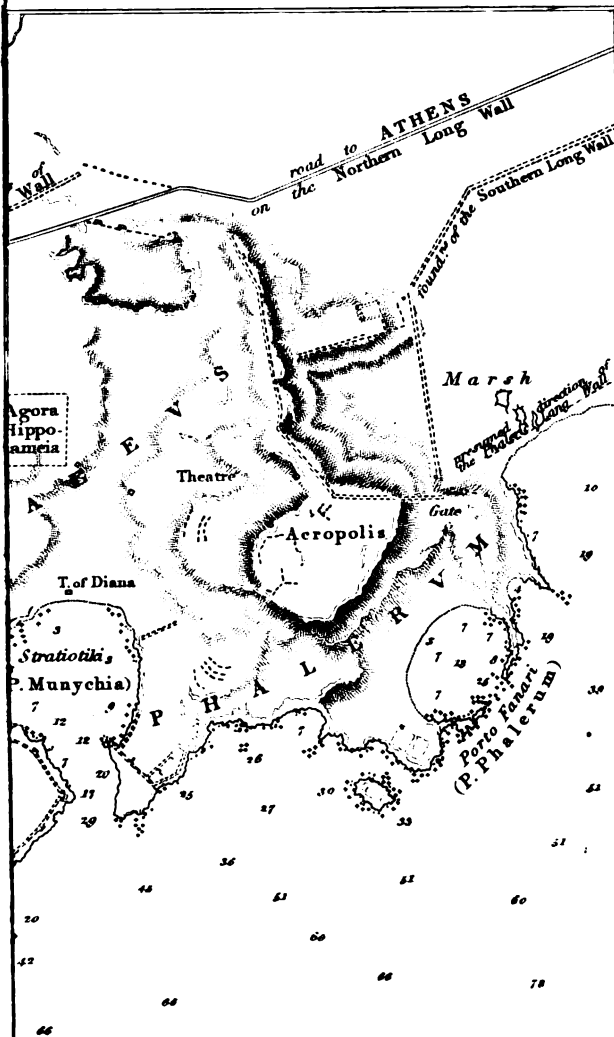








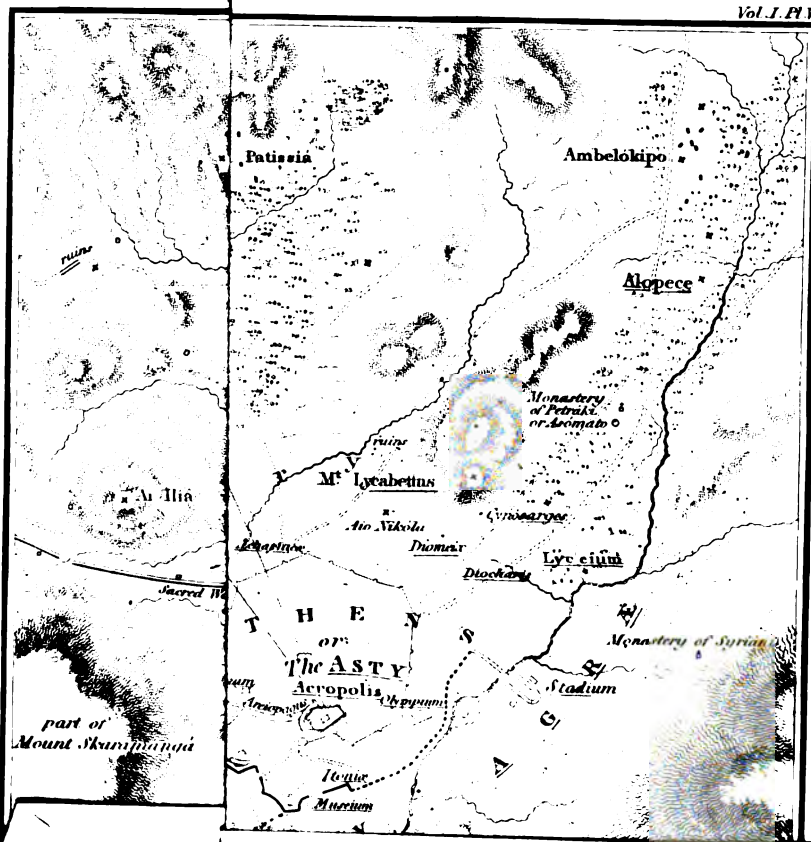




ANTIQUITIES OF
PHALERUM, PEIRÆUS
 and
MUNYCHIA

This Plan is from the nautical survey under Captain Graves R. N. with the exception of that part relating to the Long Walls. The ancient names are in print or in Capitals. The modern in Italic. The Soundings are in feet.



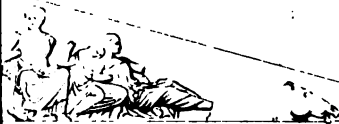


CALIPHOR
MASS.
CEPHISUS
BUTTE
THALASARLECOOTHA
VENTS OF PALMERON



THE FATES V.B.

CAR OF NIGHT V.B.



Enriched by M. Cooke Junr.





P I U M

LEFT BANK OF THE JLISSUS



